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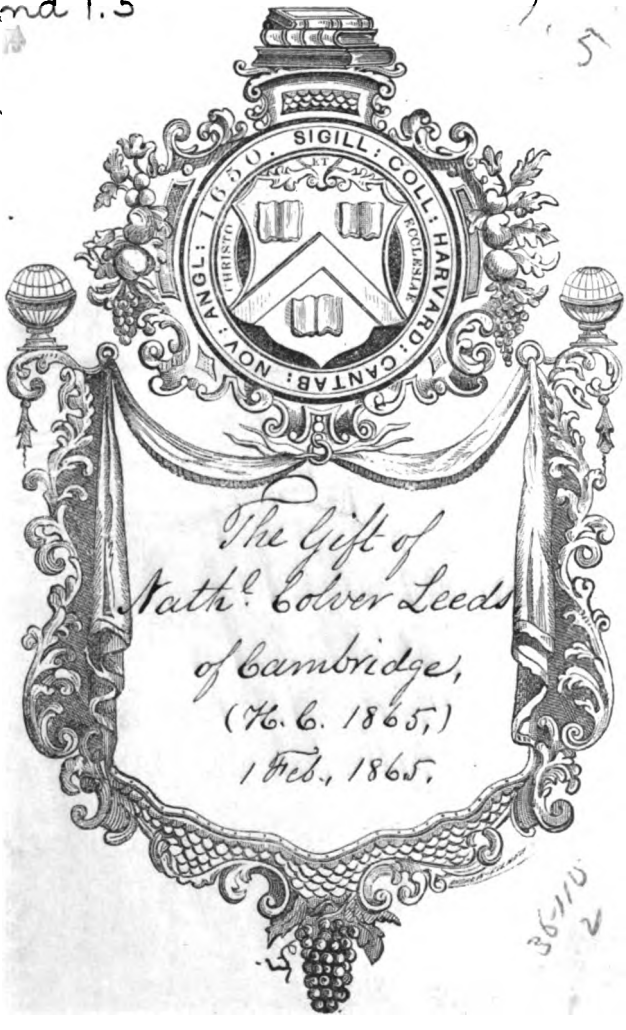

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PREFACE.

THE portion of the History of India which we this year present to the Public, is less comprehensive than the Chapter that preceded it. In the multifarious variety of events and circumstances which we have undertaken to relate and illustrate, it seems more useful to arrange our materials in that manner which shall exhibit them to the Reader, in the most clear and distinct point of view, than to divide them according to an exact chronological order, which would crowd together the affairs and occurrences of all India within certain periods of time, and thereby ren-

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der the narrative perplexed and confused. The early commerce and establishments of the Dutch in India being confined, almost exclusively, to Ceylon and the Eastern Archipelago, we thought it expedient to separate our account of their rise and progress from every circumstance not in some way connected with them, and consequently to reserve, for a subsequent Chapter, the contemporaneous History of the Mogul Empire. This mode of arrangement necessarily gives to our Chapters very unequal degrees of dignity or of interest; but we trust that the benefit to be derived from it, will make ample compensation.

Our Readers will peruse the Political and Commercial occurrences of Asia, during the Year 1802, with great satisfaction. They will observe the extensive influence which the British Government possesses in that

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that quarter of the globe, and the salutary purposes for which that influence is exercised. The public events of the year, and the important State-Papers which we have inserted, abundantly shew, that the British Government, acting on the soundest principles of political expediency, employs its authority in preserving tranquillity amongst neighbouring nations,—in rescuing the Peasantry of the Provinces under its protection from the wasteful domination of despotism,—in promoting the happiness of its own Subjects, by administering to them their ancient Laws, softened and purified by the mild spirit of English jurisprudence, and by securing to them the full fruits of their patient industry;—and, finally, in endeavouring to extend to the Mother Country all the advantages flowing from the vast stream of Commerce, of which that industry is the inexhaustible source.

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This situation of affairs is the natural result of that comprehensive and generous system of policy, which it has been the glory of MARQUIS WELLESLEY to adopt and pursue, and which has established his character as a statesman, by the truest and noblest evidence, the universal prosperity of the People whom he governs.

The numerous public documents of the year have greatly extended the Political, and thereby obliged us to contract the Literary departments of this Volume: But for this there exists no remedy, as the bulk of the political part of our work must always be proportioned to the materials of which the year is productive. We trust, however, our Readers will allow, that we have not neglected the interests of Asiatic Literature, the advancement of which is one of the principal objects of our undertaking.

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CONTENTS.

HISTORY.

CHAP. IV.—A View of the Commercial Situation of the Dutch previous to their engaging in the Indian Trade—The Cauſes which led them to engage in it—Their attempts to diſcover a Paſſage to China round the North of Europe—The Failure of theſe Attempts determines them to ſend a Fleet to India, by Way of the Cape of Good Hope—That Determination facilitated and carried into Execution by Cornelius Houtman—The Eſtabliſhment of a Company of Merchants at Amſterdam—Houtman's firſt Voyage to India, in the Service of that Company, and his Diſpute and conſequent Confinement by the King of Bantam—Houtman's ſafe Return to Amſterdam occaſions univerſal Satisfaction—A great many Aſſociations formed in different Parts of the United Provinces for the Purpoſe of carrying on the Trade to India—The New and Old Amſterdam Companies unite—Houtman and Van Neck ſail in command of their firſt Fleet—The Rotterdam Company the moſt bold and enterpriſing—Send a Fleet to the Spice Iſlands by Way of the Straits of Magellan—Van Neck returns to the Texel with a valuable Cargo—The amazing Exertions of the Amſterdam Company in Conſequence of this Succeſs—A Company of Brabant Merchants ſettle at Amſterdam, and engage in the Indian Trade—The good Underſtanding which ſubſiſted between the different India Companies in Holland—The prodigious Increaſe of the Dutch Trade to India—The Amazement with which the Portugueze beheld it—Philip of Spain neglects to counteract its Effects—The Decline of the Portugueze in India—A Spaniſh Fleet, of 30 Sail, fitted out by Philip, defeated by the Dutch—Depredations committed on the Dutch by the Spaniards in the Philippine Iſlands—An Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Spaniſh Colonies in thoſe Iſlands—The flouriſhing State of the Dutch Commerce in the Archipelago—Diſſentions amongſt the Merchants in Holland—The Formation of a New Company, with a Charter from the States General, granting them the excluſive Privilege of Trading to India—War between the Dutch and the Spaniards and Portugueze in India—The Dutch Embaſſy to the King of Candy in Ceylon—The Expedition to that Iſland under Sebald de Weert—Diſputes with the Engliſh in Java—War with the King of Bantam—The Expulſion of the Dutch from that Iſland—Their Affairs in Java reſtored—And the Foundation of the celebrated City of Batavia. - - - Page 1

CHRONICLE.

Capture of Serampore - - - - - - Page 1
Capture of the Ship *Amboyna* by *La Gloire*, with ſome Particulars of the Detention and Ill-treatment of Captain Alms and his Crew, by the Rajah of Cheduba - - - - - - *ibid.*
Loſs of the Ship *Lalla*, Captain Young - - - - 2
Letter from Lord Keith to B. Roebuck, Eſq. Madras - - *ibid.*
Thanks of the Madras Government to Lieutenant Colonel Innes - 3
Proceedings of the Supreme Court of Calcutta in June 1801 - - 4
Letter from the Chairman of the Committee for the Management of the Subſcription for the Sufferers in Lord Nelſon's Victory to R. W. Cox, Eſq. Calcutta - - - - - - *ibid.*
Proclamation for the Obſervance of his Majeſty's Birth Day at Madras *ibid.*
Ceremony of diſplaying the Union Flag at Bombay - - 5
Diwo at Surat - - - - - - *ibid.*

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Page
Proceedings of the Admiralty Seſſions, Calcutta, in July - - 5
Preſentation of a Sword to Captain Meik - - - 6
Inſtallation of the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, on the Muſnud of the Carnatic *ibid.*
Recapture of the Ship *Rebecca* - - - - 7
Trial of Lieutenant G. B. Bellaſis, and Captain C. W. Byne at Bombay *ibid.*
Loſs of the Ship *Duke of Clarence*, Captain Townſhend - - 9
Ratification of the Treaty with Azeem ul Dowlah - - *ibid.*
Letter from T. Surridge, Eſq. to the Governor-general - - *ibid.*
Letter from Captain Holloway to Admiral Blanket - - 10
Loſs of the Ship *Malabar* - - - - *ibid.*
Attack of the Ship *Jonathan Duncan* by ſeveral Canoes, near Canton *ibid.*
Loſs of the Ship *Elizabeth*, Captain Brown - - - 11
Addreſs to Captain Wm. Selby by the Merchants of Bombay - *ibid.*
Captain Selby's Anſwer to the above - - - 12
Preſentation of Colours to the St. Helena Regiment - - *ibid.*
Addreſs to Governor Brooke from the Inhabitants of St. Helena - *ibid.*
Preſentation of a Sword to Capt. Hardyman - - - 13
Captain Hardyman's Reply on the above Occaſion - - *ibid.*
Donation from the Calcutta Inſurance Office to Mrs. Faulkner, Mother of the late Second Officer of the *Armenia*, to the Steward and two Laſcars of the ſame Ship - - - - - - 14
Overſetting of a Cutter near Culpee, when two Women were unfortunately drowned - - - - - - *ibid.*
Proceedings of the New Supreme Court at Madras in Sept. 1801. - *ibid.*
Delivery of the Ratified Treaty by the Governor of Madras to the Nabob of the Carnatic - - - - - *ibid.*
Capture of *La Chiffonne* by *La Sybille* - - - 15
Loſs of the Ships *Gabriel* and *Commerce* - - - 16
Loſs of the Ship *Maria Louiſa* - - - - 17
Loſs of the Ship *Fazy Allum*, and the ſubſequent Proceedings of the Crew *ibid.*
Colonel Murray's Addreſs on Preſenting the Union Colours to the Second Battalion of the Firſt Native Regiment at Dacca - - - 24
Loſs of the Ship *Dove*, Captain Duffin - - - - *ibid.*
Eſtabliſhment of the "Government Gazette," at Madras - - 26
Loſs of his Majeſty's armed Schooner *Spitfire* - - - 27
Situation of the Wreck of the Ship *Malabar*, in Madras Roads - *ibid.*
Preſentation of Plate to Captain Maughan of the Ship *Ardaſeer* - 28
Proceedings of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, in Nov. 1801 - - *ibid.*
Appointments for the Proviſional Management of the Ceded Diſtricts - 29
Capture of the Ship *La Fleche*, by his Majeſty's Sloop *Victor* - - *ibid.*
A Singular and Unfortunate Accident - - - 32
Capture of the Privateer *La Eugene*, by the Company's Cruizer *Mornington* *ibid.*
General Orders in Conſequence of the Surrender of Alexandria - *ibid.*
Addreſs of the Britiſh Inhabitants of Benares to the Governor-general - 33
Governor-general's Anſwer to the above - - - *ibid.*
Eſtabliſhment of a Military College at Calcutta - - - 34
Capture, &c. of the Creole Brig - - - - 35
Public Orders, &c. reſpecting Colonel Barry Cloſe - - - 36
Capture of Ternate and its Dependencies - - - 37
Tempeſtuous Paſſage of the Ship *Counteſs of Sutherland* to the Cape of Good Hope - - - - - - 39
Diſmiſſal of Mr. Purcell, Pilot, from the Company's Service - 40
Loſs of the Brig *Dundas*, Captain Newbiggin - - *ibid.*
Preſentation of Plate to Captain Armſtrong - - - 41
Capture of *L'Hirondelle* Privateer, by his Majeſty's Ship *La Sybille* - 42
Capture of Tirnakull - - - - - 43
Capt. Le Merle's Letter in Juſtification of his Conduct, in Anſwer to Capt. James - - - - - - - 45
Proceedings of the Court of Recorder at Bombay in Jan. 1802 - 46
Shocking Murders at Surat - - - - *ibid.*
Gallant Conduct of the *Harriet* armed Boat, in capturing one, and repulſing two other Pirate Boats - - - - *ibid.*

Loſs

	Page
Loss of the Brig *Success*, Captain Creighton	47
Inhuman Murder at Pulo Penang	*ibid.*
Annual Examination of the different Classes of the College of Calcutta	48
Government Loan	51
Allowance of Tonnage of Baggage, &c. from India	55
Particulars of the Capture of the Ship *Cornwallis*, by the French Prisoners on Board	56
Engagement between *La Subtile* and the *Highland Chief*	59
Remarks by a Gentleman on Board the American Brig *Roebuck*	60
Proceedings of the Quarter Sessions at Madras, March 1802	61
Nuptials of the Coorga Rajah's Daughter	*ibid.*
Murder of Seven Persons near Bombay	62
Loss of his Majesty's Ship *Sensible*	*ibid.*
Address to the Hon. F. North, by the Native Headmen of Ceylon	63
His Excellency's Answer to the above	*ibid.*
Ceylon Intelligence	64
Journal of the Route of the Marquis Wellesley to the Upper Provinces	64
Capture of the Ship *Prince*	72
Appointment of a Special Vestry for distributing Charity to the Poor at Madras	73
Law Report.—Maw *v.* Learmouth, &c.	*ibid.*
Five Women put to Death on Charges of Sorcery	81
List of the Members of the Asiatic Society	82

EGYPT.

Account of the Indian Army in Egypt, under the Command of General Baird	83
Memorandums for Lieutenant-colonel Carruthers, in crossing the Desert	84
Morning General Orders published at Rhoda Island	86
List of the various Regiments and Corps forming the Indian Army in Egypt	87
General Staff—Brigade Staff—and Garrison Staff	88
Major-general Baird's Reception by the Pacha of Cairo	89
Fort William General Orders on the arrival of Major-general Baird and the Forces from Egypt.	91
Letter from the Earl of Cavan to the Governor-general, bearing honourable Testimony of the Services of Major-general Baird and his Army	*ibid.*
Entertainment given by the Governor-general to the Officers of the Indian Army, &c.	*ibid.*
Massacre of the Turks by the French Troops	92

CIVIL AND MILITARY PROMOTIONS, &c.

Bengal Civil Appointments	96
—— Supreme Council, and Principal Secretaries to Government	98
Madras Civil Appointments	*ibid.*
—— Members of Council, and Principal Secretaries to Government	100
Bombay Civil Appointments	*ibid.*
—— Members of Council, and Principal Secretary to Government	101
Bengal Military Promotions in his Majesty's Regiments	*ibid.*
—— Ditto in the Honourable Company's Troops	104
—— General Staff	106
Madras Military Promotions in the Hon. Company's Troops	*ibid.*
—— General Staff	109
Bombay Military Promotions in the Hon. Company's Troops	110
—— General Staff	*ibid.*
Ceylon Civil Establishment	111
—— Military ditto	*ibid.*
Births	112
Marriages	114
Deaths	117

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHRONICLE.

Page
Letter from General Harris to the Marquis Cornwallis on Preſenting his Lordſhip with the Sword and War Turban of the late Tippoo Sultaun - 124
Marquis Cornwallis's Anſwer to the above - - - *ibid.*
Letter from General Harris to the Earl of Mornington on requeſting his Lordſhip's Acceptance of a Star and Badge of the Order of St. Patrick, made from the Jewels of the late Tippoo Sultaun - - - - 125
Letter from Major General Floyd, Preſident of the Prize Committee, on his requeſting his Excellency to preſent the above Badge, in the Name of the Army, to Lord Mornington, (encloſed in the foregoing) - - *ibid.*
Letter from Lord Mornington to General Harris, expreſſive of the legal Impediments to his Lordſhip's Acceptance of the above honorary Badge from the Army - - - - - - - 126
Extract of a General Letter from the Court of Directors, on preſenting the Marquis Welleſley with the Star and Badge of the Order of St. Patrick *ibid.*
Letter from Marquis Welleſley to the Court of Directors in Anſwer to the above - - - - - - - 127
Letter from Lieutenant General Stuart to the Marquis Wellefley, (encloſed in the foregoing) - - - - - *ibid.*
Letter from the Marquis Wellefley to Lieutenant General Stuart, on receiving the Star and Jewels by the Hands of Major John Malcolm - 128

BOMBAY LAW REPORT.—P. C. Bruce and Co. *verſus* Hadjee Mahommed - - - - - - - *ibid.*
Bombay Quarter Seſſions - - - - - 132
Death of Uny Mootah the Freebooter of Malabar - - 147
Account of the Ambaſſador from the King of Perſia to the Britiſh Government in India - - - - - - - 148
Official Account of the Loſs of the *Calcutta* Tranſport - 152
Abolition of the College at Calcutta - - - 153
Embaſſy to Ava - - - - - - 154
Ceylon Intelligence - - - - - - *ibid.*
Diſmiſſal of the Engliſh Officers employed in the Service of Dowlut Row Scindiah - - - - - - - 155

HOME INTELLIGENCE.

Liſt of the Right Hon. the Board of Commiſſioners - - 157
Liſt of the Hon. the Court of Directors - - - *ibid.*
Account of the Ship Launch of the *Union* and *Lady Caſtlereagh* Indiamen 159
Loſs of the Ship *Hinduſtan*, Indiaman - - - 160
Monument of Sir William Jones, at Oxford - - 161
Some Account of a Hindu Temple, &c. erected in Melchet Park, Hants, to Warren Haſtings, Eſq. late Governor General of Bengal - *ibid.*
Regulations of the Royal Military College - - 162
Prices of Eaſt India Stock - - - - 163
Liſt of Ships, taken up by the Eaſt India Company for the Year 1803 164
Governor-general's Declaration to the Relatives, &c. of the late Perſian Ambaſſador - - - - - - 165

STATE PAPERS.

Marquis Wellefley's Minute in Council at Fort William; dated 18th of Auguſt 1800, containing his Reaſons for the Eſtabliſhment of a College at Calcutta 1

PAPERS *reſpecting the* TRADE BETWEEN INDIA *and* EUROPE; *Continued from the laſt Volume.*

Proceedings of the Court of Directors on the 10th February 1802 - 1

Digitized by Google

Page
Proceedings of the Court of Directors on the 24th February - 1
Proceedings of ditto 3d March - - - - *ibid.*
Proceedings of ditto 10th March - - - *ibid.*
Proceedings of ditto 23d March - - - - 3
Proceedings of ditto 26th March - - - *ibid.*
Proceedings of ditto 30th March - - - - 4

APPENDIX *to the above* PAPERS, *containing*,

No. XXXIII.—Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to the Chairman of the Court of Directors - - - - 4
No. XXXIV.—Additional Paragraph Propoſed by the Earl of Dartmouth, and enclofed in his Lordſhip's Letter - - - 8
No. XXXV.—Letter from the Chairman of the Court of Directors to the Earl of Dartmouth - - - - 9
No. XXXVI.—Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to the Chairman of the Court of Directors - - - - 10
No. XXXVII.—Letter from the Board of Commiſſioners to the Court of Directors - - - - - - *ibid.*
No. XXXVIII.—Letter from Wm. Ramſay, Eſq. to the Hon. W. Brodrick, enclofing the Anſwers given by the Court of Directors to the Obſervations of the Board of Commiſſioners - - 11
No. XXXIX.—Letter from Mr. Brodrick to Mr. Ramſay - 13
No. XL.—Letter from Mr. Ramſay to Mr. Brodrick - *ibid.*
No. XLI.—Letter from J. Meheux, Eſq. to Mr. Ramſay - 15
No. XLII.—Ditto - - - - - *ibid.*
No. XLIII.—Letter from J. Maddocks, Eſq. to Mr. Meheux - *ibid.*
No. XLIV.—Letter from Mr. Ramſay to Mr. Brodrick - 16
No. XLV.—Letter from the Board of Commiſſioners to the Court of Directors - - - - - 17
No. XLVI.—Paragraphs in the Commercial Department propoſed by the Court of Directors to be ſent to their Preſidency at Fort William, in Bengal; and the Paragraphs as amended and approved by the Board of Commiſſioners - - - - - 18
No. XLVII.—Letter from Mr. Brodrick to the Court of Directors, enclofing two Drafts (marked A. and B.) recommended by the Board for the Adoption of the Court of Directors - - - 53
No. L.—The THIRD REPORT of the SPECIAL COMMITTEE 54

PAPERS preſented to the HOUSE of COMMONS from the EAST INDIA COMPANY, concerning the late NABOB of the CARNATIC: *containing*,

No. 1.—Inſtructions to Lieutenant-colonel MacNeil - - 94
Letter from Lieut. Colonel MacNeil to J. Webbe, Eſq. Chief Secretary to Government - - - - - 95
Letter from J. Webbe, Eſq. to Lieut. Colonel MacNeil, commanding a Detachment at Chepauk - - - - 96
Letter from Lieut. Colonel MacNeil to J. Webbe, Eſq. - *ibid.*
Letter from J. Webbe, Eſq. to Lieut. Colonel MacNeil - 97
No. 2.—Inſtructions to Lieutenant-colonel Bowſer - - *ibid.*
No. 3.—Inſtructions to Meſſrs. Webbe and Cloſe, when they proceeded to the Palace of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah - - - *ibid.*
No. 4.—Report of Meſſrs. Webbe and Cloſe, explanatory of their Proceedings at the Palace of his late Highneſs the Nabob, in their Interviews or Negociations with the Regents and Taje al Omrah. - - 98

APPENDIX *to the* THIRD DAY'S CONFERENCE, *containing*

1ſt.—A Tranſlation of a Paper delivered by Najeeb Khan Bahauder, Salar Jung, and Mahommed Tukhia Ally Khan Bahauder, to J. Webbe, Eſq. and Lieutenant-colonel Cloſe, on the 16th of July 1801 - 106
2d.—Tranſlation of Propoſitions from the Heir - - 107

No.

Digitized by Google

Page
No. 5.—Treaty between the Company and his Highneſs the Nabob Mahommed Ally, dated in 1792, commonly called "Lord Cornwallis's Treaty" 115
No. 6.—Treaty between the Hon. Company and Azeem ul Dowlah, dated 31ſt July 1801 122
No. 7.—Declaration of the Governor of Fort St. George, 31ſt July 1801 126

APPENDIX *to the above* DECLARATION, *containing*
No. 1.—Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun 133
No. 11.—Letter from ditto to ditto 134
No. IV.—Extract of a Letter from ditto to ditto *ibid.*
No. V.—Extract of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Ally Rezza Khan and Gholaum Ally Khan 136
No. VI.—Key to a Cypher found among the Records at Seringapatam 137
No. VII.—Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan to Tippoo Sultaun *ibid.*
No. VIII.—Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Nabob Wallajah *ibid.*
No. IX.—Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Omdut ul Omrah 138
No. X.—Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan to Tippoo Sultaun 139
No. XI.—Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan to Tippoo Sultaun *ibid.*
No. XII.—Letter from ditto to ditto 140
No. XIII.—Letter from ditto to ditto *ibid.*
No. XIV.—Letter from ditto to ditto 141
No. XV.—Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan *ibid.*
No. XVI.—Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan to Tippoo Sultaun *ibid.*
No. XVII.—Note, written with a Pencil upon a Half a Sheet of Poſt Paper, with an Envelope of Engliſh Paper, by Omdut ul Omrah; apparently addreſſed to Gholaum Ally Khan 143
No. XVIII.—Letter from Mahommed Ghyauſs and Mahommed Ghoſe Khan, (Ambaſſadors from Tippoo Sultaun to the Nabob of the Carnatic) to Tippoo Sultaun *ibid.*
No. XIX.—Letter from ditto to ditto 144
No. XX.—Letter from the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to Gholaum Ally Khan 145
No. XXI.—Letter under the Seal of Khader Newaz Khan to Gholaum Ally Khan 146
No. 8.—Letter from the Governor-General to the Nabob of Arcot *ibid.*
No. 9.—Proceedings of the Governor in Council at Fort St. George on the ſigning of the Treaty between the Company and Azeem ul Dowlah 147
No. 10.—Correſpondence between the Governor-general and the Governor of Fort St. George, on the Subject of the Carnatic; from the Period of the Death of Omdut ul Omrah, to the Elevation of Azeem ul Dowlah to the Muſnud; *containing*
1.—Letter from Lord Clive to the Marquis Welleſley 149
2.—Letter from ditto to ditto 151
3.—Letter from ditto to ditto 156

No. 11.—Copies and Extracts of Letters from the Governor-general and the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors; relative to the Revolution in the Carnatic, and the Aſſumption of its Government by the Company; *containing*.
1.—Extract of a Letter from the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors 157
2.—Extract of a Letter from Marquis Welleſley to the Secret Committee 162
3.—Extract of a Secret Letter from the Governor in Council of Fort St. George to the Secret Committee 163
4.—Letter from Marquis Welleſley to the Secret Committee 166
No. 12.—Orders publiſhed to the Settlement of Fort St. George relative to the Treaty between the Company and the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah 169
No. 13—Information ſubmitted to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, in obedience to ſeveral Orders 171

No.

Digitized by Google

Page

No. 14.—Copy of the Affidavit of the Phyſician of the late Nabob of Arcot, on the State of his Highneſs's Health - - - ibid.

No. 15.—Copy of the Examination of Ally Rezza Khan and Gholaum Ally Khan, taken before Meſſrs. Webbe and Cloſe, at Vellore and Seringapatam, by Order of Marquis Wellesley - - - ibid.

No. 16.—Copy of ſuch Parts of the Correſpondence diſcovered in the Palace at Seringapatam, and alluded to in the Letter from the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, as are not included in the Appendix to the Declaration of the Governor of Fort St. George - - - - - 189

No. 17.—Minute of Lord Clive, relative to the Pecuniary Proviſion to be made for the Families of the late Nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, &c. - - - - - 193

No. 18.—Copy of a Paper, purporting to be a Letter from Huſſain Ally, the reputed Son of the late Nabob of Arcot, to James Stuart Hall and Samuel Johnſtone, Eſquires - - - - - 196

Accounts preſented to the Houſe of Commons from the Eaſt India Company reſpecting their Annual Revenues and Diſburſements - - 208

The Definitive Treaty of Peace between His Britannic Majeſty and the French Republic, His Catholic Majeſty and the Batavian Republic. Signed at Amiens the 27th Day of March 1802. - - - 224

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Debate relative to the Trade between Great Britain and India - - - - - - 227

Sir William Pulteney's Speeches in the above Debate - - 227, 257

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's ditto - 234, 240, 242, 258

Mr. Johnſtone's ditto - - - - 239, 242

Mr. Wallace's ditto - - - - - 242

Sir Francis Baring's ditto - - - - 244, 250

Mr. Metcalfe's ditto - - - - 247, 250

Mr. William Dundas's ditto - - - - 249

Mr. Jones's ditto - - - - - 250

Mr. Tierney's ditto - - - - - 251

Lord Glenbervie's ditto - - - - 255

Mr. R. Thornton's ditto - - - - 256

Sir James Murray Pulteney's ditto - - - ibid.

Liſt of Members elected by Ballot for the Regulations of India Judicature 258

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Lord Moira's Queſtion to his Majeſty's Miniſter relative to the Succeſſor of the late Nabob of the Carnatic - ibid.

Lord Hobart's Reply to the above - - - 259

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Debate on the Reduction of the Eſtabliſhment at Bencoolen to a Factory, and to transfer the Servants of that Preſidency to Madras - - - - - ibid.

Mr. William Dundas's Speeches in the above Debate - 259, 263

Mr. Johnſtone's ditto - - - - 260

Mr. Wallace's ditto - - - - 261

Mr. Metcalfe's ditto - - - - 262, 264

Mr. Tierney's ditto - - - - - 263

Further Proceedings on the above Subject - - - 264

Sir William Pulteney's Speeches - - - - 264, 265

Mr. Wallace's ditto - - - - - ibid. ibid.

Colonel Wood's ditto - - - - - ibid. ibid.

Mr. Johnſtone's ditto - - - - - ibid. ibid.

Mr. William Dundas's ditto - - - - - ibid.

Digitized by Google

Page
Further Proceedings on the above Subject 295
Mr. Jones's Speeches . . . . . ibid.
Colonel Wood's ditto 266
Mr. William Dundas's ditto . . . . . ibid.
Mr. Metcalfe's ditto . . . . . ibid.
The Chancellor of the Exchequer's ditto . . . . ibid.
Mr. Golding's ditto . . . . . ibid.
Mr. R. Thornton's ditto . . . . . ibid.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Speeches of Earl Moira respecting the Deposition of the young Nabob of Arcot 266, 267
Lord Grenville's ditto 267, 268

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Debate on Dr. Laurence's Motion,—"That there be laid before this House an Account of the Acquisitions made, or pretended to be made, by his most Christian Majesty on the Coast of Coromandel and Orissa, between the Years 1748 and 1763." ibid
Dr. Laurence's Speeches in the above Debate . . . 268, 281
Mr. Dundas's ditto 271
Mr. T. Grenville's ditto 278
Lord Hawkesbury's ditto 279
Mr. Jones's ditto 280
Debate on Mr. Nicholls's Motion,—"That there should be laid before the House a Copy of the Orders and Instructions given by the Honourable the East India Company to Lieut. Colonel MacNeil, when he marched his Troops into the Gardens of the Nabob of the Carnatic, some Days anterior to the Demise of his Highness; together with all other Orders given him, up to the Time he was relieved by Lieut. Colonel Bowser." . . . 281
Mr. Wallace's Speeches in the above Motion . . 281, 282, 283
Mr. Nicholls's ditto 282
Sir Henry Strachey's ditto . . . . . ibid.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Lord Suffolk's Notice of a Motion relative to the Amount of the Debt and the State of the Finances of the East India Company 283

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Mr. Nicholls's Observations relative to the Proceedings in the Carnatic 284

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Debate on Lord Suffolk's Motion,—"That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, praying that there should be laid before the House an Account of the Debts and Assets of the India Company, to the latest Period that the same could be made out." . . . 285
Lord Suffolk's Speech preceding the above Motion . . ibid.
Earl of Dartmouth's Speech in Reply 288

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Further Debate on the late Transactions in the Carnatic 289
Mr. Sheridan's Speeches in the above Debate . . . 289, 292
The Chancellor of the Exchequer's ditto . . . 292, 293
Mr. Nicholls's ditto 294
The Speaker's ditto . . . . . ibid.

ADDENDA to the Proceedings in Parliament in 1801, containing a copious and accurate Abstract of Mr. Dundas's Speech on the India Budget . 296

PROCEEDINGS AT THE INDIA HOUSE.

Debate on the Subject of the Private Trade of India . . . 309
Mr. Twining's Speeches in the above Debate, on his Motion, viz. "Resolved, That this Court confirm and approve the Proceedings of the Court of Directors, upon the Subject of the Private Trade, &c. [*vide p.* 319.] 309, 322
Mr. Huddleston's ditto 319

Mr.

Digitized by Google

	Page
Mr. Adair's Speech in the aforesaid Debate	327.
Mr. Impey's ditto	331
Sir Francis Baring's ditto	347, 391
Mr. Johnstone's ditto	351
Lord Kinnaird's ditto	353
Mr. Moore's ditto	354
Mr. Chisholme's ditto	361
Mr. Bosanquet's ditto	351
Mr. Bebb's ditto	365
Mr. Henchman's ditto	366, 368
Mr. R. Thornton's ditto	367
Mr. Baber's ditto	*ibid.*
Sir Hugh Inglis's ditto	391
Mr. Law's ditto	393

SUPPLEMENT TO THE STATE PAPERS.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Debate on Earl Moira's Motion, viz.—"That there be laid before the House, Copies of all the Instructions sent out on the Part of the Company from Jan. 1797 to Jan. 1801, from the Court of Directors, to the Governor-general, and also to the Governor of Madras, relative to the Assumption of the Government of the Carnatic — 394

Earl Moira's Speech on the above Motion — *ibid.*

Lord Hobart's ditto — 396

Lord Grenville's ditto — *ibid.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Debate on Mr. Sheridan's Motion, "for the Production of all the Correspondence between the Court of Directors, the Governor-general, and the Governor of Madras, relative to the Deposition of the late Nabob of Arcot, &c. — *ibid.*

Mr. Sheridan's Speech on the above Motion — *ibid.*

Mr. Wallace's ditto — 397

Sir T. Metcalfe's ditto — *ibid.*

CHARACTERS.

An Account of the Life and Adventures of Jelaleddin, Sultaun of Khoarazm; one of the most distinguished Characters in Asiatic History. Chiefly collected from D'Herbelot, Le Croix, and Abulguzi Khan — 1

An Account of the Ranah of Gohud — 5

A Character of the Seiks. From the Observations of Col. Polier and Mr. Forster — 9

An Account of the Jauts — 12

Character of the Malays in general. By H. H. Ellmore, Esq. — 15

Character of the Inhabitants of the Maldivy Islands. By a Gentleman who has visited those Islands — 17

An Account of various Habits and Customs of the Japanese People. By Dr. Thunberg — 19

A Character of the Chinese. Translated from the French of the Abbe Grosier — 26

An Account of the Life of the celebrated and unfortunate Count de Lally. By the Viscount de Vaux — 27

An Authentic Account of the late Admiral Boscawen, during the Time he commanded in Coromandel, and of the Transactions of the Fleet and Army under his Command — 34

An authentic Memoir of Colonel Gilbert Ironside — 43

An authentic Account of the Life and Character of the late Robert Orme, Esq. F. A. S. L. Historiographer to the Hon. the East India Company. — 45

Digitized by Google

Page

An authentic Account of George Thomas, an Irish Adventurer in India, a most extraordinary and enterprising Character. Just received from a Correspondent at Lucknow - - - - 88

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

An Account of the Tea Tree. By Frederick Pigou, Esq. - 1
An Account of the Hindu Method of cultivating the Sugar Cane, and manufacturing the Sugar and Jagary in the Rajahmundry Districts. By Dr. Wm. Roxburgh - - - - - - 7
Description of the Countries on the Malabar Coast, ceded to the English by the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792. By Lieutenant John Comyn - 15
An Account of Borneo, in a Letter from Mr. J. Jelle to the Court of Directors 17
Letters of Sir Thomas Roe, during his Residence at the Court of the Mogul Emperor Jehangeer - - - - - - 22
A Disquisition on the Property in the Soil. From Colebrook's Translation of the Digest of Hindu Law - - - - - 32
On the Population of Bengal. By a Gentleman now residing in that Country 41
On the Present State of Husbandry in Bengal. By the Same - 47
Observations on Property in the Soil—Rents and Duties—Tenures of Free Lands, and of Lands liable for Revenue, in the Province of Bengal. By the Same - - - - - - 53
On the Profits of Husbandry in Bengal. By the Same - 71
View of the Political State of Bengal, comprehending an Examination of the English Government and Policy in that Country previous to the year 1780. By Gholaum Hossein Khan, a Native of Hindustan - - 83
Some Account of the Trade of Siam. By Capt. H. H. Ellmore - 112
An Account of the Explosion of a Meteor near Benares, and of the Falling of some Stones at the same Time, about Fourteen Miles from that City. By John Lloyd Williams, Esq. F. R. S. - - - 115
Of the India Company of France. By M. Garonne - - 117

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE EDITOR.

Account of the Self-Immolation of the Two Widows of Ameer Jung, the late Regent of Tanjore - - - - - 22
Epitaph on Tippoo Sultaun, with Introductory Observations. By John Gilchrist, Esq. - - - - - - 124
A few Observations on Persian Poetry - - - 130
Observations on the *Mookhtusurool Moobarwuree* - - 133

POETRY.

Description of an Oriental Banquet; an Ode in Arabic, by a Native of Damascus 140
Paraphrastic Translation of the above - - - 141
An Ancient Chinese Ode; Translated into English by John Collegins, Esq. 143
Latin Ode on the Approach of Spring. By Sir Wm. Jones - 144
English Translation of the above. By John Collegins, Esq. - *ibid.*
Persian Poem, from Hafiz - - - - 145
English Translation of the Same - - - - - 146
Persian Poem, from Hafiz - - - - - - 147
English Translation of the Same - - - - 148
Turkish Verses, addressed to the Sultauna, eldest Daughter of Sultaun Achmet Third. By Ibrahim Bassa the reigning Favourite. Translated by the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague - - - 149

ACCOUNT

Digitized by Google

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS.

	Page
CAPPER's Obſervations on the Winds and Monſoons	1
GLADWIN's Perſian Moonſhee	5
OUSELEY's Bakhtyar Nameh	10
ANQUETIL DUPERON's Oupnek'hat	18
Aſiatic Reſearches, Vol. 6.	18
Eſſays by the Students of the College of Fort William in Bengal	33
GILCHRIST's New Theory and Proſpectus of Perſian Verbs	39
LEBEDEFF's Grammar	41
PATTON's Diſſertation	*ibid.*

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THE

ASIATIC

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the Year 1802.

THE

HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAP. IV.

A View of the commercial Situation of the Dutch previous to their engaging in the Indian Trade—The Causes which led them to engage in it—Their Attempts to discover a Passage to China round the North of Europe—The Failure of these Attempts determines them to send a Fleet to India, by way of the Cape of Good Hope—That Determination facilitated and carried into Execution by Cornelius Houtman—The Establishment of a Company of Merchants at Amsterdam—Houtman's first Voyage to India, in the Service of that Company, and his Dispute and consequent Confinement by the King of Bantam—Houtman's safe Return to Amsterdam occasions universal Satisfaction—A great many Associations formed in different Parts of the United Provinces for the purpose of carrying on the Trade to India—The new and old Amsterdam Companies unite—Houtman and Van Neck sail in command of their first Fleet—The Rotterdam Company the most bold and enterprising—Send a Fleet to the Spice Islands by way of the Straits of Magellan—Van Neck returns to the Texel with a valuable Cargo—The amazing Exertions of the Amsterdam Company in consequence of this Success—A Company of Brabant Merchants settle at Amsterdam, and engage in the Indian Trade—The good Understanding which subsisted between the different India Companies in Holland—The prodigious Increase of the Dutch Trade to India—The Amazement with which the Portugueze beheld it—Philip of Spain neglects to counteract its Effects—The Decline of the Portuguese in India—A Spanish Fleet, of 30 Sail, fitted out by Philip, defeated by the Dutch—Depredations committed on the Dutch by the Spaniards in the Philippine Islands—An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Spanish Colonies in those Islands—The flourishing State of the Dutch Commerce in the Archipelago—Dissentions amongst the Merchants in Holland—The Formation of a new Company, with a Charter from the States-General, granting them the exclusive Privilege of trading to India—

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dia—War between the Dutch and the Spaniards and Portuguese in India—The Dutch Embassy to the King of Candy in Ceylon—The Expedition to that Island under Sebald de Weert—Disputes with the English in Java—War with the King of Bantam—The Expulsion of the Dutch from that Island—Their Affairs in Java restored—And the Foundation of the celebrated City of Batavia.

THE jealousy which the rapid advancement of the English trade and influence in India had excited in the minds of the Dutch settlers in the spice islands, was at last productive of one of the most atrocious and horrid actions that ever disgraced and degraded humanity. But before we notice the immediate circumstances which led to that event, it is necessary to unfold the history of the commercial intercourse between the United Provinces and India.

Amongst the nations of modern Europe, the inhabitants of these provinces were early distinguished for their love of trade, and their skill in nautical affairs; and the habits of industry and economy which they thereby acquired, animated with the noble spirit of independence, which they inherited from their Batavian ancestors, gradually rendered them a sensible, intelligent, and enterprising people. While they were yet under the government of their ancient barons, who were tributaries of the German empire and the crown of France, they had made considerable progress in commerce and navigation. About the middle of the twelfth century they established their herring fishery, in which several hundred youths were kept in constant employment, and trained up in the duties and hardships of a seafaring life. By this means the Dutch seamen became so bold and expert in navigating their vessels, that surrounding nations were inspired with a great degree of confidence in their skill, and the Hanseatic merchants, who had then formed their memorable league, found them no inconsiderable rivals as the carriers of valuable commodities between the southern and northern countries of Europe. Before the close of the thirteenth century upwards of five hundred Dutch vessels were engaged annually in that lucrative trade. The opulence of the Hanse-towns, however, enabled them to maintain a naval force, which effectually secured to them the exclusive commerce of the Baltic, and restrained, though it could not subdue, the growing prosperity of the Dutch. For more than two centuries the Hanseatic confederacy preserved that monopoly, as well as the entire supremacy of the northern seas; but their quarrel with Denmark, in A. D. 1431, opened the Baltic to the Dutch, whose maritime strength thenceforward increased with such rapidity, that, in 1442, they fitted out an armed fleet, to protect their trade against the depredations of the Vandalic-Hans ships, a large squadron of which they engaged, and either captured or destroyed. Encouraged by this exploit, which made them feel their strength, and fortified them with a just confidence in their exertions, the merchants of Holland began to trade on their own account, and to extend their voyages to the most distant ports of Europe. Soon after the establishment of the Portugueze trade to India, those merchants resorted to Lisbon, for the purchase of Indian commodities, of which they became the principal carriers to the ports of France, the Netherlands, and

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and the Baltic. In the profecution of this traffic they obſerved, with an inquiring and envious eye, the vaſt advantages the Portugueze derived from their direct intercourſe with India, which, together with the alluring accounts they received of the riches of that country, awakened a high ſpirit of emulation and enterpriſe; and they aſpired to a participation of the commerce and wealth of the Eaſt. But mingling the prudent policy, for which the Dutch have in all times been diſtinguiſhed, with that paſſion for nautical diſcovery which characteriſed the age, they reſolved not to interfere with the right, however abſurd and preſumptuous, which the Portugueze had aſſumed, of monopolizing the trade to India by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, but to attempt to open a communication with Japan and China by ſailing round the north of Europe. The execution of this ſcheme was, however, delayed by ſome important circumſtances, which, though they threatened for a ſhort time to annihilate the commerce of this induſtrious people, were eventually the cauſes of that greatneſs which it afterwards attained.

Upon the abdication of the emperor Charles the Fifth, he was ſucceeded in his hereditary dominions by his ſon Philip of Spain, and the perſecution of the Proteſtants in the Netherlands, which the former had commenced with a very vigorous and dreadful ſeverity, was enforced by the latter with a ſyſtematic, rancorous, and unrelenting cruelty. Philip laid a deliberate ſcheme for the extermination of his Proteſtant ſubjects; and in order to make his worldly aggrandiſement and ambitious piety mutually ſtrengthen and promote each other, he aboliſhed by an edict, in all the provinces of the Low Countries, thoſe civil inſtitutions and privileges which, in a long courſe of ages, had been formed and acquired; eſtabliſhed in their ſtead a military government; prohibited the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion; and introduced the inquiſition, to detect and puniſh the enemies of the Roman Catholic faith. Nor was the commerce of the Dutch exempted from this proſcripſion. Having conquered Portugal, he interdicted the Dutch from the port of Liſbon, thereby depriving both them and the Portugueze of the benefit of their valuable trade to that capital. He even carried his bigotted hatred of them to ſo great a length, when he found they reſiſted theſe enormous acts of tyranny, that he vainly reſolved to reduce them to unconditional ſubmiſſion, by ſtripping them of the whole fruits of their induſtry; and accordingly exacted the twentieth part of all immoveable, and the tenth of all moveable goods. The diſcontent, indignation, and reſentment that had been for ſome years kindling in their minds, now burſt forth into a furious rebellion, which, in ſpite of the great military power of Spain, exerted to ſuppreſs it, glorioufly terminated in the eſtabliſhment of their independence, and of the federal republic of the United Provinces.

Freed from thoſe oppreſſions and reſtraints which had damped and confined their ſpeculative ſpirit, the Dutch henceforward advanced in commerce with that rapid but ſteady courſe which is the natural reſult of indefatigable induſtry, when left to its ſpontaneous exertions. In A. D. 1594, fifteen years after their deliverance from the yoke of Spain, they carried into

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execution the favourite project which they had formed of attempting to sail to China by way of the northern ocean; and as they were debarred the privilege of purchasing Indian commodities from the Portugueze, they looked forward, with much additional solicitude, to the success of a project which would open to them a direct passage to India, greatly shorter than the one round the Cape of Good Hope, and which would consequently enable them to supply the European markets with the products of the East not only more expeditiously, but at a lower rate than had ever yet been done. The merchants of Holland, elated with the hope of attaining an object so brilliant and advantageous, overlooked the failures which eminent English navigators had recently experienced in attempting the same passage, as well as the various and apparently intermediate obstacles to its discovery, which the voyages of these navigators had brought to light. A small squadron was accordingly equipped, and the command of it given to William Barentz, a mariner equally distinguished for his intrepidity and skill. He sailed from Amsterdam in the beginning of 1595; but after he had reached the latitude of 78 degrees, his squadron was surrounded with mountains of ice, which threatened its destruction; his crew, alarmed at their situation, insisted on returning to Holland; and finding that his intreaties and exhortations did not avail either to recall their confidence in him, or rekindle their own zeal, he reluctantly complied with their demand, and arrived in the Texel, after an absence of only five months. The zealous Barentz, however, was not to be disheartened by this unsuccessful voyage, the failure of which he attributed to the unfortunate panic with which his people were seized, rather than to the physical impediments which had opposed his progress, and which he thought an intrepid perseverance would at last have surmounted. Possessed of this notion, he drew up a memorial to the states-general, proposing to make another attempt to discover a north-east passage by entering the straits of Wygatz, where he expected to meet with less discouraging obstacles than those which assailed him in his former voyage. His proposal being supported by the urgent solicitations of the merchants who first employed him, was readily acceded to, and he got the command of a squadron of six vessels, with which he sailed for the North Seas in June 1596. This fleet being fitted out at the public expense, the expectations which the undertaking raised corresponded with the general idea entertained by the Dutch of the wisdom of their government, and were therefore extremely sanguine: and the return of Barentz, four months subsequent to his departure, without having made one new discovery, filled the nation with proportional disappointment.

These failures convinced the Dutch that even, if a north-east passage to India were practicable, the numerous difficulties and perils which must unavoidably attend it would render it of little or no utility in a commercial view. They therefore turned all their attention and activity towards acquiring a knowledge of the navigation round the Cape of Good Hope, in which they determined to embark, having now nothing to lose by the hostility of the Portugueze, and not much to dread from the power and the menaces of Spain. This scheme

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was encouraged and facilitated by Cornelius Houtman, one of those aspiring adventurers of whom the age was so productive, and to whom mankind are so largely indebted, not merely for extending the benefit of commerce, but for having supplied philosophy with such a vast variety of new and important materials. Houtman had been employed by the merchants of Amsterdam in the trade formerly carried on between that city and Lisbon, and had, by that means, the opportunity of forming an acquaintance with some of those intelligent mariners who conducted the Portugueze fleets to India. When that trade was prohibited in 1594, he remained at Lisbon, where having at last attracted the notice of the government, by his inquisitive solicitude respecting the navigation of the Indian seas, he was arrested and confined. Upon this he applied to the merchants of Amsterdam, offering to communicate to them all the valuable facts which he had collected relative to the Indian trade, and the mode of conducting it, if they would redeem him from captivity, by advancing a certain sum of money, which the Portugueze had consented to take for his ransom. This proposal reached Holland just as the disappointment occasioned by the last abortive enterprise of Barentz had begun to lessen; and it was consequently acceded to with a warm and eager alacrity. Houtman was accordingly ransomed; and on his arrival at Amsterdam, he furnished the merchants with such ample and detailed information, regarding Indian commerce, that a plan for engaging in it was, after mature consideration, formed and adopted.

This plan principally consisted in the establishment of a company of merchants, intitled "The Company for trading to remote Countries," and in the equipment by them of a squadron of four ships, for the purpose of proceeding to India, under the direction of Houtman. The expedition with which the pecuniary arrangements of the company, and the preparations for the voyage were forwarded, corresponded with that ardour which the nature of the enterprise, and the value of the objects in view, were so well adapted to inspire. In less than three months after the institution of the company, the squadron was ready for sea, and in the autumn of 1596 Houtman sailed from the Texel. He was instructed not to touch at any port on the continent of India, but to hold a direct course to the Eastern Archipelago, and to trade only at those islands in which the Portugueze had made no settlements; so that whilst he avoided any positive interference with them, he would embrace a very important branch of the Indian trade, which they, since they had fallen under the Spanish sceptre, had neglected to prosecute with that attention and regularity which were essential, not only to their own success, but to supply the demand for spices in the markets of Europe.

After a tedious passage of nine months, during which no material circumstance occurred, the Dutch fleet cast anchor on the coast of Bantam, in the island of Java. Courteous in their manners to strangers, and delighting in traffic, the Javanese received Houtman on his landing with the most inviting tokens of respect, and with an eagerness equal to his own, offered to supply him with the most valuable products of their island, in exchange for the specie and iron which he had brought from Europe. A bargain was

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ſpeedily concluded, and Houtman had began to take on board his cargo, when an unfortunate circumſtance produced a diſagreement between him and the natives, which not only ſuſpended his intercourſe with them, but even involved his perſonal ſafety. Suſpecting, probably with good reaſon, that the merchants, with whom he had contracted for the purchaſe of the fineſt ſpices, were giving him a very inferior ſort, he reproached them in the ſtrongeſt terms with their ſordid and deceitful conduct; and demanding an audience of the king of Bantam, repreſented to him the fraudulent manner in which he had been treated, and in a ſtyle of menace, to which that potentate had been little accuſtomed, peremptorily inſiſted, that a ſtrict and honourable fulfilment of his contract ſhould be immediately enforced. This ſort of remonſtrance was ill calculated to awaken a ſenſe of juſtice in the chief of a people who, to an inherent propenſity to deceive and defraud, unite a proud and vindictive ſpirit. Houtman's raſhneſs and precipitation, therefore, only ſerved to multiply the grievance of which he complained. The king, ſtartled and enraged at the aſtoniſhing boldneſs with which he urged his complaint, inſtantly ordered him to be arreſted and thrown into confinement; a proceeding which, in the Malay iſlands, is generally the prelude to aſſaſſination. But he ſaved himſelf from this laſt act of violence by offering, as a ranſom, part of the money which was appropriated for the purchaſe of the cargo he had beſpoke. This offer ſoftened the reſentment of the Malay prince, whoſe avarice was greater than his pride; and Houtman was accordingly releaſed. On his return on board the fleet, he called together the commanders of the different veſſels; imparted to them his ſuſpicion that treacherous deſigns were meditated by the Malays againſt the whole fleet; repreſented the imminent danger which would conſequently be incurred by continuing any longer at Banram; urged, in ſtrong terms, that it would be accounted by the company a better policy to return home with the few commodities which had been obtained, than to put their lives to hazard in an endeavour to procure more; and he concluded by giving orders to get the ſhips in immediate readineſs to ſail. Having in a few days furniſhed the fleet with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and water, without awakening, amongſt the Malays, the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of his intended departure, Houtman proceeded to Europe on the 5th of January 1598. In ten months following he arrived in the Texel, and landed at Amſterdam, to the infinite joy of the company, and amidſt the acclamations of the people. His account of the unfortunate tranſactions at Bantam operated as a diſappointment to his employers, and gave a momentary depreſſion to the ardour of their pleaſure; but it no way affected the general ſatisfaction at the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, with which the nation was filled. To have conducted the Dutch flag to and from India, and to have diſplayed it on the ſhores of that country, were alone accounted circumſtances of congratulation and triumph. Houtman was, therefore, conſidered as one of the greateſt benefactors of his country; and the important trade, which he had thus opened, was thenceforward proſecuted with a degree of enthuſiaſm, which the love of gain, naturally a quiet, though an active paſſion, has been ſeldom

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ſeldom known to produce. Yet this enthuſiaſm elevated, but did not miſguide the commercial ſpirit of the Dutch, which was tempered by the diſcretion, and directed by the prudence, of ſenſible merchants.

The deſire to embark in the Indian trade now called forth an ardent emulation amongſt the merchants of the United Provinces, without exciting that envy, much leſs that animoſity, which too frequently accompanies it. Various mercantile aſſociations were formed, that vied with each other in the rapid equipment of ſhips to ſend to India; and their exertions were ſtrenuouſly ſeconded by the adventurous ſeamen of Holland, who were incited as much by the novelty of the voyage, as by the allurements which it held out. The original Amſterdam company, amidſt this general eagerneſs to adventure in eaſtern commerce, received a conſiderable acceſſion of credit, power, and influence, by forming an union with a new company, which had been inſtituted in that city ſince the period of Houtman's return. The united company poſſeſſed all the advantages over their rivals which greater opulence could confer; and, conſequently, they had a fleet ready for ſea many months before any of the other companies. This fleet conſiſted of eight ſhips, and was commanded by Houtman and Van Neck. The latter was a mariner of much experience and diſtinguiſhed intrepidity. They proceeded on their voyage in the beginning of 1599, and arrived at Acheen, in the iſland Sumatra, towards the latter end of that year. About three months after their departure from Holland, the Zealand company diſpatched a ſquadron of four ſhips to the ſouthern parts of Java, to which the dominions of the king of Bantam did not extend; ſo that the Dutch flag might not again be expoſed to the inſults of that prince, or the objects of the voyage fruſtrated by the fraud and treachery of his people.

But of all the mercantile companies which were at this period formed in the United Provinces, that which was eſtabliſhed by the merchants of Rotterdam appears to have been the moſt bold and enterpriſing. Animated by the example of the Portugueze, whoſe brilliant exploits and important diſcoveries they were emulous to equal, they reſolved to ſend a fleet to the ſpice iſlands by way of the Straits of Magellan, and thereby add the fame of having encompaſſed the globe, to the more ſolid acquiſition of commercial advantages. The fleet, which was equipped for this purpoſe, conſiſted of five ſhips, the chief command of which was given to James Mahu, a native of Antwerp, who had been employed in the Spaniſh ſervice, and who had made ſeveral voyages to the South Sea. According to his inſtructions he ſailed on this hazardous expedition in July 1599, and, after encountering the moſt imminent dangers, and ſurmounting innumerable difficulties, reached the Moluccas in nineteen months, but with the loſs of two of his ſhips.

The united company of Amſterdam, in the mean while, carried on their trade, and puſhed forward their ſchemes with indefatigable induſtry and unremitting activity. Without waiting for the return of the fleet which had been ſent out under Houtman and Van Neck, they diſpatched a ſquadron of three ſhips, commanded by Stephen Vander Hagan, in the autumn of 1599. About ſix months ſubſequent to the departure of this ſquadron, Van Neck arrived in the Texel with

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four ships richly laden with various valuable commodities, which he had obtained at Acheen. The success with which this voyage had been crowned was at once the most gratifying reward of the toil and cares, and the strongest incentive to the future exertions of the company. No time was consumed in idle and unprofitable rejoicings; but in the true spirit of trade, business was carried on with an undeviating attention, enlivened without being interrupted by the pleasure which good fortune had inspired. Within four months after Van Neck's arrival, his ships were unloaded, completely repaired, and again dispatched to Acheen.

Towards the latter end of this year another squadron, of four ships, was fitted out and sent to India by a company of Brabant merchants, who resided in Amsterdam, and who came thither with the view of participating in the alluring commerce of the East. In March 1600, this new company dispatched two ships to the Moluccas, which sailed under convoy of a considerable fleet belonging to the old Amsterdam company, commanded by Van Neck. This circumstance is a striking proof that, between these two companies, there did not exist any of that jealousy which mercantile rivalship usually creates; and it, therefore, places in a very advantageous light, the sober sense and generous policy of those merchants to whom the Dutch commonwealth was indebted for all its opulence and power. It is, indeed, a curious fact in the history of commerce, that the various rival East India companies at this period established in the United Provinces, maintained with each other a cordial good will and uninterrupted harmony, whilst, at the same time, each of them strenuously strove for the attainment of the same objects, and the palm of commercial pre-eminence.

The prodigious increase of the Dutch trade to India, in the short period of five years, was a natural consequence of this good understanding that subsisted amongst the several companies engaged in it, of the enlarged principles on which they acted, and of the unremitting industry which stimulated their exertions. In the year 1600, no less than forty ships, from 400 to 600 tons burden, sailed from Holland to the Indian islands, and returned in the course of two years with valuable cargoes; so that almost the whole of the spice trade was now in the hands of the Dutch.

The Portugueze merchants beheld this great advancement of their rivals with a mixture of amazement and despair. Depressed and enervated by the subjugation of their country, they neglected to watch the progress of the Dutch in the Indian trade, and were little aware of its extraordinary rapidity: and Philip the Second, occupied with matters of more immediate importance, and about which his personal ambition was infinitely more concerned, was equally inattentive to the increasing power and consequence of his revolted subjects. The propagation of the Catholic faith being one great object of his ambition, he looked to India with a religious, rather than a political or commercial eye; and accordingly instructed the viceroy of Goa to establish an inquisition in that city, and to render all his public measures subservient to the interests of the church. Hence all the Portugueze settlements in India were filled with ecclesiastics, who ruled over both the civil and military power with a very arrogant sway, and who employed

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played all their resources in fruitless endeavours to convert the natives to the doctrines of Christianity. In this state of things, the affairs of commerce were no longer conducted with that spirit and regularity which is essential to their prosperity; and the small establishments in the Eastern Archipelago, which owed not only their strength, but their existence, to the lucrative trade carried on in those parts, felt severely this relaxation of commercial vigour, and sunk gradually into feebleness, inactivity, and sloth. None of these circumstances escaped the perspicacity of the Dutch traders, who turned them to their own advantage with a dexterous address. They represented to the Malays that the benefits to be derived from trading with humble and unassuming merchants like themselves, were greatly superior to those which flowed from their intercourse with the Portugueze, who partook more of the character of warriors than of traders; who came amongst them with views of conquest, rather than of commerce, and whose real object was not merely to reduce them to slavery, but also to compel them to abjure the religion of Mahommed, and to embrace the church of Christ. This representation was secretly made to the Malay chiefs at all the different islands on which the Portugueze had formed settlements, and industriously circulated amongst the people. The effect which it produced corresponded with the intentions, and fulfilled the wishes, of the Dutch. The Malays, naturally of a suspicious temper, had long been apprehensive of the designs of the Portugueze, of which the remembrance of their former hostility warned them to beware, and which the information they now received determined them to anticipate and resist. Accordingly, in A. D. 1600, the Portugueze settlers in some of the Molucca islands were attacked by the Malays with remarkable impetuosity, and being at that period not at all prepared to repulse so unexpected and desperate an assault, they abandoned their houses and property, and fled to their ships in the utmost consternation. In the island of Sumatra, the king of Acheen assembled a formidable force, into which several Dutchmen entered as volunteers, and marched against the small fortress which the Portugueze had erected at the bottom of the bay of Acheen. This place was neither protected by regular works, nor by a sufficient garrison; but the governor, relying on the ignorance of his enemy, as well as on the tried bravery of his own troops, resolved to defend it, although he might easily have effected a secure retreat, as there were several Portugueze ships lying at a small distance from the shore. The Malay king, however, prompted by the instigations of the Dutch, allowed him little time for preparation. On the third night after the governor had received intelligence of his hostile intention, the Malays arrived at the fortress unobserved, and having, according to their mode of attack, armed themselves only with *creeses*, or long daggers, they crept in perfect silence along the ground, and formed a lodgement in the ditch, from whence they scaled the walls, and stormed the garrison, who, unapprised of their approach, were filled with dismay, and yielded to their fury without resistance. But no submission could disarm the rage of the Malays; the blood of the Portugueze could alone appease it; and every European belonging to the garrison was put to death. The commanders of the Portugueze ships

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ſhips in the road, aſtoniſhed and alarmed at this event, and more fearful of the ſecret machinations of the Dutch, than the open hoſtility of the Malays, ſet ſail for Malacca, and communicated to the governor of that ſettlement the fatal account of what had happened at Acheen.

The combined force of theſe events gave a blow to the Portuguese power in the Eaſtern iſlands, from which it never recovered. It was in vain that the governor of Malacca, and the principal officers at the other ſettlements, endeavoured to regain their influence over the Malay chiefs. By means of the conſtant intercourſe between the different iſlands, intelligence of the affair at Acheen was ſpeedily ſpread throughout the greateſt part of the Archipelago, and fully ſatisfied the Malays, that the Portugueze were no longer that formidable people, whoſe military ſkill and perſonal proweſs it had been deemed impoſſible to diſconcert and ſubdue. Hence the terror of their name no more exiſted either to inſpire confidence in the chiefs who had eſpouſed their intereſts, or to intimidate into obedience thoſe who ventured to oppoſe them. The former now treated them with indifference, and the latter glowed with impatience to avenge the wrongs they had ſuffered. The Dutch were, therefore, received with ſtronger marks of favour and diſtinction than the Malays had hitherto thought it prudent to ſhew. In the iſlands of Celebes and Ternate, as well as at the Moluccas, the inhabitants not only ſupplied them with ſpices of a much finer quality than any they had yet ſeen, but readily agreed to reſerve for them alone theſe exquiſite aromatics.

The Portugueze ſettlers thus ſaw themſelves ſupplanted by their fortunate rivals in one of the moſt valuable branches of the Indian trade; and the mortification which it gave them was augmented and embittered by a conſciouſneſs of the imbecility of their condition, which totally diſabled them from adopting any effectual meaſures to retrieve their affairs. Their only reſource was to repreſent to the viceroy of Goa the ſurpriſing events which had occurred, the humiliating ſituation to which they were reduced, and the vaſt loſs which their country had thereby ſuſtained. But that governor, however much he might have felt himſelf called upon, on this important occaſion, to protect the intereſts of commerce, poſſeſſed not a naval force ſufficient to encounter, with any probability of ſucceſs, the numerous ſquadrons of the Dutch, which, though conſiſting only of trading veſſels, were well manned and ſtrongly armed. And the Dutch traders conſequently purſued their good fortune, and gave full ſcope to their ſchemes without the ſmalleſt moleſtation.

Upon intelligence of theſe proceedings in India being communicated to the court of Madrid, Philip's reſentment againſt the Dutch, which, in the gratification of other paſſions, had for a while lain dormant and forgotten, was revived with all its former violence. The meaſure that he adopted in conſequence ſufficiently beſpoke the ſtate of mind in which it was concerted. It was evidently the effect of a ſudden ebullition of rage, and was carried into execution with correſpondent precipitation. Orders were iſſued for all armed ſhips then in the ports of Spain and Portugal to put to ſea without a moment's delay, for the purpoſe of intercepting the Dutch ſquadron on their way to India. Accordingly a fleet, conſiſting

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ſiſting of upwards of thirty ſhips, of various ſizes, was ſoon aſſembled off Liſbon, and proceeded from thence towards the iſlands of Cape de Verde, near which the outward bound Dutch ſhips uſually paſſed. The Dutch had no previous knowledge of this deſign on the part of Spain, and of the large armament which had been fitted out againſt them. But aware of the unappeaſable enmity of Philip, as well as of the rancorous jealouſy of the Portugueze, they never permitted their fleets to leave Holland unprepared to avenge an inſult, or reſiſt an attack. In the month of May 1601. a fleet of eight ſhips, belonging to the old Amſterdam company, fell in with the Spaniſh armament. Each of the Dutch ſhips mounted ſixteen guns of a ſmall caliber, and was manned with ſixty ſeamen, and a conſiderable number of ſoldiers. Such a vaſt diſproportion in the apparent force of the two fleets raiſed the hopes of the Spaniards, and ſeemed to promiſe them not only a certain, but an eaſy conqueſt. The Dutch, on the other hand, were neither diſconcerted by the unexpected ſight of an enemy, nor diſmayed by their formidable aſpect. Commodore George Spilbergan, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf in maintaining the honour of the republican flag, at once determined either to fight his way through the enemy's fleet, or periſh in the attempt. Conformably with this gallant reſolution, he formed his ſhips into a cloſe line of battle, and with undaunted ſteadineſs continued his courſe. The Spaniſh fleet being to windward, bore down in three diviſions, with a view to ſurround the Dutch, and expoſe them to a double fire. But the great irregularity with which they performed this manœuvre threw them into confuſion. Spilbergan, immediately taking the advantage of this circumſtance, opened a well directed cannonade, which did ſuch conſiderable damage to the enemy, that after an action of two hours, they were compelled to deſiſt, and the Dutch purſued their voyage in triumph and ſecurity.

Such was the iſſue of the mighty plan of Philip to humble the power of the Dutch; a natural reſult both of the narrow views which it embraced, and the inconſiderate manner in which it was framed. When the Spaniſh fleet returned home with the tidings and the evidences of its own diſcomfiture, he ſaw too late the fatal error he had committed in having conſulted his feelings rather than his judgement. He likewiſe was convinced that the Dutch ſeamen were far too ſkilful both in navigating and in fighting their ſhips, and that their ſhips were too well equipped for all the purpoſes of hoſtility, to afford any rational hope of being able to repreſs the growing greatneſs of the Indian trade, except by employing the whole reſources of his country to carry on againſt it a ſyſtematic naval war on the moſt enlarged ſcale of attack. But as he was already engaged in a war in which he had a much deeper intereſt, and which it required the greateſt part of his immenſe treaſures to ſupport, he felt it impoſſible to entertain that deſign, and conſequently abandoned the Dutch commerce, as well as his own poſſeſſions in India, to the different deſtinies which awaited them.

The Portugueze governors in India, finding their repreſentations availed not to obtain any ſupport from their ſovereign, deviſed various ſtratagems to counteract the progreſſive

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progreſſive aſcendancy of the Dutch, and to diſturb, at leaſt, if not to deſtroy, the friendly intercourſe which ſubſiſted between them and the Malay princes. Some of theſe artifices, though inherently baſe and ignoble, were contrived with much ingenuity, and practiſed with peculiar addreſs. The one which was moſt ſucceſsful, but which moſt redounded to the ſhame of men who valued themſelves ſo highly on their religious purity, was the ſending emiſſaries to the king of Acheen in the character of pious proſelytes, who had abjured the Chriſtian and adopted the Muſſulman faith. Under this ſpecious guiſe, the Acheeneſe monarch, who was a weak man, and a bigotted Mahommedan, received them with diſtinguiſhed favour, and readily liſtened to the artful inſinuations with which they endeavoured to leſſen his reſpect for the Dutch, and to awaken his jealouſy of their views. By degrees he began to ſhew conſiderable diſtruſt and apprehenſion in his communications with the Dutch commanders then at the port of Acheen. Amongſt theſe was the celebrated Houtman, who ſoon obſerved this change in the king's manner, and who was likewiſe aware of the real cauſe from which it aroſe; but he wanted the diſcretion and ſelf-command neceſſary to prevent the conſequences which it was intended to produce. He yielded to the firſt impulſe of his feelings, and, in a high tone of indignation, demanded from the Malay prince an explanation of the motives which led to this deſertion of their wonted confidence and friendſhip. To this no anſwer was made; but on the ſucceeding night ſeveral *proas* ſurrounded Houtman's ſhip, and attempted to board her: a deſperate conflict enſued, which laſted for upwards of two hours, when the Malays were conſtrained to relinquiſh their object, and return precipitately to the ſhore. The ſlaughter of the aſſailants was immenſe, that of the Dutch inconſiderable; but they had the misfortune to loſe their gallant commander, whoſe courage, generoſity, and public ſpirit merited a more diſtinguiſhed fate.

A few days ſubſequent to this event, Spilbergan arrived at Acheen with his victorious fleet; and upon being informed of the rupture with the king, and the cauſe to which it was to be attributed, he immediately ſent a deputation to him, with a ſtrong remonſtrance, requiring ample reparation for the aggreſſion he had committed, the diſmiſſal of the Portugueze emiſſaries, by whom he had been inſtigated to ſuch unprovoked and unjuſtifiable violence, and a renewal of thoſe commercial indulgences which he had found it ſo beneficial to his own intereſt to extend to the Dutch, and of which, by the integrity of their conduct, and the fairneſs of their dealings, they had proved themſelves ſo highly deſerving. After ſome deliberation the king conſented to what appeared to him to be the chief object of the remonſtrance. He acknowledged his having been ſeduced into a belief that the Dutch meditated the conqueſt of his dominions, but that as he was now convinced they had no ſuch intention, he would give no further countenance to thoſe who had led him to ſuſpect it, and would cheerfully re-eſtabliſh the friendly intercourſe which, to their mutual advantage, had ſubſiſted between them. Spilbergan, who, though endowed with a high ſpirit of patriotiſm, was extremely avaricious, not ſatisfied with the aſſurances of

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of obtaining a cargo; and thus, with the short-sighted selfishness of a narrow mind, compromised the honour of his country for those partial interests of his employers, which that honour could alone effectually secure.

Whilst these occurrences were passing at Acheen, the Dutch agents at the Moluccas were much molested by small Spanish privateers, that had been sent thither by the governor of Manilla, and the other settlements in the Philippine islands, in order to annoy the Dutch traders, by cruising in the narrow channels and shoal water on the coasts of Gilolo, and cutting off their supplies of spices in places where their larger and less manageable vessels were unable to pursue them. The zealous co-operation of the Portuguese, and the increasing naval force of the Spaniards in the Philippines, gave great facility to the prosecution of this predatory warfare, which obstructed the commerce of their rivals, without exposing themselves to the risk and incurring the expense of direct hostility.

The Philippine Islands were first discovered to the nations of Europe by the celebrated navigator Ferdinand Magalhaens, or Magellan, in A. D. 1521. They are situated to the northward of the Moluccas, and extend from the fifth to the nineteenth degree of north latitude. The three principal islands of this extensive groupe are, Luzonia, Magendanao, and Pulowa. Magendanao, the southermost of the whole, is distant from Gilolo 130 miles. Pulowa stretches from Luzonia to within sixty miles of the coast of Borneo, and by the intervention of Balanbangan, Balbac, and Banguey, forms that chain of islands which bounds the China Sea to the eastward. Though Spain certainly considered these islands as an indefeasible property, to which the discovery of Magellan had given her a right, yet, until the reign of Philip the Second, only one attempt was made to colonize them, by the viceroy of Mexico, which proved unsuccessful. In 1564, that monarch formed the scheme of sending another armament thither across the Pacific Ocean from Mexico, in order to take possession of the islands in his name, and to establish colonies in those that appeared to be the most fertile and productive. A powerful fleet was accordingly fitted out from the port of Nativity, on the west coast of New Spain, under the command of Don Lopez de Legaspi, a native of that country, who carried with him a commission as adelantado of the Philippine isles. On the arrival of the fleet at its destination, that officer met with little opposition from the natives, who are of a mild and peaceable character; and in the course of a few years he founded settlements in the islands of Zebu and Negros, as well as in those already mentioned. But finding that Luzonia abounded with mines of gold, which the Spaniards considered as the source of every earthly blessing, and likewise discovering on its western coast a secure and spacious harbour, Legaspi devoted all his attention to this valuable island. He, therefore, chose a place called Manilla, favourably situated at the head of this harbour, as the station best suited for the capital of his new establishment. On the 24th of June 1571, being the anniversary of the feast of St. John the Baptist, the foundation of the city of Manilla was laid with great religious solemnity; and an extensive plan for the erection of its buildings and fortifications

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fortifications was thenceforward carried into effect. During the progreſs of this ſplendid work, the new colony had the misfortune to loſe its governor Legaſpi, to whoſe judgement, activity, and zeal his country is indebted for theſe poſſeſſions. His ſucceſſor, Don Guido-de-Lombazarris, however, being of an enterpriſing and aſpiring mind, followed up and accompliſhed all his principal ſchemes. Finding that Chineſe traders had, from the earlieſt times, reſorted annually to the iſland for the ſale of ſome of their coarſer manufactures, which they exchanged for gold duſt with the Tagalians, who inhabited its ſhores, and who, ſince their converſion to Mahommedaniſm, in the eleventh century, had gained ſome knowledge of commerce, Lambazarris reſolved to give every encouragement to an intercourſe from which he foreſaw ſo many advantages would ultimately flow. A conſiderable number of Chineſe merchants were conſequently induced to ſettle at Manilla, under the protection of the Spaniſh government. Theſe induſtrious people ſupplied the colony not only with the commodities of their own country, but alſo with thoſe of Hinduſtan and of every other nation in Aſia. From them Lambazarris learned that, though China contained many rich mines of gold and ſilver, it had always been the policy of their government not to work them; that theſe precious metals were, therefore, imported from foreign countries; and that as they never converted gold into money, but preferred ſilver for that purpoſe, the demand for the latter was exceedingly great.—Nothing could be more gratifying to the Spaniards than this information, which opened to them ſuch a clear and extenſive proſpect of a very profitable trade. The facility with which they could now furniſh the Chineſe with ſilver from Mexico, and carry thither in return the valuable productions of the Eaſt, where the cheap rate at which they would be able to diſpoſe of them, would inſure a ready ſale, ſeemed to juſtify, on rational and ſolid grounds, all the ſanguine expectations that they were led to form, and the ſpeculations in which they were incited to embark. The trade to America was, therefore, commenced with high hopes and proportional ardour. In the beginning of 1580, three ſhips ſailed from Manilla to Callao, on the coaſt of Peru, and Acapulco, on the coaſt of New Spain, laden with the commodities of China and Hinduſtan; and theſe returned in the courſe of two years with a cargo of ſilver, which the Chineſe merchants beheld with ſatisfaction, and on which they placed a higher value than on any they had ever before ſeen. This proſperous beginning gave freſh zeal to the government of Manilla; and from this time forward two or three ſhips were diſpatched regularly every year to New Spain, for which province the commodities of the Eaſt were, after ſome years, ſolely reſerved; the Peruvians being excluded, by rigorous edicts, from any participation in the trade. The wealth which the Spaniſh coloniſts at Manilla ſoon realized from this traffic, conferred a degree of importance on that ſettlement, which, from its being ſubordinate to the government of Mexico, and from its having no direct intercourſe with the mother country, it could never otherwiſe have acquired. That Spain ſhould allow an eſtabliſhment of great importance to continue a dependency of her American colonies, and that thoſe colonies ſhould be

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be permitted to enjoy the very considerable advantages arising from it, to the exclusion of all her other subjects, as well as to the obvious detriment of her home manufactures, and in repugnance to the fundamental principles of her colonial policy, are circumstances that can only be explained or accounted for, by a reference to those political anomalies which abound in the history of every state, and which the combined operation of ignorance, prejudice, individual interests, and the conflicting passions of mankind have a natural tendency to produce.

At the period of which we are treating, the colony of Manilla was in a highly flourishing condition, and had arrived at considerable power. Under the auspicious administration of the marquis de Figuero all the smaller islands, which lie between Magendanao and Luzonia, were taken possession of, and settlements formed in each of them, proportioned to the value of its productions and the number of its inhabitants, rather than to its geographical extent. The fierce race of people, who inhabited the interior parts of Magendanao, and who had hitherto resisted the utmost efforts of the Spanish arms, were almost entirely subdued, and that fertile island thereby rendered an effective addition to the strength, instead of being a drain upon the resources of the supreme government. In the expedition to Magendanao, Figuero died; but being succeeded by an officer no less sagacious and intrepid, the various objects which he had in view for the improvement, as well as the aggrandisement of the Philippine colonies were happily pursued and attained. This success resulted from the industry of the colonists, animated and directed by a wise and vigorous government, which, studying the real interests of the people, gave every possible encouragement to commerce, and protected them from the encroachments of ecclesiastical domination, without lessening the moral influence, or violating the dignity of the church. The Jesuit missionaries, who settled at Manilla in 1601, were employed usefully and inoffensively in endeavouring, by the gentlest means, to civilize the rude inhabitants of the Luzonian mountains, and to impress on their untutored minds a belief in the sacred truths of the Christian revelation: but they never possessed the smallest weight in the administration of civil affairs, notwithstanding the refined subtlety of that policy with which they unceasingly strove to obtain it. There cannot be a more incontestible proof of the civil government of Manilla being uninfluenced by the priesthood, and of its making the advancement of commerce the ruling principle of its conduct, than the religious toleration which it granted to the foreign merchants who resided in the colony. Soon after the final establishment of the Acapulco trade, fifteen thousand Chinese, and six thousand Japanese, had settled in the city of Manilla, where they enjoyed the privileges of citizens, and the free exercise of their religion. This circumstance seems to have arisen from the commercial spirit which actuated this government, aided by its having no direct communication with Spain, and by its being at such a distance from the parent colony of Mexico, as to render it almost independent of any control. Far removed from the pernicious prejudices and infatuated bigotry which governed and disgraced the councils of their sovereign, the colonists in the Philip-

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pines pursued their own interests, and cultivated the arts of peace on a system of policy equally generous, prudent, and beneficial. The striking contrast between their condition and that of the Portugueze, could not fail to make a strong impression on the Dutch, who accordingly resolved to adopt a defensive plan in regard to the former; but, at the same time, to endeavour to rival their power in the Eastern Archipelago, by working the destruction of the latter with all the influence of secret artifice and the force of avowed hostility.

In order, therefore, to carry this resolution into effect, the states-general granted commissions to the commanders of India ships, and made the different companies to whom they belonged provide them completely with all the implements of war. By these commissions the Dutch traders were empowered to make reprisals on all nations who should disturb their commerce, or offer the slightest insult to their flag. In the beginning of 1602, James Heemskirk, vested with this authority, and honoured with the rank of admiral, sailed from the Texel for Bantam, with a squadron of four ships, each carrying twenty guns, and a proportional number of men. Having arrived at Bantam, he found the chief of that country still suspicious of the intentions of the Dutch, and unwilling to trade with him on reasonable terms. He, therefore, departed from thence, and proceeded to the island of Celebes. On his passage thither he fell in with a large Portugueze carrack, bound from China to Europe; and, after a feeble defence, compelled her to surrender. This capture was extremely valuable in itself, and of much importance in the salutary consequences to which it led. The Portugueze had endeavoured to impress the Malays with a notion, that the Dutch were considered in Europe as a band of desperate pirates, who, having thrown off allegiance to their sovereign, and absolved themselves from all religious and moral obligations, were not entitled to quarter as enemies, much less to credit as merchants. Heemskirk, no less solicitous to wipe away than to avenge this calumny, thought the capture of the carrack a fit occasion to shew that the character of the Dutch had been unjustly aspersed. Accordingly, he treated his prisoners with peculiar respect, hospitality, and kindness, and, excepting the captain and chaplain, sent the whole of them to Goa, without a ransom, which, in similar cases, it was then the custom of the Portugueze, as well as of the other maritime nations, to exact. This mutual liberality, therefore, drew from the viceroy of Goa a letter of thanks, expressive both of his admiration and his gratitude. This letter, which it was the principal object of Heemskirk to obtain, fully answered the purpose it was intended to serve. Having got it translated into the Malay language, he dispatched copies of it to all the native princes, thereby disproving the accusations which had been brought against the Dutch on the most unequivocal, and, to them, the most honourable evidence.

Whilst the Dutch commerce in India was attended with such prodigious prosperity, the affairs of the different companies at home became involved in difficulties, of which that prosperity was the primary cause. The desire of adventuring in the India trade, which pervaded the United Provinces, and which gained

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gained ſtrength at the completion of every voyage, at laſt produced ſo many rival companies, each of them ſtriving to ſurpaſs the other in diligence and activity, that the markets were glutted with Indian commodities, and the price of them conſequently fell upwards of 40 per cent. This depreciation in the value of goods, which were procured at ſo great an expenſe, proved fatal to ſome of the companies, and was ſeverely felt by all. Even thoſe aſſociations who were the moſt able to bear this loſs, were ſeized with ſuch apprehenſion, that they declined embarking in further adventures; and many ſhips, and ſeveral hundred ſeamen, were thrown out of employment. A temporary ſtagnation, therefore, took place in the India trade; and the whole nation was filled with diſappointment, agitation, and alarm. The ſtates-general, fearful of the conſequences which might ariſe from this general confuſion, deemed it incumbent on them to take meaſures for the reſtoration of a branch of commerce about which the public intereſt was ſo peculiarly ſtrong, and on the ſtability of which a great part of the national wealth and power materially depended. After a long and mature deliberation, it appeared to them expedient to exhort the principal companies to join their funds in one general ſtock, to form them into a body corporate, and thus conſtituted, to inveſt them by a patent with the ſole privilege of trading to India, to the entire excluſion of all the other ſubjects of the republic. Repugnant as this meaſure undoubtedly was to the feelings of the people at large, it proved highly acceptable to thoſe companies who were yet rich enough to partake of the advantages which it held out; and though it occaſioned a conſiderable degree of diſſatisfaction and diſtruſt, ſuch was the perſuaſion which the government entertained of its utility, that it was carried into effect with all the expedition which the nature of its various arrangements would allow: and on the 20th of March 1602, the new corporation, intitled "The Dutch Eaſt India Company," was formally inſtituted at the Hague. The patent, or *octroy*, commenced on the ſame day; and was granted for twenty-one years. Its conditions were, that the company ſhould poſſeſs the complete monopoly of the India trade during the term ſpecified; and that the ſtate, in return for this extenſive privilege, ſhould have a ſhare in their capital equal to 25,000 florins, and likewiſe a duty of 3 per cent. on all their exports, except bullion. The whole ſtock of the new company conſiſted of 6,600,000 guilders, or about 600,000l. ſterling; which was divided into different ſhares in the following manner:—One-half to the merchants of Amſterdam, one-fourth to thoſe of Middleburgh, and to thoſe of Delft, Rotterdam, Enchuyſen, and Hoorn, a ſixteenth each. The capital thus allotted was depoſited at Amſterdam, where the general buſineſs of the company was tranſacted by ſixty directors, choſen by the different claſſes of proprietors, who proportioned the number of their deputies to the value of their ſeveral ſhares.

The ſtates-general, in eſtabliſhing this monopoly, appear to have been in ſome degree influenced by the example of England; but as the circumſtances which led to the formation of the Engliſh India Company were entirely different from thoſe which gave riſe to that of the Dutch, the latter cannot be defended on the ſame principles as

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the former. When Elizabeth granted a charter of exclusive privileges to the London Company, for the purpose of embarking in the India trade, the external commerce of England was yet in the first stage of its progress, and her merchants possessed not sufficient capital to engage in so great and hazardous an undertaking, either singly or in copartnership, without the aid of that credit which the advantages of such a charter could alone procure. That enlightened princess, therefore, with a view to encourage the industry, and call forth the commercial enterprize of her subjects, adopted the only practicable means of securing to them a share in a branch of trade, which had justly become an object of so much rivalship amongst the mercantile nations of Europe. But the establishment of an exclusive company in Holland was not called for by an expediency of that nature, nor on grounds so laudable or just. The Dutch, who were the most active, and, in comparison with their frugal habits of life, the most opulent merchants in Europe, had previously carried on the India trade for upwards of six years with astonishing success; and the grievance complained of, that had occasioned such embarrassment, arose not from a deficiency, but from a superabundance of capital, which, by holding out an incitement to import Indian commodities to an indefinite extent, necessarily produced an immense overflow in the market. This evil, however, carried its own remedy along with it. The loss which the different companies sustained by the depreciation of their goods, was of itself the strongest possible motive for them to repair it by pursuing their trade with a prudence informed by the experience, and a zeal moderated by the discretion they had bought. If, therefore, those companies had been left to their own natural resources, the alarm, without its having done any injury to the nation, would soon have subsided, and the India trade returned within its original channel, would have continued to flow in a steady and regular course. By this means the freedom of commerce, so essential to the integrity and well-being of a nation that subsisted by merchandize, would have been preserved: whereas, by government interposing its authority, and granting to a particular body of merchants a monopoly of that valuable trade, the liberal maxims on which it had hitherto been conducted were abandoned, and a sordid selfish system introduced in their stead. The company, it is true, brought immense wealth into Holland, and acquired considerable political consequence in India; but it is no less true that, in proportion as their power extended, their principles became contracted and debased.

The new company commenced their operations with great alacrity, and carried them on with uncommon expedition. Within four months after they received their charter, they had a fleet of fourteen large ships fully equipped and ready for sea. In the beginning of June 1602, this fleet sailed from the Texel, under the command of admiral Wybrant van Waerwyk, and arrived at the Moluccas, in the February following, after a prosperous though tedious voyage. The arrival of so formidable a force very seasonably relieved the Dutch factors in the spice islands from the trepidation and alarm in which the constant aggressions of the Spaniards and Portugueze had for some time kept them. Their only protection had

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had been Van Neck's ſquadron, conſiſting of three ſhips, which, having recently ſuſtained a defeat off the coaſt of Gilolo, was diſabled from making any effectual oppoſition to the enemy. On the appearance of Van Waerwyk's fleet, the Spaniſh cruiſers withdrew from the Moluccas, and the Portugueze returned to their ſettlements in the adjacent iſlands, from whence they did not venture to depart. Thus, without adopting any offenſive meaſures, or even ſtriking a ſingle blow, Van Waerwyk reſtored tranquillity to the iſlands, and thereby enabled the factors to renew their trade with the natives, and to complete the cargo of Van Neck's ſquadron. Before the departure of this commander for Europe, another fleet, conſiſting of thirteen ſail, arrived at Gilolo, commanded by Stephen Vander Hagen, who brought with him a conſiderable body of troops, and inſtructions from the directors of the company to endeavour to reduce the few ſettlements which the Portugueze ſtill retained in the Moluccas; and to hold out every poſſible inducement to perſuade the Malay chiefs not only to join them in this attempt, but to obtain their permiſſion to erect fortifications, in order to protect the Dutch factories againſt the formidable hoſtility of the Spaniards, which the meditated attack would of courſe provoke, and which the furious denunciation of Philip the Second had prepared them to expect. This denunciation was contained in a declaration publiſhed in the beginning of 1605, prohibiting the inhabitants of the United Provinces to trade to any part of the dominions of Spain, either in America or India, under pain of the moſt ignominious puniſhment: and nothing could have been more happily calculated to rouſe the ardour of the Dutch people, to reconcile all differences amongſt them, to ſtrengthen and conſolidate the power of the company, and to gift them with an energy and inſpire them with an animation equal to the juſtneſs of their cauſe, to the magnitude of the danger with which it was menaced, and to the enormous inſolence of their enemy. Accordingly they determined, by one bold and deciſive meaſure, to anticipate the threatened blow, and thereby not only ſecure to themſelves the excluſive trade of the ſpice iſlands, but likewiſe ſuch a favourable poſition as would enable them to carry on the operations of war with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs. In order to enſure the accompliſhment of theſe advantages, two additional fleets were fitted out and diſpatched to the ſpice iſlands, for the purpoſe of forming a junction with thoſe already there. The firſt of theſe conſiſted of eleven ſhips, and the other of eight: both of them were well equipped for warlike ſervices; and on board of each one thouſand veteran ſoldiers were embarked, commanded by gallant and experienced officers. On their arrival at the Moluccas, admiral Vander Hagen proceeded, without delay, to inveſt and bombard the Portugueze ſettlements at Amboyna and Tidore: and as theſe places were ill-calculated to reſiſt the regular aſſault of ſo large an armament, the batteries by which they were defended were ſoon ſilenced, and the garriſons conſtrained to capitulate, together with a number of Portugueze veſſels richly laden with ſpices, that lay at anchor at both iſlands, under cover of the fortreſſes. Thus the Portugueze loſt the whole of their poſſeſſions in the Moluccas; and the Dutch having landed their troops, and,

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by their ſucceſs, gained the favour of the native chiefs, they encountered no difficulty in eſtabliſhing themſelves in the conquered places, the fortifications of which they conſequently repaired, enlarged, and improved.

Vander Hagen, who was no leſs attentive to the commercial concerns of the company than to the military operations in which he had been engaged, in a few months after the reduction of Amboyna and Tidore, provided a quantity of ſpices ſufficient to load twelve of the largeſt ſhips, at a very reaſonable rate, and of a quality by far the fineſt for flavour and delicacy which had yet been ſent to Holland. Having ſhipped this valuable cargo, he intruſted it to the care of Van Waerwyk, who conveyed it ſafe to the Texel, together with the intereſting intelligence of the ſucceſs with which the company's arms had been crowned. One obſtacle, however, ſtill remained to the attainment of that complete monopoly of the ſpice trade which Vander Hagen had in view. The Engliſh had obtained a footing in the iſland of Banda, and, by their indefatigable exertions, enjoyed a conſiderable portion of this ineſtimable branch of the Indian commerce; and the cloſe friendſhip and alliance which then ſubſiſted between his country and England, precluded the adoption of any meaſure of immediate hoſtility in order to remove them. But ſuch was the nature of the jealouſy entertained not only by this officer, but by his maſters, of any rival whatever in this trade, that they reſorted to thoſe mean artifices to fruſtrate the views, and injure the intereſts of the Engliſh, which, in our laſt chapter, are unfolded and explained.

At this period the progreſs of the Dutch in the Archipelago met with a ſevere check, and their affairs were in conſequence reduced to a very critical ſituation, by the inconſiderate ardour with which Vander Hagen puſhed forward his operations againſt the Portugueze. As ſoon as that officer had compromiſed his difference with the Engliſh factors at Banda, he formed the project of fitting out an expedition againſt Malacca, which was now the only place of ſtrength that the Portugueze retained on this ſide of India. Accordingly he equipped an armament, conſiſting of the whole naval, and nearly the whole military force which he had in the Moluccas, and giving the chief command of it to Cornelius Matelief, an officer in his confidence, directed him to proceed to Malacca. But the Portugueze, appriſed of this deſign, had made ſuch preparations for a vigorous reſiſtance, that, after an obſtinate conteſt of five weeks, maintained on both ſides with equal bravery and ſkill, the aſſailants were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, with the loſs of one-third of their whole force. The failure of this expedition, however, was but an inconſiderable evil to the Dutch, in compariſon with the ſignal misfortune to which the improvidence of the project itſelf had given riſe. Vander Hagen, though certainly animated in a high degree with an ardent zeal for the aggrandiſement of his country, nevertheleſs neglected not to adapt all his ſchemes for that purpoſe to thoſe objects which appeared to him moſt conducive to the attainment of private wealth, and to the advancement of his perſonal ambition. In forming his plan for the reduction of Malacca, the combined force of theſe motives made him overlook every conſideration of prudent policy.

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licy. He was not aware that, by ſending ſo large an armament to Malacca, he in effect invited the Spaniards at Manilla to attack, or rather to take poſſeſſion of his newly acquired ſettlements in the ſpice iſlands. The Spaniſh admiral, ſtationed at the Philippines, received early information from the ſmall armed veſſels, which he had ſent to watch the motions of the Dutch, both of the ſailing of their formidable expedition, and of the defenceleſs ſtate in which their garriſons in the Moluccas were thereby left. He, therefore, loſt not a moment in taking advantage of theſe circumſtances, and diſpatched a large detachment of his fleet to Amboyna, under the command of Don Pedro d'Acuna, who, in the courſe of three days, compelled Vander Hagen to ſurrender, and then proceeded againſt the other poſſeſſions of the Dutch in thoſe iſlands, of which he ſoon made a complete and a bloodleſs conqueſt.

In the conteſts which, at this period, took place between the European powers in the Indian iſlands, the Malays generally eſpouſed the cauſe of the aſcendant party; and on the preſent occaſion the native chiefs of the Moluccas acquieſced without reluctance in the ſucceſs of the Spaniards. But the Spaniſh admiral, more ſolicitous about plunder and pillage, than in ſecuring to his country the fruits of his achievement, was not only indifferent to the diſpoſition which the Malays evinced in his favour, but neglectful of the common means of maintaining the honour of his national ſtandard at the fortreſſes on which he had planted it. In each of the ſettlements he left about fifty men, under the command of naval officers, who, though well ſkilled in their profeſſion, were utterly unqualified to hold the truſts committed to their charge. Don d'Acuna, having diſpatched two ſhips to Manilla with Vander Hagen and the other priſoners, ſet ſail with his fleet to the coaſt of Java, in queſt of a Dutch ſquadron, of which he had received intelligence. In leſs than a week after his departure, Cornelius Matelief returned to Amboyna from his unſucceſsful enterpriſe, and, totally ignorant of the events which had happened in his abſence, conſoled himſelf with the pleaſing idea of once again caſting anchor on a friendly ſhore. What then muſt have been his ſurpriſe, embarraſſment, diſappointment, and mortification, on being ſaluted on his arrival with a diſcharge of heavy ſhot, and on ſeeing the Spaniſh colours diſplayed from the batteries. His men, however, ſoon recovered from the conſternation into which theſe unexpected circumſtances had thrown them, and their panic was ſucceeded by the ſtrongeſt emotions of rage and reſentment. They felt exaſperated not leſs at the triumph of an enemy, for whom they bore the moſt deadly hatred, than at being ſhut out of a place to which they had looked with a fond aſſurance of finding refreſhment and relaxation, after all their hardſhips and fatigues. Prompted by theſe feelings, they conjured their commander to conduct them inſtantly on ſhore, and that, however powerful the garriſon might be, they would either carry the place by eſcalade, or fall gloriouſly in the attempt. Matelief, though he deemed it an undertaking of infinite peril, at laſt yielded to the importunate ſpirit of his crew; and having manned the boats of the fleet, he landed at the head of three hundred men, of tried intrepidity

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and valour. The Spaniards, on the other hand, alarmed at the boldneſs, as much as at the numbers of the aſſailants, fell into confuſion, and diſputed with each other whether they ſhould at once capitulate or reſolutely reſiſt the aſſault. Whilſt they continued in this perplexity, the Dutch puſhed forward to the walls, and being provided with ſcaling ladders, they mounted them with a dexterous celerity, which the feeble efforts of the beſieged ſerved to invigorate rather than oppoſe; and having gained the ramparts, they tore down the Spaniſh flag, and put the whole of the garriſon to the ſword: and the Malays, according to their policy, welcomed the conquerors, on whoſe ſuperior bravery they laviſhed their praiſe, and whoſe return they greeted with the moſt profuſe congratulations. Encouraged by this exploit, and being informed that the other ſettlements in theſe iſles had likewiſe fallen a ſacrifice to the Spaniſh fleet, he reſolved to recover them without delay. Having, therefore, entruſted the defence of the fortreſs at Amboyna to thoſe gallant veterans who retook it, he proceeded to the other iſlands, and in two months wreſted from the Spaniards all the places which Don d'Acuna had reduced.

Whilſt the Dutch and the Spaniards were thus occupied in India, the ſtates-general and the court of Madrid had opened a negotiation for concluding a treaty of peace, of which both nations had become equally deſirous: and the India company, with a view to give the world an high opinion of their patriotiſm, and thereby to induce the ſtates to attend to their intereſts in the negotiation, equipped an armed fleet of thirteen large ſhips, which they kept in readineſs for ſea; at the ſame time they preſented a memorial to government, ſetting forth the vaſt advantages which the country derived from their commerce; the number of perſons of both ſexes which it employed and maintained; the immenſe ſums of money which their ſales produced; and the great probability that exiſted of their being able, with proper ſupport and encouragement, to extend their trade and augment their profits. The public ſpirit evinced, and the arguments thus urged by the company, made a ſtrong impreſſion on the ſtates-general, and convinced them of the propriety of maintaining the intereſts of a body ſo powerful and ſo uſeful. But thoſe intereſts were ſo much at variance with the views of the Spaniſh court, that no addreſs on the part of the negotiators availed to obviate the difficulties that occurred in diſcuſſing the affairs of India; and both parties finding from thence that no cordial peace could be concluded, whilſt preliminary points of ſuch importance remained unadjuſted, a truce was at laſt agreed to; on the condition, that Spain ſhould not moleſt the commerce of the Dutch with independent and neutral nations in India, but that the Dutch ſhould not be permitted to enter any of the Portugueze or Spaniſh ports in that country. The company, in the mean while, had diſpatched ſeveral ſquadrons to India with reinforcements for the garriſons in the Moluccas; and Matelief, by that means, had been enabled to diſpoſſeſs the Portugueze of two ſmall but valuable ſettlements in the iſland of Celebes, before the intelligence of the truce arrived to put a period to his operations.

This truce, however, was not long preſerved in India; both parties

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ties submitted to it with reluctance, and the Dutch had many temptations to break it. They had at this time in the Indian seas fifty ships from six to eight hundred tons each, and all of them equally well adapted for the purposes of commerce and war. Possessed of such powerful means of extending their influence and acquiring wealth, and stimulated to fresh enterprises by a rapacious avarice, they could not restrain themselves from the hostile pursuit of advantages which appeared to be within their reach, and which, by pacific measures, they could never hope to obtain. The commanders of the different squadrons, therefore, declared, that the states-general had not consulted the interests of their subjects in India, in the stipulations they had made with Spain; that, however beneficial the truce might be in Europe, it was prejudicial to the Indian settlements; and that for these reasons they were resolved to recommence the war. They were the more urged to this determination by the alluring accounts of the island of Ceylon, which had been brought to Amboyna by Jorris Spilbergen, an officer of rank and abilities, who had been deputed by the company on a special mission to the king of Candy, for the purpose of discovering the sentiments which that monarch entertained of the Portugueze, and of sounding his intentions in regard to the encroachments they had made on his dominions. The reception he met with, and the information he obtained, opened the most encouraging prospect; and it was accordingly now agreed, that he should proceed to Holland with this favourable account, and that a squadron of seven ships should be immediately dispatched to Battacola, a port on the east coast of Ceylon, conveniently situated for carrying on an intercourse with the city of Candy. The chief command of this squadron was entrusted to Sebald de Weert, an officer who had been engaged in all the recent enterprises in the eastern islands, and who had on those occasions displayed abilities which gained him the applause of his superior officers, and which amply justified them in appointing him to the important situation he now filled.

In March 1605, he sailed from Amboyna, and proceeded by way of the Straits of Malacca to Acheen, where he received a supply of ammunition from the Dutch factors settled there, and a reinforcement of two hundred Malay soldiers from the king. His armament being thus strengthened, he continued his voyage, and, about the middle of June, cast anchor in the bay of Battacola.

The conquests of the Portugueze in Ceylon, and the extent of their territorial possessions there, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, have been described in the second chapter of this history. A profound peace had subsisted between them and the king of Candy for some years previous to the Dutch ambassador's arrival at the court of that monarch. But this tranquillity was not founded on any understood principle of public benefit, or sentiment of mutual confidence and concord. The Portugueze desisted only from carrying on war against Candy on account of the extreme difficulty and danger of penetrating the vast woods by which the country was protected; and the resentment of the Candians against the Portugueze was only repressed by a dread of their superior skill in military operations. Hence the

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proffered alliance of the Dutch proved highly acceptable to the king of Candy, who appears to have poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of political ſagacity. This prince had ſucceeded his uncle in the year 1600, and was elevated to the throne by the title of Rajah Larmu Suree. His dominions compriſed the whole of the interior diſtricts of Ceylon, together with that part of the eaſtern coaſt which extends from Battacola to Magame. In fertility and population theſe diſtricts greatly ſurpaſſed all the reſt of the iſland, and the internal reſources of the kingdom of Candy were, of courſe, proportionally extenſive. The people, though not of a warlike character, were reſolute and intrepid: the authority of the monarch, like that of other Aſiatic princes, was completely abſolute; the whole of the land in his dominions was, from immemorial cuſtom, his undivided property; and his revenues, which were almoſt entirely derived from the land, conſiſted of ſuch a proportion of its groſs produce as he choſe from time to time to demand from the cultivators, or as the circumſtances of the ſtate, in extraordinary emergencies, might require. His effective forces amounted to about 30,000 men, all of whom looked up to him with reverence, and obeyed his commands with promptitude and alacrity. By theſe means, added to the almoſt inacceſſible foreſts that ſurrounded his dominions, this prince prevented, and his predeceſſors were enabled to repel, the incurſions of the Portugueze, who were deteſted by them and by their ſubjects, not ſo much for having invaded their country, and for the wars which they had ſo often waged againſt it, as for the atrocious cruelty with which they treated their priſoners, and for profeſſing the propagation of the Chriſtian religion to be the ſole object of thoſe wars, and of that cruelty. The Candians are worſhippers of Buddha, which ſuperſtition was probably introduced amongſt them about the period of the Chriſtian era, when it had attained a conſiderable aſcendancy throughout Hinduſtan; and in many parts of the continent, as well as in Ceylon*, ſupplanted the Brahmanical ſyſtem. Though leſs rigid than the Hindus, they have always maintained their religious tenets with an equal degree of enthuſiaſm; and as theſe tenets, like thoſe they abjured, are interwoven with the whole of their civil inſtitutions and domeſtic economy, neither the arguments nor the arms of the Portugueze availed to convert them.

Such being the relative condition of the king of Candy and the Portugueze at this time, the arrival of the armament under Sebald de Weert filled the former with no leſs joy than it gave the latter uneaſineſs. A deputation was immediately ſent to Battacola, to invite the Dutch admiral to court; who accordingly proceeded thither, and was received with ſignal marks of diſtinction. The firſt object of de Weert was to gain a footing in the iſland, and for that purpoſe to obtain permiſſion from the king to erect a ſmall fortreſs at Battacola, under the pretext of preventing the Portugueze from taking poſſeſſion of that valuable port, and of thereby ſecuring a channel of communication with Candy. But finding, in his firſt interview,

* The towns and villages of Ceylon being named after the Hindu deities, and the numerous remains of Brahmanical temples ſtill extant in the iſland, are inconteſtable proofs that the religion of Brahma once prevailed amongſt its inhabitants.

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interview, that the king concealed, under the forms of reſpect and civility, an extreme jealouſy of ſtrangers, and was in reality very ſuſpicious of his views, he prudently determined to poſtpone any ſolicitation on that head, until he ſhould have eſtabliſhed himſelf in his confidence by obtaining ſome ſignal advantage over the Portugueze. Having, therefore, converſed with the rajah about the meaſures which he deſigned to purſue, he returned to his fleet, accompanied by two Candian officers of rank, who were ſpecially appointed to attend him in his expedition againſt the Portugueze. After freſh victualling his ſhips, he proceeded to ſea, with an intention of making a deſcent on the Portugueze ſettlement of Negombo: but when he approached near that place, he fell in with a ſquadron of the enemy, the greateſt part of which, after a deſperate conflict, he compelled to ſurrender: and his prizes proving to be of conſiderable value, he reſolved to ſecure them, by immediately returning to Battacola, and abandoning, for the preſent, his meditated attack. Upon the intelligence of this action reaching Candy, the rajah was impreſſed with a conviction of the vaſt ſuperiority of the Dutch; but he was, nevertheleſs, very much diſſatisfied with De Weert, for having relinquiſhed the expedition to Negombo, which he conſidered as an object of paramount importance, at a moment ſo fortunately favourable to its ſucceſs. From the ſolicitude of the Dutch admiral to ſecure the ſhips he had captured, he perceived that avarice was his ruling paſſion; and he juſtly concluded, that where that paſſion predominates in any great degree, it not only abſorbs every other motive of action, but deadens every ſentiment of faith and friendſhip. It, therefore, appeared to him highly impolitic, if not dangerous, to continue in alliance with a man who would only promote their mutual views as far as they ſuited his own particular intereſts, and whoſe intereſts were of a nature ſo different from his, that they would frequently, as on this occaſion, tend to obſtruct them. In this opinion the rajah was ſtill more confirmed by the account which he received from the officers whom he ſent with De Weert, of the manner in which the Portugueze priſoners were treated. It was repreſented to him, that the greateſt part of them had been releaſed, that thoſe who remained ſeemed to be conſidered as friends rather than enemies, and that many of the officers even lived with the admiral himſelf. Of this ſort of civility and apparent kindneſs between enemies, the Candians could form no conception: though they glowed with indignation at priſoners being ſubjected to cruelties on account of their religion, the only notion they had of treating them humanely was to leave them unmoleſted in ſtrict and perpetual confinement: and hence they naturally enough inferred, from the conduct obſerved by De Weert to his priſoners, that the Dutch and Portugueze were in reality ſecret friends, and that they only profeſſed enmity to each other in order to betray him, and thereby facilitate the ſubjugation of his country. De Weert, elated with his good fortune, and totally unconſcious of having given any cauſe of offence to his ally, no ſooner landed at Battacola than he haſtened to Candy, to receive his congratulations, and to make new arrangements for their future operations. But he was no leſs aſtoniſhed than mortified

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mortified at the cold and distant reception he met with; and still more so when the rajah accused him of breach of faith, in having released the Portugueze prisoners, and of a disregard at least, if not a dereliction of their common cause, in giving up an enterprise, which would have redounded so much to its advantage, for the sordid purpose of preventing the possible loss to himself of any of the prizes which had been taken. It was in vain that De Weert endeavoured to persuade him that, according to the usages of European nations, he was bound in honour to treat his prisoners in the manner he had done. The rajah replied, that as the Portugueze, in their wars with Candy, had absolved themselves not only of that obligation, but of every tie of humanity, he thought no faithful ally of his should have adhered to it in regard to them. His apology for relinquishing the expedition against Negombo was urged with still less effect: for the Candian monarch, who had never seen a ship, could not comprehend the meaning of the alleged necessity of returning into harbour to repair the damages which the fleet sustained in the action.

After many ineffectual attempts to convince the rajah of the rectitude of his intentions, and his unshaken fidelity, he thought it unsafe to continue longer at Candy, and accordingly returned on board his fleet, having first, however, obtained permission to purchase as much cinnamon as would load two of his ships, upon the express condition of his reducing the Portugueze settlement of Punto Gallo, situated on the southern coast of the island. But De Weert managed this matter with such address, that he procured the cinnamon in the first instance, and then delayed fulfilling his part of the agreement, under various and specious pretexts, in the hope of ultimately bringing the rajah to renew the treaty of alliance. With this view he ventured once more to visit the court of Candy, where his unexpected appearance excited the utmost surprise. It was inconceivable to the courtiers of Candy that any man should have the boldness and effrontery to present himself to their sovereign, after having so grossly deceived him by the non-performance of a positive stipulation. De Weert, however, upon being conducted to his presence, made a candid confession of the motives which had induced him to postpone the promised expedition against Punto Gallo; and told him that upon a re-consideration of the contract by which he had obtained the cinnamon, he could not consent to fulfil it, unless their former friendship was re-established. Enraged at the insolence of this avowal, and unaccustomed to be spoken to in so explicit a manner, the rajah instantly retired, ordering his attendants to seize De Weert, and confine him in a dungeon. To this ignominious treatment the valiant admiral refused to submit, and drawing his sword, defended himself for a considerable time, till at last being surrounded by armed men, and exhausted with fatigue, he received a stroke from a scymitar, which laid him dead on the ground. The agitation and disturbance which this event produced, soon spread the intelligence of De Weert's fate beyond the walls of the palace, and having reached the officers of his suite, they immediately sallied forth with a resolute determination to make a sacrifice of their own lives, in order to avenge the death of their commander. Though only ten

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ten in number, they cut their way through the crowds that thronged the ſtreets of the city, and in a frenzy of grief and rage, entered the gates of the palace, to the utter aſtoniſhment of the multitude, who, ſtupified with wonder at ſo daring an act, made no effort to oppoſe them. Their object was to make the rajah ſuffer at their hands the ſame death which he had inflicted on their commander. But they had no ſooner reached the inner apartments, than they were encompaſſed on all ſides, and a furious conflict enſued, in which every one of theſe brave men fell a victim to a virtuous but miſguided zeal.

Some weeks elapſed before the officers of the fleet obtained any account of the calamity which had befallen De Weert and his attendants. The rajah, aware of the power, and fearful of the retaliation of the Dutch, had given ſtrict orders throughout his dominions to keep the affair a profound ſecret; and he particularly commanded his people in the diſtrict of Battacola to ſhew the Dutch the utmoſt civility and attention: at the ſame time he ſent an ambaſſador to the Portugueze governor of Columbo, with propoſals to reſtore the good underſtanding between them, of which the artful conduct of the Dutch had produced a ſuſpenſion. This artifice ſucceeded according to his wiſhes. Nothing tranſpired regarding the fate of De Weert: and the governor of Columbo readily conſented to renew a treaty to which it ſuited his preſent intereſt to adhere.

The rajah, having thus accompliſhed his purpoſe, marched an army of 10,000 men into the neighbourhood of Battacola. On its arrival there, the commander ſent a meſſage to the Dutch, informing them that De Weert had treated the ſovereign of Candy with a degree of contumely which it was incompatible with his dignity to forgive; that he had, therefore, been ordered into confinement, but that not chooſing to ſubmit to this juſt puniſhment, he had fallen a ſacrifice to his own temerity: and that in conſequence of theſe circumſtances, the rajah commanded the Dutch fleet to depart from his country; being finally reſolved never again to have any communication with a people, who appeared to him alike deſtitute of that fidelity which is eſſential in all alliances, and of that reſpect and reverence which is due to the monarch of an independent nation.

The Dutch officers and ſeamen, by whom De Weert was cordially beloved, and whoſe fears for his ſafety had been excited by their not hearing from him, were thrown into the greateſt diſtreſs on receiving this meſſage. Filled with mingled ſenſations of regret and reſentment, their inclination prompted them to land in full force, to proceed againſt the Candians at all hazards, and to give them no quarter, until they had completely ſatiated their revenge. But though their paſſions powerfully urged them to this meaſure, and though they were reſtrained not by any motives either of policy or prudence, it was a ſingular circumſtance that no leader could be found amongſt them who would undertake the conduct of ſo daring an enterpriſe. There were not wanting in the fleet officers of ſpirit and abilities; but ſuch was the damp which the loſs of De Weert had caſt over them, and ſuch the high opinion they had been led to form of his ſuperior talents, that they were ſtruck with a conſciouſneſs of their own inferiority; and though

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though each of them was eagerly ſolicitous for the honour of commanding on ſo glorious an occaſion, not one of them would venture to offer his ſervices, and the ſeamen had not ſufficient confidence in any of them to make a particular choice. Whilſt they remained in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe and perplexity, an Arab trader brought them intelligence that the governor of Columbo had concluded a treaty of alliance with the king of Candy, and that a Portugueze fleet of ten ſail was on its way to attack them. There was now no queſtion left of the line of conduct to be purſued. Having diſpatched two ſhips to Holland with cinnamon, their ſquadron only conſiſted of five, and with ſuch a diſparity in point of numbers it was deemed adviſable to avoid an action with the Portugueze fleet, if it could be done with honour. They accordingly weighed anchor before the Portugueze appeared in ſight, and proceeded to the Straits of Sunda, and from thence to Amboyna.

The Dutch ſquadron arrived at the Moluccas at a very ſeaſonable period; for the ſettlements there were again left in an unprotected condition, owing to the ſeveral ſmall armaments which, in the courſe of this year (1608), had been ſent from thence to Java; and an attack was daily expected from Don Juan de Sylva, the governor of Manilla, who, with a powerful fleet, was cruizing on the coaſt of Borneo, with a view to intercept a Dutch ſquadron on its return from Japan, with which country a commercial intercourſe had been recently opened. At this critical juncture, it appeared expedient to the naval and military officers at Amboyna to ſend a ſquadron to thoſe ſeas, to watch the motions of the Spaniards, and, if poſſible, to form a junction with the Japan fleet. Accordingly admiral Wittert ſet ſail to the weſt coaſt of Borneo, with ſix ſhips, mounting twenty guns each, and having on board two hundred ſoldiers. The officer who commanded the Japan fleet, however, conceiving it probable that the Spaniards would endeavour to intercept him, if he paſſed the uſual channel betwixt Borneo and Banca, held his courſe along the ſhores of Tonquin and Cochin China, and from thence through the Straits of Malacca to Acheen. Admiral Wittert, without being aware of this circumſtance, proceeded to his deſtination, where, in the night ſubſequent to his arrival, he fell in with the Spaniſh fleet. The vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy's force, and the fall of Wittert at the commencement of the action, ſoon decided the fate of the Dutch ſquadron. In the ſpace of an hour three ſhips were captured, one ſunk, and the other two with great difficulty effected an eſcape.

Don Juan de Sylva being informed by the priſoners that this ſquadron had been equipped from the Moluccas, juſtly concluded that the Dutch ſettlements there muſt neceſſarily be in a weak and vulnerable ſtate, and therefore determined to proceed immediately againſt them. In the beginning of July 1609, he appeared before Amboyna with his formidable fleet, and ſummoned the Dutch garriſon to ſurrender. The governor's anſwer breathed a truly gallant and heroic ſpirit. "Tell the Spaniſh admiral," ſaid he, "that it is his duty to conquer, but mine to defend; and that a tame ſurrender would not only be diſhonourable in me, but inglorious to himſelf." De Sylva, who was of a generous and elevated mind, could

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could not but be peculiarly ſtruck with this emphatic reply: and as he iſſued his orders for the attack, his ſympathy was powerfully excited for an enemy, whoſe noble bravery ſo well entitled him to a more exalted command, and to gain renown in a more dignified theatre of war. The Spaniards landed under a briſk cannonade, which did conſiderable execution, but which did not prevent them from taking poſſeſſion of an eminence about a mile from the ſhore, and out of the reach of the ſhot from the batteries. Here De Sylva remained at the head of five hundred men, until the fire from the fleet had completely ſilenced the enemy, and made a breach in the fortifications, which, from their imperfect ſtructure, was ſoon effected. He then deſcended from the acclivity with great impetuoſity, and led his troops to the breach, at the entrance of which they were met by an intrepid band, conſiſting of two hundred men, and headed by the gallant governor. A terrible conflict enſued, which was carried on by the aſſailants with a determined perſeverance, and maintained by the beſieged with the furious and obſtinate valour of deſpair. At length the Dutch commander fell, and his faithful followers, who by that time were reduced to fifty, as if by an irreſiſtible impulſe, ruſhed forward with freſh ardour, diſdaining every offer of quarter, and reſolved to periſh along with their heroic leader, rather than not gratify their feelings by revenging his death. De Sylva, with the genuine generoſity of a high ſpirit, deeply lamented the neceſſity which thoſe brave men had impoſed upon him. He had in vain attempted to diſarm in order to ſave them: in vain he intreated them to accept of quarter on their own terms. Nothing, therefore, of ſelf-reproach mingled with his regret for their fall; a regret by which his triumph was ennobled and adorned.

Having taken poſſeſſion of his conqueſt, and ſtationed a ſufficient garriſon to defend it, he victualled his fleet, and proceeded to ſome of the other Dutch ſettlements in the Moluccas, which, being unprotected by any military force, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Theſe places he deemed it inexpedient to retain, being unable to ſpare any more men from his ſhips for that purpoſe: but he carried away with him the whole of the property, as well as the perſons, of the Dutch factors; and returned to Manilla, after the moſt profitable and brilliant expedition which the Spaniards had hitherto made againſt the Dutch in the eaſtern ſeas.

Such, however, were the rapid viciſſitudes of fortune in thoſe times, that the Moluccas were, within nine months after their reduction, again reſtored to the Dutch. The Spaniſh garriſon at Amboyna, releaſed from the cares and labours of an active life, and without any intereſting object in view, indulged in the moſt luxurious indolence; and by this means, and ſtill more by the diſeaſes and conſequent mortality which it produced amongſt them, their ſtrength was ſo much waſted in the courſe of ſeven months, as to render them an eaſy prey to the firſt enemy that ſhould attack them. In this enfeebled condition they loitered away their time in thoughtleſs and ſullen apathy, without any ſenſe of the dangers to which they were expoſed, and with a total indifference to the friendly overtures of the Engliſh factors reſident in the iſland, through whoſe influence with the Malays they might have received the moſt effectual aſſiſtance.

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Upon the arrival, therefore, of admiral Pier Borth with a Dutch fleet from Holland, of thirteen ſail, in May 1611, the garriſon was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, and ſurrendered without firing a ſingle ſhot. The Dutch admiral having brought along with him a large reinforcement of troops, and a conſiderable ſupply of military ſtores, no time was loſt in re-eſtabliſhing the different ſettlements in the Moluccas, and in erecting additional fortifications for their defence; ſo that before the end of this year, the whole face of affairs in theſe iſlands was completely changed.

But this year was productive of ſtill farther benefits to the Dutch. A ſplendid embaſſy was deputed by the company, but in the name of the prince of Orange and the ſtates-general, to the kubo, or emperor, of Japan, from whom important commercial privileges were in conſequence obtained, and a regular trade eſtabliſhed between that intereſting country and the Dutch poſſeſſions in the ſpice iſlands: but this ſucceſs is attributed, both by the Dutch and Portugueze hiſtorians, to the inconſiderate manner in which the Spaniſh and Portugueze merchants, ſettled in Japan, endeavoured to fruſtrate the object of the miſſion, rather than to any ſuperior addreſs in the ambaſſador. The Japaneſe, who are diſtinguiſhed amongſt the nations of Aſia for their high ſpirit of independence, were naturally filled with indignation at a few foreign traders preſuming to give advice to their ſovereign, on a ſubject of ſo much importance as a commercial treaty with another people, which it might be of material advantage to conclude; and the emperor entertaining ſimilar ſentiments, diſmiſſed with diſdain the Spaniſh miſſionary employed on this occaſion to warn him of the danger of forming a connexion with the Dutch. This diſmiſſal was followed by the proclamation of an edict, prohibiting, under the ſevereſt penalties, the Spaniards and Portugueze from entering any part of the empire of Japan, except the town of Nagaſaki, where the latter had been allowed to build a factory. And at the ſame time a grant was made to the Dutch of a ſmall iſland contiguous to the town of Firando, with permiſſion to erect on it ſuch buildings as would enable them to proſecute their trade with the utmoſt facility and advantage.

The Spaniſh merchants loſt no time in diſpatching a veſſel to Manilla, with advice of the extraordinary favour which the Japaneſe monarch had ſhewn to the Dutch embaſſy, and of the reſtraints which had in conſequence been impoſed on them and the Portugueze. On the arrival of this intelligence, De Sylva immediately proceeded to Malacca, with a fleet of conſiderable force, in order to form, in concert with the governor of that ſettlement, an extenſive plan of operations againſt the commerce of the Dutch. But ſo little confidence did the Portugueze place in their allies, and ſo much jealouſy did they entertain of their views, that, though they were equally ſolicitous with De Sylva to oppoſe the advancement of their common enemy, they were fearful of joining him in any enterpriſe of which he was to have the command; and the governor of Malacca conſequently declined to co-operate, under various frivolous and flimſy pretexts. Mortified and diſguſted at this diſappointment, De Sylva declared that he ſhould no longer conſider the

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Portugueze as allies of his country; that he had hitherto espoused their interests with as much zeal as he bestowed on those of his own colony; but that a people so destitute of all manly decision, were unworthy of his support, and he should, therefore, abandon them to that fate which awaited them, and which their pusillanimous conduct so richly deserved. He accordingly prepared to depart from Malacca; but before his fleet was ready for sea, he was seized with a fever, of which he died, after an illness of a few days. The Spanish historians have bestowed very high encomiums on this officer, as well for the wisdom with which he administered the domestic affairs of the colony at Manilla, as for the judgement and bravery he displayed in his warlike exploits.

The loss of the Spanish commander was followed by a disaster which befel the fleet, and from which his abilities would probably have saved it. A Dutch fleet, of sixteen sail, appeared off Malacca on the very day which the Spaniards had chosen for their departure; and before the latter had time to place their ships in a position of defence, or even to prepare them for action, they were attacked with an impetuosity, which, from the confusion it threw them into, they felt themselves unable to resist. Several of the Spanish ships, therefore, cut their cables, and ran on shore, and those that remained were either sunk or captured. This brilliant achievement was the result of a scheme which had been formed by the Dutch admiral Pier Borth, who had been appointed governor-general of the whole of the Dutch settlements in India, and who, having heard that De Sylva had sailed from Manilla, with a view to form a junction with the Portugueze fleet at Malacca, dispatched thither commodore Verhagen, with the force already mentioned, either to frustrate that design, by preventing the Spaniards from entering the port, or if they should have reached it before him, to oppose, at all hazards, the sailing of the combined fleet. As soon, therefore, as the joyful tidings of the accomplishment of his scheme were communicated to Borth at Amboyna, he was encouraged to undertake another enterprise, the objects of which were of more extensive importance. It appeared to him, upon a review of De Weert's proceedings at Ceylon, that his expedition to that island had failed from his own precipitation and rashness, rather than from any intentional enmity on the part of the Candian king. He, therefore, concluded, that if an officer of a cool decisive judgement and conciliatory address were sent to that monarch, as the representative of the prince of Orange, a treaty of alliance might yet be formed with him, that would secure to the Dutch the possession of a harbour in Ceylon, and thereby enable them not only to participate in the cinnamon trade, but likewise to open a commercial intercourse with the great nations of Hindustan, in which, without such a harbour, it would be a very perilous policy to engage: for, as the whole strength of the Portugueze power now lay on the west side of India, no trade could be carried on there by the Dutch without being subject to a systematic hostility, which it would require their most arduous efforts, as well as the advantage of a convenient and safe port to retreat to in cases of emergency, to resist with vigour and effect. But in deputing an officer of this description,

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it seemed essential to give him the command of an armament powerful enough either to act against the Portuguese, or to establish a new settlement, without being so formidable in its appearance as to awaken amongst the Candians any suspicion of a sinister design. This matter, together with all the details requisite for the equipment of the expedition, was arranged by Borth with equal skill, dexterity, and dispatch: but the choice of a person endowed with those qualities which the nature of such a command required, and in whose fidelity he could repose an implicit confidence, was extremely perplexing, and occupied a considerable time. At length he fixed on Marcellus Boschkouveur, an officer who had served with great credit in several expeditions, and who had shared the glory of many a gallant exploit: but it was his firmness, moderation, and good sense that particularly recommended him to the station to which he was now advanced.

On the 1st of March 1612, Boschkouveur received his instructions, and took the command of his fleet, which consisted of five ships, each carrying twenty-five guns, and one hundred soldiers, besides the usual complement of seamen. Having urged forward his preparations for the voyage, he set sail from Amboyna on the 4th of March, and, passing through the Straits of Sunda, arrived at Battacola in Ceylon, after a passage of six weeks. The people, on his landing, received him in a cold distrustful manner, refused to supply his fleet with any refreshments, and avowed that they had been strictly interdicted by their sovereign from holding any intercourse with the Dutch. The vexation that arose from this discouraging circumstance was, however, considerably lessened on his being informed that the rajah Larma Surée was dead, and that he had been succeeded on the throne by his brother, rajah Cenuveerat Aavasyre, a youth much beloved by his subjects for the benevolence and mildness of his disposition: and Boschkouveur hesitated not a moment about the mode of soliciting the rajah to admit him to his presence. He addressed a letter to him, couched in the warmest terms of adulation, assuring him of the esteem and reverence entertained for him both by the prince his master and the whole Dutch nation, whose representative he was, and in whose name he implored the forgiveness of his highness for the gross misconduct of De Weert; and he concluded by intreating that he might be permitted to throw himself at the foot of the throne, in proof of the sincerity of his professions, and the earnestness of his supplication. But he experienced some difficulty in getting this letter conveyed to Candy. The vadanee, or deputy governor of the district of Battacola, was extremely unwilling to transmit to his sovereign any communication from the Dutch; nor would he by any means be persuaded to send the letter, until Boschkouveur's interpreter had made him acquainted with its contents.

This well-dissembled artifice was crowned with the happiest success. The warm generous feelings, and unsuspecting integrity of the young prince, glowed with pleasure at receiving from an independent nation such an unequivocal testimony of its respect and friendship, as well as of its desire to atone for past injuries; and impressed with a conviction of Boschkouveur's sincerity,

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from the unrestrained candour of his sentiments, he at once determined to comply with his request. Accordingly a deputation was sent to Battacola to invite and conduct him to court.

Boschkouveur, on his being introduced to the rajah, fully confirmed by his gentle and affusive manners the favourable impression which his letter had made; and he was treated both by the monarch and his courtiers with a degree of kindness which surpassed his most sanguine hope. Nevertheless, he prudently resolved to proceed by gradual steps to the disclosure of those propositions, to which it was his grand object to prevail on the king to accede. But his views were unexpectedly favoured and forwarded by an event no less seasonable than fortunate. A party of Portugueze from Columbo, having made an incursion into the Candian dominions, in search of cinnamon, they were attacked by the natives, and driven back to their own territory, with the loss of half their original number. This affair the governor of Columbo, considered as a sufficient justification for declaring war, for which he had for some months been making preparations, and which he only waited for a fit occasion to commence. Unacquainted with the circumstance of a Dutch fleet having arrived at Battacola, little suspecting that an officer of Boschkouveur's talents was actually at Candy, and in full possession of the confidence of the rajah, and founding his hopes of success on that prince's unwarlike character, he cut a passage through the woods of Attegode, and entered the kingdom of Candy at the head of three thousand men, consisting of Europeans, and of negroes brought from Mosambique; and had made considerable progress in his march before the intelligence of his approach reached the capital. On the arrival of these fatal tidings, the wildest consternation and dismay filled every bosom, and was depicted in every countenance. The Portugueze had in former wars been often successful, but they had never before penetrated through those forests which the Candians deemed impassible by any human force, and to which, therefore, as the natural bulwark of their independence, they attached peculiar reverence. Their most inveterate enemy was now in the heart of their country; he had passed the barriers designed by heaven for their defence; and superstition mingling with their fears and magnifying their danger, they conceived that the gods had conspired against them; that all opposition would be useless, and that they must submit to their destiny. It was not merely the populace whom these notions were of force to sway; they intimidated the prince and his courtiers; they even shook the resolution of the most experienced generals.

Amidst this scene of distress and despair, Boschkouveur foresaw the ultimate completion of his scheme. The service that he had now an opportunity of rendering the rajah, would give him a claim on his gratitude, which, coming in aid of the friendship already existing between them, could not fail to insure a cordial compliance with his wishes in all the points he so anxiously sought to obtain. Animated with this gratifying prospect, and little doubtful of success in the undertaking, by which he proposed to realize it, he hastened to the palace, assured the rajah that the danger was much less imminent than he imagined, exhorted him, in the most forcible terms, to call together hi

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his troops, and not suffer his country to be ravaged and profaned by a despicable band of robbers, entreated his permission to send to Battacola for three hundred of his crew, and finally pledged himself in the mean while to arrest the progress of the enemy with 6000 Candian soldiers. The generous mind of the prince was roused and inspirited by this enthusiastic appeal to his pride and his patriotism, which, though he wanted the energy to call into action, he possessed the sensibility to feel. In a burst of gratitude and admiration, he assented to Boschkouveur's proposals, assembled his ministers and generals, to acquaint them with his determination, and gave orders to get his troops in readiness to march with all practicable expedition. The example of the monarch, which, in all countries, has a powerful influence, in Asiatic states gives life and motion to the whole body of the people. Hence this new spirit which the rajah imbibed was diffused through the Candians with electric swiftness; and their aspect, which had been overspread with despondency, now glistened with animation. Such was the ardour that prevailed, and such the uncommon promptitude and assiduity with which the royal mandates were carried into execution, that in three days an army of 9000 men was prepared to take the field. By Boschkouveur's advice this force was divided into two parts, one of which was commanded by the rajah in person, the other by himself: and each was accompanied by thirty elephants.

The Portugueze, in the mean time, had advanced within fifteen miles of Candy, and had begun to ascend the range of mountains on which that city is situated. They had hitherto met with no opposition; and from the accounts they received of the confusion into which the court of Candy was thrown at their sudden irruption into the country, they were led to expect an easy conquest. Their progress up the mountains was necessarily slow, and the physical difficulties they had to encounter were greatly augmented by their carrying with them six pieces of artillery, which, with infinite labour, they dragged up the acclivities: so that before they reached the summit of the first ridge, Boschkouveur, with his division of the Candians, had taken possession of a narrow defile in the ascent of the second, through which the enemy could not avoid to pass. In this advantageous position he judiciously resolved to wait for the attack of the Portugueze, unless his own men, whom he had sent for to the fleet, should join him previous to their approach. But whilst he looked with a solicitous eye for the arrival of his countrymen, the appearance of the Portugueze summoned him to prepare for action. The impatience of the Candians to engage them he was totally unable to restrain. They rushed upon them with such fury, that, notwithstanding their superior discipline, their ranks were broken, and a conflict was maintained with great obstinacy and an immense slaughter on both sides for a considerable time. At length the Portugueze were rallied; and having also brought their field pieces to bear, a heavy discharge of grape shot was opened on the Candians, which at first compelled them to fall back, and finally to fly on all sides with the utmost precipitation. A few hundred chosen men only remained with Boschkouveur at the entrance of the pass, which, however, after defending

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ſtanding for ſome time, they were about to abandon, when, to the utter aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the Portugueze, a body of Europeans appeared on their rear. Boſchkouveur ſoon recogniſed his own troops; and inflamed with freſh ardour at ſo animating a ſight, he exhorted the Candians to maintain their ground, telling them that a ſteady perſeverance would yet enſure a deciſive victory. Encouraged by this exhortation, but ſtill more by the arrival of the reinforcement, from which they expected to receive ſuch powerful aſſiſtance, they redoubled both their zeal and their efforts, and ſuſtained the combat with ſurpriſing fortitude. The Dutch, on the other hand, having cloſed with the enemy, intrepidly preſſed forward the attack, and reſolved to get poſſeſſion of the artillery, which was planted in front of the Candians, they forced their way through the ranks with reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, and, after an obſtinate conflict, effected their purpoſe. The enemy's artillery was then pointed againſt themſelves: and the rajah at the ſame moment coming up with the remainder of the Candian army, a dreadful carnage enſued, which would have terminated only with the complete deſtruction of the Portugueze, had not Boſchkouveur prevailed on the rajah to accept of their ſubmiſſion, which they now offered with earneſt ſolicitation. But one hundred and forty men were all that remained to receive the clemency, and grace the triumph of the conquerors.

The exultation of the Candians at this event could only be equalled by the profuſion of their gratitude to the deliverer of their country, by their admiration of his heroic courage, and by their reverence of his prophetic ſagacity. As he paſſed along the ranks of the army towards the rajah, who was ſeated on an elephant, at a ſhort diſtance from the ſcene of action, the Candians crowded around him with a ſort of myſterious curioſity, as if he belonged to a ſuperior order of beings; and, in the fervour of their feelings, threw themſelves before him, in proſtration, paying him that homage with which they approach their ſovereign. The manner in which the rajah received him correſponded with theſe extraordinary marks of reſpect and veneration. As ſoon as he ſaw Boſchkouveur advance, he deſcended from his elephant, and ſtepping forward to meet him, embraced him with the moſt cordial ardour. He addreſſed him in a ſtrain of encomiaſtic hyperbole, natural to an Aſiatic prince, but nevertheleſs expreſſive of the genuine ſentiments by which he was actuated, and which breathed the warmeſt and moſt grateful acknowledgment of the imminent ſervice he had rendered him. He preſented him with a vaſt variety of coſtly preſents; and aſſured him that his friendſhip for him and his nation was ſuch, and the obligation he owed them ſo ſtrong, that neither time nor circumſtances ſhould ever impair the one, or diſſolve the other. This was too favourable a moment for the ſucceſs of Boſchkouveur's ſcheme to be permitted to paſs in fruitleſs compliments. He, therefore, told the rajah that, in order to cement their friendſhip, and to render it reciprocally uſeful, he ſhould propoſe to have certain ſtipulations drawn up in writing, whereby the Dutch would engage to furniſh the Candian monarch with a conſiderable body of troops either to carry on war againſt the Portugueze, or for any other purpoſe; and that he, on his part,

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should grant them permission to erect a fortification at Battacola, or any other convenient port on the east coast of the island, and likewise to supply them annually with as much cinnamon as they might require, in exchange for gold and silver bullion and the manufactures of Hindustan. To these propositions the rajah readily acceded: and a treaty of alliance, written both in the Dutch and Candian languages, was accordingly ratified.

In consequence of this circumstance, Boschkouveur dispatched a messenger to the fleet, to communicate the glad tidings of the final attainment of the principal objects of the expedition; and, at the same time, to direct the officer in command to proceed immediately to Columbo, in order to co-operate with him in the reduction of that settlement. Having imparted to the rajah the purport of the orders he had transmitted to the fleet, he represented to him the expediency of following up the advantages they had derived from their victory, by laying siege to Columbo, which, though the strength of its fortifications might defeat their utmost efforts to reduce it, they would nevertheless find little difficulty in subjugating the valuable district in which it is situated, and thereby constrain the Portugueze to accept of such terms of pacification as were best calculated to secure the Candian monarchy against future insults and aggressions. In a measure so well adapted to promote his interests and fortify his independence, the prince could not hesitate to concur, especially as it was to be carried into execution by the same enterprising talents which had averted the ruin, and elevated the military reputation of his country. He, therefore, gave orders to supply the army with every necessary for marching to Columbo; and by the arduous exertions of Boschkouveur, they were in a few days enabled to proceed. In the course of a week they reached the Portugueze territory, which having taken possession of, without resistance, they advanced within a mile of Columbo, and summoned the garrison to surrender. The Dutch squadron had arrived two days earlier, and lay at anchor on the north side of the fortress, a short distance beyond the reach of the enemy's shot.

The news of the total discomfiture of the Portugueze army had only preceded its conquerors three or four days; and the alarm and distress which it occasioned in the garrison, in addition to the vast loss they had sustained, damped their spirits, and inclined them rather to offer terms of accommodation to the king of Candy, than to oppose the powerful force by which the place was invested. They were the more induced to adopt this prudent line of policy, from the consideration, that they were already deprived of the surrounding district, by which the settlement was alone rendered valuable, and without which it deserved not to be retained. In answer, therefore, to the summons to surrender, the commander of the garrison said, that though he was capable of maintaining the place for a great length of time, in defiance of the utmost efforts of the besiegers, yet as he was more ambitious to have the credit of concluding a permanent peace with the king of Candy, than to gain applause in carrying on the most successful hostilities against him, he was prepared to enter into any stipulations compatible with the honour and dignity of his country.

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try. To this the rajah, by the advice of Boſchkouveur, immediately agreed; and a treaty, highly advantageous to the Candians, was accordingly concluded. As the Dutch and Portugueze were at war in other parts of India, Boſchkouveur declared that he could not, without the authority of the governor-general, become a party in that treaty; but he conſented to a truce of two years with the ſettlements in Ceylon, on the condition of giving him a ſufficient quantity of the beſt cinnamon to load one of his ſhips.

Thus terminated the Portugueze invaſion of the kingdom of Candy, which, in a moment of ſupineneſs and intimidation, muſt have been ſucceſsful, had not the abilities of Boſchkouveur, ſeconded by the active bravery of his troops, been exerted with ſuch peculiar energy to oppoſe it. And thus, by a fortunate concurrence of circumſtances, the Dutch obtained an eſtabliſhment in the iſland of Ceylon, from which ſo many benefits were deſtined to flow.

The different ſtipulations of the treaty being finally adjuſted and fulfilled, Boſchkouveur ordered his fleet to return to Battacola, and he accompanied the rajah to Candy, who honoured him with the extraordinary diſtinction of placing him on his right hand on the ſeat of the royal elephant, which was decorated for the occaſion with peculiar magnificence. The monarch's entry into the capital was marked with correſpondent ſplendor, and the rejoicings of his ſubjects were attended with every circumſtance of loyalty and regard which could exalt and dignify his triumph. The honours paid to Boſchkouveur by the populace even ſurpaſſed thoſe which he had already received from the army: and ſuch was the perſonal eſteem with which his great and generous actions had inſpired the prince, and ſuch was his notion of the importance of his ſervices, that he granted him an aſſignment of two ſmall diſtricts, and beſtowed on him the title of rajah, with its appropriate dignities.

Though proud of theſe diſtinctions, Boſchkouveur did not neglect his public duty and the intereſts of his country. After paſſing ſome weeks at Candy, and taking poſſeſſion of his principality, he repaired to his fleet at Battacola, and from thence proceeded along the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, in order to ſurvey the different bays and inlets of the ſea, and to fix on the moſt advantageous ſituation for eſtabliſhing a commercial ſettlement. The ſpacious harbour of Trincomalee, being already occupied by the Portugueze, he had not much choice left; but upon comparing Battacola with the other ports, he pitched on the bay of Cotiarum as the moſt convenient ſtation. He loſt no time in collecting materials for building a fortification, which, by the ample aſſiſtance afforded him from Candy, he was in eighteen months enabled to complete. He then landed from the fleet all the men that could be ſpared, and by that means formed a garriſon ſufficiently ſtrong to defend the town againſt any force which the Portugueze, in the declining ſtate of their Indian empire, ſeemed capable of bringing againſt it.

On the 1ſt of March 1615, every regulation and arrangement for the government of the new ſettlement was finiſhed, and Boſchkouveur diſpatched a ſhip to Amboyna with a detailed account of the ſeries of fortunate events which

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had attended the progress of his expedition, and of the beneficial result to which these had finally led. He also sent two ships to Holland, laden with cinnamon, to communicate the same satisfactory intelligence to the company and the nation.

Whilst Boschkouveur was thus employed in establishing the influence and the commerce of the Dutch in Ceylon, the governor-general, Pier Borth, was advancing them in various other parts of India with equal success. In 1618, he sent an expedition against the Portugueze settlement in Timore *, which, after a long and obstinate defence, was forced to capitulate; and a treaty of alliance was thereupon concluded with the chief of that island, by which the Dutch obtained the grant of a considerable portion of land. In the following year an embassy was sent to the king of Siam, who in consequence entered into an agreement with the Dutch, whereby permission to build a factory in that country, and other important commercial privileges, were acquired. The same year Borth dispatched a squadron of three ships to the port of Musulipatam, on the coast of Coromandel, with a view to open a trade between the Dutch settlements in the Archipelago and that interesting mart. The commander of the squadron being a person of good address and considerable discernment, he not only succeeded in the immediate purpose of his voyage, but likewise in gaining objects of permanent importance. By visiting the rajah of Ellore †, of whose dominions Musulipatam then formed a part, and by making him large presents of the finest aromatics, he insinuated himself into his favour; and was allowed to erect an extensive warehouse, together with a dwelling house for a factor in the vicinity of the town; a convenience peculiarly requisite for carrying on with advantage the trade in cotton cloths, in which the staple of that place entirely consists.

On the return of the squadron from Musulipatam to the spice islands, it touched at Cotiarum in Ceylon, where its commander informed Boschkouveur of the new and valuable branch of trade which he had so successfully commenced, and also supplied the settlement with some of the fine white cottons and beautiful calicoes of Ellore. Forcibly struck with this intelligence, and perceiving the advantages which his settlement would derive from opening an intercourse with Musulipatam, Boschkouveur resolved to proceed thither without delay. Accordingly, he put on board one of his ships a quantity of cinnamon, which was the only commodity he had, to offer in exchange for the manufactures of Ellore, and set sail for Musulipatam. But the mercantile knowledge of this distinguished adventurer bore no proportion to his other endowments. He did not advert to the probability of the inhabitants of Musulipatam being supplied with cinnamon through other channels; nor was he aware of the injudiciousness of trusting the success of his speculation

* One of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, situated between the latitudes of nine and ten north, about 500 miles south of the southern extremity of Java, and nearly the same distance from Amboyna. It is 200 miles long, and 60 broad.

† The Ellore circar was then under the government of its ancient Hindu rajahs: it was not subjected to the Mussulman arms until the reign of Aurungzebe, in A. D. 1687.

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tion to the ſale of a ſingle article, of which he had no accurate account of the extent of the demand. On his arrival at Muſulipatam, therefore, he was thrown into the utmoſt embarraſſment, upon finding that the demand for cinnamon was at all times inconſiderable, and at that particular period extremely ſmall; that the inhabitants of the different towns of Coromandel were ſupplied with this article from Jaffnapatam, whence it was conveyed to them by the ſmall fiſhing veſſels that traded along the coaſt, and that theſe traders diſpoſed of it at a much lower rate than he could poſſibly afford. The merchants of Muſulipatam told him, that gold and ſilver were in their country the only inſtruments of commerce, and, therefore, if he wiſhed to purchaſe their manufactures, he muſt come provided with thoſe precious metals. The Dutch agent, who had been left by the Molucca fleet in charge of the factory, with difficulty procured for Boſchkouveur a few pieces of calico in exchange for ſome of his cinnamon.

Vexed and irritated at theſe unexpected circumſtances, he determined to return to Holland, in order to lay before the company an extenſive ſcheme for eſtabliſhing a trade with all the principal marts in the Bay of Bengal. With this view he proceeded to Cotiarum, and from thence to Candy, where, have taken leave of the rajah, and appointed a confidential perſon to manage the affairs of his principality during his abſence, he went back to Cotiarum, and having made every requiſite arrangement for his departure, ſet ſail in October 1615, and arrived at Amſterdam in the ſpring of the following year. The reception he met with from the directors was far different from that which his meritorious and important ſervices ſo well entitled him to expect. Inſtead of thoſe honours and rewards which his ſucceſsful heroiſm had nobly earned amidſt ſo many difficulties and dangers, and which were due to him from the juſtice as well as the gratitude of his employers, he received nothing but thoſe frigid repulſive civilities, no leſs natural to men whoſe faculties and feelings were engroſſed in the purſuit of gain, than they were diſguſting to the ſenſibility of a gallant mind, conſcious of its own worthineſs. The directors eſtimated the merits of their ſervants in India by the number and value of the cargoes which they ſent to Holland, rather than by the talents diſplayed in the moſt brilliant military exploits, or by the ſagacity evinced in the moſt ſucceſsful political negotiations. The views of thoſe directors being, for the moſt part, confined to objects of immediate profit, they were diſpoſed to appreciate very lightly thoſe acquiſitions, of which the commercial benefits, however certain or important, were apparently remote. Hence little value was ſet on Boſchkouveur's ſucceſſes in Ceylon, as he had only ſent from thence four ſhip loads of cinnamon in the courſe of three years. And by acting on theſe narrow ſordid principles, the company loſt the ſervices of this deſerving officer, and thereby incurred the reproach not only of every generous, but of every ſenſible mind.

Indignant at the neglect with which he was treated, he quitted his native country, and repaired to Denmark, where he preſented to the merchants of Copenhagen a plan for engaging in the India trade, in which he undertook to convey their ſhips to parts of India ſtill unfrequented

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frequented by the Portugueze, the Engliſh, or the Dutch, and more opulent than thoſe to which any of theſe nations traded. But before he received an anſwer to his propoſal, he was ſuddenly cut off by a malignant diſtemper.

The example of Boſchkouveur was followed by other officers, and by a great number of ſeamen, who finding no diſpoſition in the company to recompence acknowledged merit, or even to provide for thoſe that had ſpent their youth and impaired their health in the noxious climates of India, were prompted to abandon their ungenerous maſters, and to ſeek employment in foreign ſtates. This circumſtance ſtruck ſo deeply at the reputation and credit of the company, that it roused the directors to ſome ſenſe of the obligation they owed to the brave men whom they had thus neglected; and if it did not inſpire them with any ſentiment of generoſity, it at leaſt ſerved to convince them that the welfare of their concerns eſſentially depended on ſecuring the attachment and fidelity of their ſervants in India, by a munificent diſtribution of perſonal honours and rewards. They, therefore, augmented the pay both of their troops in India, and the mariners employed in their ſhips; and at the ſame time iſſued a proclamation, offering a conſiderable bounty to thoſe who ſhould enter their ſervice. But in order ſtill more effectually to ſecure their trade againſt thoſe loſſes which the diſaffection of their mariners might occaſion, they prevailed on the ſtates-general to enact a penal law, by which the ſevereſt puniſhments were denounced againſt ſeamen who ſhould deſert the company's ſervice.

By theſe means the directors were enabled to fit out a large armament, for the purpoſe of reducing to obedience the princes of Bantam and Jacatra, whoſe independent ſpirit, and jealouſy of foreign nations, had hitherto fruſtrated every pacific attempt to form a permanent ſettlement in the iſland of Java. The command of this expedition was entruſted to Lawrence Reaal, an officer who had ſerved nine years in India, and who was equally diſtinguiſhed for his prudence and his valour. He was likewiſe appointed to ſucceed eventually to Berth, as governor-general of the Dutch poſſeſſions in the eaſt.

From the time of Cornelius Houtman till the beginning of the year 1617, the affairs of the Dutch in the iſland of Java were too trivial and unimportant to demand our attention. The difference which aroſe betwixt the prince of Bantam and that celebrated adventurer, and the conſequences of which it was productive, deterred the Dutch for ſeveral years from viſiting the northern coaſt of Java, along which it was ſuppoſed the kingdom of Bantam extended. They, however, touched occaſionally at various places on the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland, which they found under the dominion of ſeveral petty chiefs, entirely independent of each other, but all equally hoſtile to the prince of Bantam. Theſe chiefs informed them, that the richeſt part of Java belonged to the prince of Jacatra, whoſe kingdom extended along the north ſide, from the territory of Bantam to the eaſtern extremity of the iſland, and from the ſea to the ridge of mountains, by which it is longitudinally divided from the ſouthern parts. This information determined the Dutch to commence an intercourſe with this potentate, and to endeavour to obtain a footing

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ing in his country. Accordingly, in the year 1608, a ſquadron of three ſhips proceeded to Jacatra, which was found to be a commodious and ſafe port, admirably adapted for all the purpoſes of an extenſive foreign commerce. The commander of that ſquadron was ſo ſucceſsful in his negotiations with the prince, that he not only procured a valuable cargo, and concluded an agreement for carrying on a regular trade, but was permitted to build a factory in the town of Jacatra. And the following year ſimilar privileges were obtained at Bantam. The Dutch having thus eſtabliſhed themſelves in both theſe places, exerted all their ingenuity, and put in force every artifice, however low and ignoble, to acquire influence and power. Habituated to ſuch practices, and having juſt feeling enough left to be aſhamed of them, they could not tolerate the idea of their conduct being obſerved by any European nation, much leſs by the Engliſh, who aimed at a participation of their trade; and they were, therefore, impelled by ſhame, as well as avarice, to oppoſe the views and intereſts of their rivals with all thoſe malignant machinations which have left an indelible ſtain on their character.

The proceedings againſt the Engliſh at Bantam were noticed in our laſt chapter: thoſe at Jacatra manifeſted ſtill greater malevolence, and were conducted with leſs reſerve. Knowing that ſuch conduct muſt ultimately provoke retaliation, they ſecretly and gradually increaſed the number of their agents; and theſe agents at laſt ventured to throw up an intrenchment round their factory, ſo that they were ſecured againſt any ſudden attack either from an Engliſh ſquadron, or from the natives. The prince, aſtoniſhed at their having preſumed to conſtruct any work of defence, or even to make any alteration in their factory, without his previous permiſſion, ordered it to be immediately deſtroyed. But by intreaties and promiſes, and preſents, they mollified his diſpleaſure; and by aſſuring him that the intrenchment was intended ſolely for their protection againſt the Engliſh, he ſuffered it to remain. Having gained this important point, the agents communicated their good fortune to the governor-general, Pier Borth, who, with that promptitude and deciſion which characteriſed all his actions, inſtantly diſpatched from Amboyna a ſmall ſquadron, commanded by an intelligent officer, to propoſe, in the name of the prince of Orange, a treaty of amity and alliance with the king of Jacatra; and, at the ſame time, to convey to the factory a few pieces of cannon, and a ſupply of military ſtores. This miſſion was managed with dexterity, and crowned with the happieſt ſucceſs. A treaty was concluded with Vidac Rama, king of Jacatra, by which the Dutch were allowed to build another ſmall fortified factory, on the expreſs condition of paying him a certain ſum of money. The building of this new factory, which was in reality a ſmall fortreſs, was accordingly commenced without delay; and when Borth reſigned his government to general Reynſt, in 1615, it was almoſt completed.

The adminiſtration of Reynſt was ſhort, feeble, and inactive; and the affairs of the Dutch in Java were reduced, during that period, to the laſt extremity of diſtreſs. The Engliſh, impatient at the calumnious artifices by which their rivals obſtructed their commerce, and

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and endeavoured to arm the natives against them, only waited for a suitable occasion to demand and enforce the most ample reparation. When, therefore, they heard of the departure of Borth for Europe, and of the pacific character of his successor, they began to avow their sentiments in regard to the Dutch; and a squadron of five ships being in the roads of Jacatra, the commander of it called on the governor of the factory to make an immediate recantation before the prince, of all the calumnies against the English, to which he and his countrymen had so assiduously laboured to give credit and currency; and he likewise insisted on his entering into a stipulation, whereby he should be bound under the penalty of forfeiting a considerable sum of money, to abstain not only from any attempt to impress the natives with an unfavourable opinion of the character or conduct of the English, but from any sort of interference whatever with their commercial concerns: that the rivalship between the two nations should thenceforward be regulated on principles of justice, and be made a fair and honourable competition. To this the governor returned a refusal, expressed in the most haughty and insolent terms: and the English commander, who was prepared for such an answer, immediately attacked the Dutch fleet then at anchor in the bay, over which, after a gallant action of several hours, he gained a decisive victory. Some of the Dutch ships were captured, some destroyed, and the remainder, in a disabled condition, proceeded to Amboyna to refit, the English having sustained too much damage to pursue them. This event powerfully influenced Vidac Rama, who, with the pliant policy of a Malay prince, renounced the friendship of the vanquished, and formed an alliance with the conquerors. The arrival of a fleet of eleven ships from England, under the command of sir Thomas Dale, seemed to confirm the propriety of those prudential motives which induced the prince to forsake his allies, and take so decided a part against them.

In this revolution of their affairs the Dutch factors confined themselves within their fortresses, which, with unremitting labour, they employed all their art to strengthen, and which they told the English admiral they would surrender only with their lives. These fortresses were advantageously situated on each side of the town of Jacatra, which they partly commanded: but neither of them were calculated to resist a regular attack; for the works were not only constructed with bad materials, but unprovided with sufficient artillery. One of the forts had twelve, the other only seven pieces of cannon; and both the garrisons consisted of two hundred and seventy men, of which one hundred were negro slaves. But the deficiency of the Dutch in these respects was in some measure compensated by their daring fortitude, and by the abilities, the intrepidity, and the zeal of Vanden Broecke, their commander. The force by which they were surrounded and menaced was in relation to theirs, of a magnitude and description calculated to render their situation exceedingly perilous and alarming. The town of Jacatra contained about 40,000 inhabitants, of which 4000 were Chinese merchants *, and the king had upwards of 6000 men in arms, besides

* A colony of Chinese had been settled at Jacatra, according to the tradition of the Javanese,

like a body of Chineſe, who joined his ſtandard. On an eminence, in the centre of the town, the Engliſh had been permitted to erect a redoubt, on which a conſiderable number of heavy cannon were planted. The number of the Engliſh ſettlers amounted only to fifty; but they were reinforced by a ſtrong detachment of ſailors from the fleet.

Such was the relative ſtate of the belligerent parties at Jacatra, when Lawrence Reaal arrived at Amboyna, with the armament deſtined for the ſubjugation of the Javaneſe potentates, and for laying the foundation of an extenſive eſtabliſhment in their country. But that officer being diſabled by ſickneſs from continuing in India, the command of the expedition to Java devolved on Jean Pieterſz Coen, a man eminently gifted with all thoſe endowments which qualified him for an undertaking of ſuch importance. The expedition was delayed for ſome weeks, on account of the damage which the fleet had met with in a ſtorm, and of a malignant fever which had ſpread its ravages amongſt the crew. Having, however, got ſix ſhips in a condition for warlike operations, Coen ſet ſail for Jacatra, with a view to engage the Engliſh fleet, and at the ſame time make a deſcent on the town, by which means he conceived he ſhould at leaſt be able to throw in ſuccours to the Dutch garriſon, if not to reduce the place, or conſtrain the king to ſubmit. On the 1ſt of January 1619, he reached the bay of Jacatra, and to his infinite ſurpriſe and diſappointment, found that the Engliſh fleet conſiſted of fourteen large ſhips, all apparently in high order, and prepared for action. In oppoſition to a force ſo greatly ſuperior, it would have been equally imprudent and uſeleſs to attempt to execute any part of his meditated plan. He, therefore, ſtood out to ſea, and returned to Amboyna for a reinforcement, having firſt found means to convey a letter to Vanden Broecke, in which he exhorted him to maintain his poſt to the utmoſt extremity, to liſten to no propoſals of peace or accommodation from Vidac Rama, and that when it appeared to him impracticable any longer to reſiſt the enemy, he ſhould endeavour to obtain honourable terms of capitulation from the Engliſh admiral; but that, if theſe were refuſed, to reſolve to periſh in the ruins of the fortreſs, rather than make an unconditional and diſgraceful ſurrender.

The gallant Vanden Broecke felt his reſolution fortified, and his whole mind glow with additional ardour, on receiving an exhortation from his ſuperior officer, which expreſſed ſentiments and breathed a ſpirit ſo entirely congenial with his own. It was not long before the high qualities he poſſeſſed were called into action, and put to the ſevereſt trial. On the 6th of January, a cannonade was opened from the Engliſh redoubt on the Dutch forts, and the Jacatrans following the example of their allies, began to fire from all quarters of the town. Vanden Broecke, in order to throw the aſſailants off their guard, by inſpiring them with an ill-grounded confidence in their own ſuperiority, kept up, during the whole of the day, a languid and irregular fire; and by this well-timed

Javaneſe, upwards of 1200 years antecedent to the period of which we are treating. That ſeveral thouſand Chineſe merchants reſided there in the 9th century of the Chriſtian æra, is ſatisfactorily proved by the important voyage of the two Arabian travellers, preſerved by Abu Zeid al Huſſain of Sheraf.

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timed ſtratagem not only the Jacatrans, but the Engliſh, were deluded into a ſuppoſition that the Dutch were either deſtitute of ammunition, or diſcontented and divided amongſt themſelves. They, therefore, diſcontinued firing early in the evening, with a firm perſuaſion of its being unneceſſary; and retired to reſt, in perfect aſſurance that they would the next morning find little difficulty in bringing the enemy to terms of capitulation. But their aſtoniſhment muſt have been equal to their conſternation, when, in the ſtillneſs and darkneſs of the night, they were ſuddenly amazed by the flames in which they were in a moment enveloped. Having ſallied from his fortreſs with ſixty choſen men, Vanden Broecke had ſet fire to the Chineſe quarter of the town, which, being entirely built of cane, wood, and reeds, burned with great fury, and the conflagration ſpread with proportional celerity. Exulting in the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, he then attempted to ſtorm the Engliſh redoubt, from which, however, he was repulſed with ſome loſs, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat to his own fort. The flames in the mean while had been communicated to nearly one half of the town; and the inhabitants, partly appalled with the terrific nature of the ſcene, and partly engaged in reſcuing their women and children, whoſe frantic ſcreams at once invoked compaſſion and excited horror, were incapable of making any efforts to quench the fire, or even to allay its rage. But it was extinguiſhed at laſt by the ſpirited exertions of the ſeamen from the Engliſh fleet, aided by a torrent of rain which fell at the ſame time; though before this was effected the beſt part of the town was conſumed, and ſeveral hundred inhabitants had periſhed.

This dreadful expedient of Vanden Broecke greatly embittered the enmity which the Jacatrans previouſly bore to the Dutch, and from this time forward it appears to have been rooted and rancorous. But his ſituation rendered deſperate meaſures indiſpenſable, not merely to the defence of his fortreſs, but to the preſervation of his garriſon; and though humanity revolts at ſuch deeds, we cannot condemn them by the laws of war, when they are juſtified by the dictates of prudence, and the force of an imperious neceſſity. Vanden Broecke found the garriſon ſo much reduced both in ammuniſion and proviſions, that he could not poſſibly hold out above ten days longer; and he, therefore, determined, by ſtriking ſome deciſive blow, to compel the king to ſue for a renewal of peace on equitable terms. With this view he did not allow the conſternation produced by the fire to ſubſide, before he commenced a well-directed cannonade on the palace, and the other ſtone buildings adjacent to it, by which the king was ſo annoyed and alarmed, that he propoſed a ceſſation of hoſtilities, ſignified his ſolicitude to negotiate for a definitive paciſication, and even offered to pay a conſiderable ſum of money, as a teſtimonial of his ſincerity. Vanden Broecke, in one of thoſe aberrations, from which the moſt ſagacious minds are not exempt, was deluded with the ſpecioufneſs of that propoſal, and, without any ſuſpicion of the treachery which it was deſigned to conceal, not only agreed to treat, but, on a ſecond meſſage from the king, conſented to wait on him in perſon for that purpoſe. Accordingly, on the following day, he

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proceeded to the palace, accompanied only by one officer and five soldiers, whom he took with him rather as a guard of honour indicative of his rank, than from any apprehension of his personal safety. The king received him with every mark of respect and complaisance, and conducted him into an inner apartment in the palace, where he submitted to him the stipulation of the proposed treaty of peace: but whilst they were employed in discussing the different articles, a party of armed men, as if by signal, rushed into the apartment, and seizing Vanden Broecke, dragged him as a prisoner to a place of greater security, where he was threatened with the severest censures if he did not send an immediate order to his garrison to surrender unconditionally, and confide in the clemency of the king. The soldiers who attended him were at the same moment disarmed, bound hand and foot, and thrown into a horrible dungeon, where they were treated with all the ignominious cruelties that the most ingenious baseness could invent, or the most dastardly spirits inflict. Nor was Vanden Broecke himself exempted from the grossest indignities, which were offered to him in the presence of the king and the English commander, and which, to the eternal disgrace of the latter, he used no endeavours to prevent. Yet neither insults nor threats could move the undaunted firmness of his mind, or inspire it with any other feeling than that of indignation, at the sordid and unmanly artifice by which he had been entrapped. With a calm and dignified composure he told them, that being their prisoner, the Dutch garrison would certainly not obey the order which it was desired he should give. Unsatisfied, however, with what he said, and considering it as an evasion, they put a halter round his neck, and desired him to be conducted, by two English soldiers, under the ramparts of the fortress, so that the Dutch might see the danger to which their commander was exposed, and be assured that his life depended on their complying with his orders. In this manner, and for such a purpose, was this officer led by Englishmen, under those walls which he had so long defended with such invincible bravery. But the astonishment of his conductors must have been equal to their turpitude, when, upon getting within hearing of the people on the ramparts, he exhorted them, in an impressive strain, to maintain their post with courageous perseverance. Such an instance of virtuous heroism would by an enemy warmed with kindred sentiments, have been considered as a glorious atonement for the deception which had enabled it to be displayed: but it did not elicit a single spark of generosity, or call forth one sympathetic emotion in the cold obdurate hearts of those wretches by whom Vanden Broecke was guarded; on the contrary, it excited their anger, and prompted them to the most brutal resentment. They struck him to the ground, and dragged him along the pavement back to the palace*.

Sir Thomas Dale, however, on being made acquainted with this event,

* We should have doubted the truth of this fact, so disgraceful to our countrymen, had we not found it circumstantially mentioned in Vanden Broecke's own narrative of the transactions at Java; a production which is entitled to credit, not merely from its simplicity, but from the character of the writer.—On this point consult also *Vies des Gouverneurs Hollandois aux Indes Orientales—par J. P. J. Du Bois.*

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event, was struck with pity and admiration for this brave man, and began to feel some compunction at having been a party to the treachery, cruelty, and ignominy with which he had been treated. Urged by this change in his sentiments, he prevailed on the king to spare the life of Vanden Broecke, and likewise to consent to his offering to the Dutch garrison, such terms of capitulation as they might with honour accept of, and as should secure to him, all the substantial advantages of which their absolute subjugation could put him in possession. Accordingly, he sent a letter into each of the forts, by means of an arrow, in which he proposed, that the garrison should surrender with the honours of war to the English, who would engage to protect them from any violence that might be offered by the Jacatrans; that they should embark, together with their artillery and private property, on board the English fleet, which would convey them to Cotiarom in Ceylon; but that all their merchandize and public effects should be delivered up to the king. Being by this time reduced to the utmost distress, from having exhausted their ammunition, and having only provisions left for another day, they reluctantly acceded to these terms. But whilst this convention was on the point of being carried into execution, a sudden event took place, which totally changed the whole face of affairs.

Vanden Broecke having found means, after his imprisonment, to dispatch a confidential messenger to the Pangoran, or prince of Bantam, it was represented to him, that if he would espouse the cause of the Dutch, and release their governor from the dungeon in which he was immured, they, in their turn, would undertake to assist him in subduing the kingdom of Jacatra, without requiring for themselves any part of the conquest, except a portion of land contiguous to the forts they already possessed. This proposition was made to that chief before Vanden Broecke had any knowledge whatever of the terms submitted to the garrisons by sir Thomas Dale; so that the non-fulfilment of the convention on the part of the Dutch, was solely the effect of accidental circumstances.

The Pangoran had sufficient discernment to perceive that the real view of Vanden Broecke, in thus soliciting his alliance, was to strengthen the Dutch establishment in the island, and to found it on a basis so broad, as to preclude its ever being overturned either by him, or any other native power: and though he was fully sensible it was his true policy to prevent the Dutch from accomplishing this object, and to abet, rather than oppose their expulsion, yet the immediate benefits which would accrue to him from the proposed alliance, the opportunity which it would afford of gratifying his hatred of the Jacatrans, and the chance it would offer of getting Vanden Broecke into his possession, and thereby bringing him ultimately to his own terms, were considerations which operated very powerfully on his mind, and finally determined him to join the Dutch. He, therefore, sent an officer, with two thousand men, to Jacatra, under the pretence of co-operating with the king against the Dutch; so that he might be admitted to his presence without difficulty. The unexpected appearance of so large a body of men occasioned universal surprise;

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surprise; but as there was no sufficient reason to question the sincerity of the Pangoran's professions, the king did not hesitate to grant a private audience to the officer in command of his troops. Yet it is strange that a Malay prince, habituated to treachery and murder, should not have been more on his guard. The Bantamese officer was no sooner alone with the king, than he put a dagger to his bosom, and demanded an instantaneous assent to whatever he should propose. The unhappy prince, naturally of a pusillanimous disposition, made no attempt to extricate himself, but yielded an implicit compliance; and orders were accordingly given in his name to allow the Bantamese troops to march into the town, and to guard the avenues to the palace; to dissolve all connexion with the English; to proclaim peace and amity with the Dutch, and to restore them to all the privileges that they before enjoyed. Though the Jacatrans were amazed at this sudden change in the sentiments of their sovereign, yet so much were they accustomed to respect every mandate issued by him, that these orders were executed with the utmost promptitude and alacrity: and sir Thomas Dale, finding it in vain to resist them, retired on board his fleet, carrying with him all the merchandise belonging to the English factory; and seeing no probability of deriving any advantage from continuing longer before Jacatra, he set sail for the coast of Malabar.

The Bantamese general having by this stratagem attained the objects of his expedition, secretly sent off the king to a distant part of the island, got Vanden Broecke conveyed under a strong escort, to Bantam; and then informed the Jacatrans that he had deposed their sovereign, and was resolved to retain possession of their country. The rage which this information produced in the minds of these deluded people was, however, repressed by a dread of the Dutch, whose favour the Bantamese general conciliated by valuable presents, by ardent professions of regard, and by persuading them that he had released Vanden Broecke from his captivity, who had thought fit to proceed to Bantam to negotiate and settle a treaty of friendship with the Pangoran.

Whilst the Jacatrans were secretly concerting measures for throwing off the yoke of the Bantamese and the Dutch, the arrival of Coen, with an armament of seventeen ships, and six thousand troops, put a period to all their projects, and finally sealed their subjection. On the 25th of March, he landed with the whole of his military force, dislodged the Bantamese without opposition, and took possession of the place, by right of conquest, for the Dutch East India company. And finding reason to suspect that Vander Broecke was detained by the Pangoran as a prisoner, he sent a detachment of twelve hundred men to Bantam, to demand his immediate release, together with a sum of money as a compensation for having dared to confine him; and at the same time to compel that prince to make a formal acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Dutch power in the island of Java. The Pangoran being in no condition to oppose so strong a body of Dutch troops, with infinite chagrin and vexation complied with these demands:

demands: and Vanden Broecke was reſtored to the gratitude and the kindneſs of his countrymen, to which his ſufferings, as well as his bravery, ſo highly entitled him.

Coen, having thus completed the conqueſt of Jacatra, and eſtabliſhed his authority over the principal part of the iſland, proceeded to lay the foundation of a city deſtined to be the capital of the Dutch empire in Aſia, and to perpetuate, in that quarter of the globe, the achievements and triumph of the Batavian arms. The ſite of the town of Jacatra appeared to be the moſt ſuitable poſition for the new city. He, therefore, removed all the inhabitants, except the Chineſe merchants, to different parts of the circumjacent country, where he built large villages for their reception, and then raſed the whole of the ancient town. He was induced to adopt this harſh meaſure, on account of the ſituation being ſo well calculated both to reſiſt an enemy, and to facilitate the intercourſe of commerce. Jacatra was ſituated at the bottom of a capacious, though not a deep bay, ſhut in from the ſea by a number of ſmall iſlands, which run acroſs its entrance, and which render it a place of great ſecurity as well againſt the violence of tempeſts as the agitation of the ocean. On the eaſt and weſt ſide the town was bounded by two fine though ſmall rivers, capable of admitting large boats and other veſſels of a ſimilar ſize, and furniſhing a perpetual ſupply of freſh water. The ground on which it ſtood is perfectly flat; and the ſurrounding country preſents a level and extenſive vale of 150 miles in circumference, covered with wood, and watered by thoſe rivers and their ſeveral tributary ſtreams. The advantages of ſuch a ſituation, for the purpoſes we have mentioned, eaſily counterbalanced, in the mind of a Dutchman, naturally partial to low countries, ſome conſiderations reſpecting its inſalubrity, which a ſickneſs that prevailed amongſt his troops had ſuggeſted. Coen, therefore, loſt no time in forming the plan, and in commencing the building of the city. Having choſen a favourable ſpot on the banks of the eaſtern river, for the erection of a citadel, he marked out an extenſive boundary for the town, comprehending a ſpace of two miles in circumference, through the centre of which that river took its courſe, and in which the two forts already built were included. On the eaſt and north ſide this boundary was covered by an almoſt impenetrable wood, and on the weſt it was defended by the other river. Streets of conſiderable breadth were then laid out in ſtraight lines, croſſing each other at right angles; and through the centre of many of them commodious canals were cut, which formed channels of communication between the two rivers, and which were thereby ſupplied with a clear and conſtant ſtream. On each ſide of theſe canals rows of trees were planted, which, in the preſent ſtate of the city, exclude the rays of a vertical ſun, and ſpread a broad and cool ſhade over the houſes as well as the paſſengers. Yet this apparent convenience was, in reality, a very pernicious ornament; for, by adding to the noxious vapour naturally ariſing from a humid ſoil, in an immenſe plain covered with wood, and ſituated in the torrid zone, it greatly contributes to promote the unhealthineſs of the climate.

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mate. The experience of nearly two centuries muſt have ſufficiently convinced the Dutch of this fact, though their patriotic predilection for flat countries, and canals, and ſhady walks, has induced them to gratify their taſte at the expenſe of their health.

On the 10th of Auguſt 1619, the foundation of the city was laid; and in the courſe of three years the ſplendid plan we have delineated was almoſt completed. The citadel formed a ſmall ſquare, regularly fortified: the ſpaciouſneſs of the public buildings, and the neatneſs of the dwelling houſes, gave the town a ſtriking and beautiful appearance; and the whole environed by a lofty wall, defended by eighteen baſtions, and ninety pieces of cannon, ſeemed to afford to the inhabitants a powerful ſecurity againſt an hoſtile attack. To this magnificent place Coen gave the name of BATAVIA; and here the ſeat of the ſupreme government of the Dutch poſſeſſions in India was permanently fixed.

Thoſe poſſeſſions were now very numerous. In the eaſtern ſeas they extended over the greateſt part of the archipelago; and at Japan and Siam conſiderable factories were eſtabliſhed. On the weſtern ſide of India their ſettlement in Ceylon was rapidly gaining that ſtrength and conſequence by which it was at laſt enabled to expel the Portugueze from the iſland. On the continent, they had hitherto attained no footing, except at Muſulipatam, where their factors poſſeſſed ſome influence, and carried on a lucrative trade. The little progreſs which the Dutch had made in Hinduſtan aroſe not ſo much from an inattention to the advantages to be derived from that important country, as from the ſuperior conduct and addreſs of the Engliſh, by whom they were foiled in many attempts to obtain commercial privileges from the Mogul government and the native princes of the peninſula. A circumſtance ſo mortifying to the pride of the Dutch, ſerved to embitter the animoſity which they bore their rivals, and determined them to purſue the gratification of their reſentment by every means which their ingenuity, ſharpened by their malice, could deviſe. Theſe means were, however, regulated by prudence, and cautiouſly adapted to their ſyſtem of policy, which aimed at the ſubverſion of the Engliſh commerce in India, by artifice rather than by arms. They not only conſidered war as the leaſt effectual mode of fruſtrating the intereſts of their rivals, whoſe naval power was equal to their own, but they were averſe to that remedy, becauſe it would prevent them from proſecuting their operations againſt the Portugueze. The hoſtilities which took place in Java, though provoked by the intrigues of the Dutch, were actually commenced by the Engliſh: and Coen, whilſt he was employed in the building of Batavia, reſtored, by a formal treaty of peace with the Engliſh factors at the Moluccas, that interchange of mutual civilities which previouſly ſubſiſted betwixt the two nations. In theſe circumſtances may be obſerved much of the inſidious caution and cool deliberate duplicity which marked the policy and the conduct of the Dutch, which enabled them to diſſemble their reſtleſs jealouſy, and by which they endeavoured to affix on the

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Engliſh the imputation of treachery at the extraordinary examination that preceded the maſſacre of Amboyna. How far the unhappy ſufferers on that dreadful occaſion can be juſtly blamed, and how far the conduct of their murderers can admit of extenuation, will appear in the next chapter.

Erratum to the Hiſtory of India.

Page 3, column 1, line 48, for *vigorous* read RIGOROUS.

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CHRONICLE.

BENGAL *Occurrences for* MAY 1801.

Captain J. Malcolm, late envoy to the court of Perſia, has been appointed an honorary aid-du-camp to his excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general, and private ſecretary to his excellency during the abſence of the hon. Henry Welleſley on the public ſervice from Fort William.

Capture of Serampore.

On the 8th inſtant, a detachment of the garriſon of Fort-William proceeded from the cantonment of Barrackpore, under the command of colonel Dickſon, accompanied by capt. Shawe and lieut. Armſtrong, aids-du-camp to the Governor-general, to the Daniſh ſettlement of Frederickſnagore or Serampore, and took poſſeſſion of that ſettlement without oppoſition. Immediately after which the colonel detached a party of ſepoys to Iſherah, under the command of capt. Morris, accompanied by the captain of the Daniſh Company's ſhip *Norge*, or *Norway*, and who delivered up the ſhip to capt. Morris, in conformity to his word of honour given to the colonel when taken priſoner.

Capture of the Amboyna, *by* La Gloire, *with ſome Particulars of the Detention and ill Treatment of Capt.* Alms *and his Crew, by the Rajah of Cheduba.*

The engagement between the *Amboyna* and *La Gloire* laſted one hour and thirty minutes; at length the privateer came cloſe under the *Amboyna*'s ſtern, with her ſweeps, and was on the point of boarding with 150 picked men, when ſhe ſtruck. The firſt gun the privateer fired, the ſyrang immediately diſappeared, and twelve of his gang lay flat down upon the deck, all endeavours to raiſe them from their proſtrate poſition were in vain; three of the ſeaconnies on board the *Amboyna* were diſcovered to be Frenchmen, and who, it is reported, had wilfully put the ſhot into the guns before the cartridges, and it was alſo afterwards known that it was their intention to have joined the privateer's men, and to have maſſacred capt. Alms, with his officers. Two of theſe wretches, on the *Amboyna*'s ſtriking, immediately entered on board the enemy's ſhip, the third died at Ava.

Thus ſituated, without wind, and conſequently no command of the veſſel, further reſiſtance was ineffectual, particularly when capt. Alms, three officers, four ſeaconnies, ſix ſepoys alone remained on deck to repel 150 deſperadoes armed at all points for boarding.

Capt. Alms of the *Amboyna*, who was landed with his crew at Cheduba, from *La Gloire* privateer, has lately ſailed from Rangoon to Prince of Wales's Iſland, on the *Ceres* ketch: their detention by the rajah of the iſland appears moſt

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extraordinary. Soon after the departure of the *Lalla*, capt. Young, an order arrived from Ava, for capt. Alms, his officers and crew to be immediately sent up there.—All remonstrances on their part were fruitless and unavailing, no alternative presented itself but compliance, or a resolute attempt to endeavour to cut off the boats on which they were to proceed on their journey; the many difficulties and dangers attendant on the latter expedient were canvassed over, and it was determined to submit peaceably, and after a tedious, disagreeable and dangerous journey of near 500 miles, they arrived at the capital of the Burmah dominions.

It was now first discovered why the English prisoners had been thus forced to undertake so unpleasant a journey; the rajah of Cheduba had circulated a report, that the French had given captain Alms and his crew as slaves to his majesty of Ava.

After a great deal of trouble and a few presents to the king, capt. Alms and his crew obtained permission to proceed from Ava to Rangoon, after a detention of twenty days; fortunately for these sufferers the shabundah of Rangoon was at Ava at the time of their arrival there, and it was through his intercession alone that they were enabled to depart: they were fifteen days on their passage to Rangoon, where they arrived in a most deplorable state, through uneasiness of mind, and the bad quality of their provisions, being allowed only one quarter of a seer of rice per day.

Loss of the Ship Lalla, *Capt. Young.*

The ship *Lalla*, capt. Young, of and from Bombay, in proceeding up the river to Calcutta, and having on the morning of the 27th inst. advanced nearly to Garden Reach, unfortunately caught fire about six o'clock, and was totally consumed. Some valuable horses which were on board miserably shared her fate.—We do not hear that any property whatever was preserved. The crew are saved.

MADRAS
Occurrences for May.

On Tuesday the 28th inst. lieut. general James Stuart was sworn a member of the supreme board, and a salute of 17 guns was fired on the occasion.

[We have great pleasure in laying before our readers the following letter from Admiral Lord KEITH, being an answer addressed to his lordship by B. ROEBUCK, Esq. on the behalf of the Underwriters of Madras]

Audacious, Legborn Roads, 3d April 1801.

SIR,

I, yesterday, received your letter of the 7th of August last, acquainting me that the different insurance offices of Madras had resolved on presenting to the representative of the late capt. Cooke, of his majesty's ship *La Sybille*, a service of plate, of fifteen hundred pounds value, (which had been originally intended to be offered to himself, had he survived,) as a tribute to the memory of so gallant and amiable a man; and that the committee appointed to carry the resolution of the different insurance offices into effect, had directed you to request that I would, in their names, present the service of plate, on which capt. Cooke's crest is to be engraved, and such an inscription as I may think most suitable to the subject.

I request, sir, that you will assure the gentlemen, who have honoured me by their selection for the conveyance of this tribute of their respect

ſpect and regard, that it is a taſk moſt acceptable to me, and highly gratifying to my feelings, as an officer, who muſt view with ſatisfaction the eſtimation in which military merit is held as a friend—who cannot fail to be pleaſed with an active agency on an occaſion ſo honourable to a private character that I reſpected and eſteemed—and the humble ſervant of thoſe whoſe confidence has not been limited to the period of my ſervices upon their coaſts, but which has, in this flattering manner, accompanied me into other ſeas.

In compliance with your deſire, I have ſent to Mr. Chaſe the following inſcription, to be engraved over the creſt:

OCCIDIT FLEBILIS MULTIS.
(*Creſt*)

LA FORTE taken —— } Dates to be
EDWARD COOKE, *Ob.* —— } inſerted.

That I have not been able to determine on one which might have been conſidered as more appropriate, I truſt will not be imputed to any want of conſciouſneſs of his merits (which I have perſonally witneſſed during his ſervice with me,) or of any inclination to expreſs, in the beſt manner that I can, the ſenſe which I am ſure is entertained of them, by the gentlemen who have honoured me with this mark of their confidence on the preſent occaſion.

I feel conſiderable regret at being unable, in conſequence of my abſence from Britain, to deliver the preſent myſelf: but, as I am unwilling to delegate the charge, I ſhall write to capt. Cooke's repreſentative on the ſubject, and, on my return, take an early opportunity of expreſſing, in perſon, the ſentiments of reſpect and eſteem which his friends at Madras entertain for his memory.

My beſt acknowledgements are due to you, ſir, for the polite and flattering manner in which you have conveyed their wiſhes to me; I beg your acceptance of them, and that you will believe me to be with great reſpect, &c.

(Signed) KEITH.

To B. Roebuck, Eſq.

Public Thanks of the Government to Lieut. Col. Innes.

Fort St. George, May 22d 1801.

The right hon. the governor in council, having received the report of lieut. colonel Innes, ſtating the apprehenſion of the perſon of the rebellious polygar of Veerapatchy, and the ſuppreſſion of the troubles in the province of Dindigul, his lordſhip takes the earlieſt opportunity of expreſſing his public thanks to lieut. colonel Innes, and to the officers and men who have been employed on field ſervice under his command in that province.

The operations of lieut. colonel Innes's detachment have been equally diſtinguiſhed by the judicious arrangements with which they were planned, and by the great energy and ability which ſignalized their execution, and the governor in council has viewed with the higheſt ſatisfaction the undaunted and perſevering ardour with which the difficulties oppoſed by the united force of the rebels, the ſeverity of a fatiguing ſervice, and of an unfavourable climate, have been ſurmounted. The force of the rebels has been ſubdued, their ſtrong holds attacked and taken, and the civil government reſtored in the rebellious pollams with a degree of rapidity, judgement and ſucceſs which merits his lordſhip's warmeſt applauſe.

The governor in council has derived great ſatisfaction in the execution of this ſervice, from the zeal

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and union of public spirit which has animated the civil and military authorities in their mutual exertion for the public good. And the meritorious exertions of the officers of the detachment which his lordship has had repeated occasion to commend, deserve the particular acknowledgements of the governor in council.

BENGAL *Occurrences for* JUNE 1801.

Supreme Court, Calcutta.

On Wednesday the 10th inst. the supreme court commenced their first term of Oyer and Terminer for the year. The hon. Mr. Justice Royds addressed the grand jury, impannelled on this occasion, in a pertinent and impressive manner.

On Friday the following sentences were passed on the culprits, viz.

Frederick Stephen Rollinson, for the murder of Shaik Ruffick, a bheasty—*death.*

William Johnson, for the murder of Benjamin Way—*death.*

Rogonaut Day, for burglary—*death.*

Beebun, for burglary—transported for life. *Shaik Buxo*, for a misdemeanour—to be imprisoned two years. *John Thompson*, for an assault—fined one rupee and discharged.

Rollinson and Johnson were executed on Monday the 15th, and Day on Friday the 26th inst.

Copy of a Letter from the Chairman appointed to manage the Subscription raised for the Benefit of the Sufferers in Lord Nelson's Victory.

Lloyd's Coffee-House, London, April 16, 1800.

SIR,

As chairman of the committee appointed to manage the subscription raised for the benefit of the sufferers in lord Nelson's victory, I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th of November last, enclosing a remittance of 1074l. 10s. on the hon. the court of directors of the East India Company, being the amount so laudably subscribed at your presidency in aid of the fund raised for the relief of the wounded seamen and marines, and the families of those who were killed in the ever glorious engagement of the 1st of August 1798, off the mouth of the Nile.

I am desired to express the thanks of the committee to the subscribers for their liberal and humane conduct towards the gallant defenders of their country; and I take the liberty to add my own acknowledgments on this occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. J. ANGERSTEIN.

To R. W. Cox, Esq. Fort William.

MADRAS *Occurrences for June.*

PROCLAMATION.

The right hon. the governor in council is pleased to direct that the gentlemen of his majesty's and the hon. company's civil and military establishments do attend to-morrow morning at sun-rise, being the anniversary of his majesty's birth-day, at the rampart on the sea-face, when the union flag of the united kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland will be displayed.

Published by order of the right hon. the governor in council.

G. BUCHAN.
Act. Chief Sec. to Govt.

Fort St. George, 3d June 1801.

Pursuant

Purſuant to the above proclamation the gentlemen of the civil and military ſervice, met the right hon. the governor on Thurſday morning at gun-fire, at the ramparts on the ſea line; when the union flag was hoiſted, under a fire of muſquetry and a royal ſalute from the battery.

The ſame day was obſerved with the uſual rejoicings. At one o'clock his majeſty's and the hon. company's ſhips in the roads fired a royal ſalute. And 68 guns, a number correſpondent with his majeſty's years, were fired from the walls of the garriſon.

In the evening the right hon. the governor, gave a ſplendid ball and ſupper to the ladies and gentlemen of the ſettlement, which was very numerouſly attended.

BOMBAY
Occurrences for June.

Ceremony of diſplaying the Union Flag.

On Thurſday the 4th inſt. being the anniverſary of his majeſty's birth-day, and appointed by the hon. the governor in council, to ſignalize the diſplay of the Imperial Union Flag at the preſidency, the following troops were paraded at an early hour. His majeſty's 74th, 86th, and a detachment of the 88th reg. the 2d batt. 7th native regt. and the native Portugueze militia.

About ſix o'clock the hon. the governor, accompanied by ſir W. Syer, major general Nicholſon, the ſecretary, the general's ſtaff, all the officers off duty, and the gentlemen in the civil ſervice, came on the parade; when his majeſty's order in council of the 5th of November laſt, ſettling the royal ſtyle and titles and the enſigns armorial, &c. was read by the ſecretary on horſeback. The former union flag which had been hoiſted in the caſtle at ſun-riſe, was then hauled down, and the new one ſubſtituted in its place, under a royal ſalute, during which the troops remained with preſented arms, the drums beating and the muſic playing *God ſave the King!*

The 74th regiment, in returning to their barracks, marched paſt the governor in cloſe order and ſlow time. The "war worn" ſtandards and ſteady appearance of this corps called up a lively recollection of the diſtinguiſhed part which they have acted on the theatre of Aſia; and of the gallantry and diſcipline with which they have, during a ſeries of nearly fourteen years, contributed to the honour of the Britiſh arms.

The ceremony of diſplaying the flag of the united kingdom was obſerved at Surat on the 4th inſtant agreeably to orders, all the troops off duty having paraded at gun fire on the caſtle parade with their front to the caſtle, commanded by lieut. colonel Anderſon, who iſſued the orders neceſſary on the occaſion.

BENGAL *Occurrences for* JULY 1801.

Admiralty Seſſions.

On Friday the 17th inſt. an admiralty ſeſſion was held by the ſupreme court, when *Joaõ Elariõ*, a native of Manilla, was tried as a principal in the ſecond degree, for aiding and aſſiſting in the murder of capt. Joſeph George, &c. on board the ſhip *Marianne*, in January laſt.

Elariõ is the only ſurvivor of

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the four ſeaconnies who perpetrated the dreadful deed. The jury after having heard the witneſſes, and receiving a charge from the chief juſtice, retired, and in a few minutes returned their verdict *guilty*. His lordſhip proceeded in a moſt ſolemn and impreſſive manner to pronounce ſentence of *death* on the criminal.

The culprit was executed on Monday the 20th inſt. at the Old Fort Ghaut, agreeably to his ſentence; and the body afterwards conveyed down the river, to be hung in chains at Buddetullah, on the banks of the Hoogly.—(*See further particulars in* Aſiat. Reg. *vol.* 3, *Chron. p.* 61.)

Preſentation of a Sword to Capt. Meik.

The members of the Bengal Phœnix Inſurance Society, on the 20th inſt. preſented an elegant ſword, valued at 1600 ſicca rupees, to capt. Meik, as a tribute of their applauſe. On the hilt of the weapon, which they have ſo judiciouſly committed to his charge, they have cauſed the following inſcription to be engraven.

"Preſented by the Bengal Inſurance "Society, to capt. Thomas Meik, as an "honorary teſtimony of his gallant con-"duct, in defending (until farther reſiſt-"ance became vain) his ſhip the *Armenia*, "againſt a French privateer, the *Clariſſa*, "of very ſuperior force."—(*See particulars of the engagement in* Aſiat. Reg. *vol.* 3, *Chron. p.* 23.)

MADRAS
Occurrences for July.

Inſtallation of the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, on the Muſnud of the Carnatic.

In purſuance of an order from the right hon. lord Clive, the whole of the civil, naval, military, and the gentlemen of the preſidency, aſſembled at Chepauk-houſe on the 31ſt inſt. at noon. A little after one o'clock his highneſs, accompanied by the right hon. the governor, their excellencies vice admiral Ranier and general Stuart, with the members of council, arrived at the palace, where they were received by ſir Thomas Strange, Mr. Gwillim and Mr. Sullivan.

The troops, cavalry and infantry, formed a ſtreet from the entrance of the gardens to the veranda of the palace, through which the proceſſion paſſed.

His highneſs entered the durbar between the right hon. the governor and his excellency vice admiral Ranier, preceded by Joſiah Webbe, eſq. the chief ſecretary to government, and followed by his excellency lieut. general Stuart, and the other members of council. He was then inveſted with the inſignia of his elevated ſtation by the right hon. the governor, aſſiſted by the admiral and the general. The ſword was the laſt article of ſtate with which his highneſs was decorated; on the pommel of which he reſted his hand in a moſt graceful attitude, while he addreſſed a ſhort ſpeech to his lordſhip in Perſian. He then preſented one hand to his lordſhip and the other to admiral Ranier, and aſcended the muſnud. When his highneſs was ſeated, the right hon. the governor occupied a chair placed below on the left of the muſnud; on his lordſhip's left ſat admiral Ranier, and general Stuart, Mr. Fallofield, the generals of the ſtaff, &c. correſponding to this order; and on the right of the nabob, ſat ſir Thomas Strange, Mr. Petrie, Mr. Gwillim, Mr. Sullivan, the adjutant and quarter-maſter general, &c. The ſecretary ſtood behind, and officiated as interpreter between the right hon. the governor and his high-

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highneſs. After ſome mutual compliments, the new treaty with his highneſs, which had been previouſly ſigned, was exchanged in form. Lord Clive preſented it to his highneſs, who placed it by him on the muſnud; the counterpart was then put into the nabob's hands, who preſented it to lord Clive, by whom it was received in a ſtanding poſture, and placed in Mr. Webbe's hands; the ceremony was concluded with ſprinkling roſe-water, beetlenut, &c. &c.

A royal ſalute was fired from the battery of the palace, from the fort, and from the ſhipping in the roads, and a *feu de joy* by the troops under arms. His highneſs afterwards received the compliments of the gentlemen preſent, and the nuzzers of his khans.

This ceremony was performed with every mark of public reſpect from the Britiſh government, and with every practicable degree of ſplendour conformable to the uſages of India.

Re-capture of the Ship Rebecca.

This ſhip *(Les Deux Amis)* was formerly the *Rebecca*, captured by the *Conſiance* laſt year, and was recaptured while at anchor by the boats from the *Matilda*, captain Shean, after a deſperate reſiſtance. The above veſſel conſequently became reſtorable to the underwriters, upon paying the cuſtomary ſalvage; but the New Madras Inſurance Company, by whom ſhe was inſured, have abandoned their right to the captors, in a letter to the commander, of which the following is a copy:

SIR,

We have the pleaſure to inform you, that at a general meeting of the New Madras Inſurance Company, held this day, they took into conſideration the re-capture of the *Rebecca*, now *Les Deux Amis*, by the ſhip under your command.

And notwithſtanding the re-captures in this caſe would be ſtrictly entitled to the ſtated ſalvage, merely, as regulated by act of parliament, yet we are deſired to ſtate to you, that the company, impreſſed with a ſenſe of the manly, ſpirited, and able conduct diſplayed by you and the ſhip's company, have reſolved to abandon the ſhip altogether.

We requeſt you will be careful to explain to the officers and crew under your command, the ſentiments of this company, and to aſſure them of their belief that on all occaſions where they manifeſt ſuch exertion againſt the enemy, their conduct will meet with deſerved encouragement.

We are, &c,
(Signed) CHASE & Co.
Secretary to the New Madras Inſurance Company.
Madras, June 26th 1801.

BOMBAY
Occurrences for July.

Quarterly Seſſions.

DUELLING.

The quarterly ſeſſions commenced here on the 14th inſt. before ſir W. Syer, knt. recorder, and his aſſociate judges, Robert Henſhaw, eſq. mayor, Alex. Adamſon, R. Kitſon, and S. Halliday, eſquires, aldermen.

The following gentlemen were ſworn of the grand jury, viz.

P. S. Maiſter, eſq. Foreman.

G. Paterſon,	W. Borleſe,
J. Fiſher,	J. G. Richardſon,
T. N. Winſley,	M. Tucker,
W. Broughton,	J. Hodgſon,
A. W. Handley,	J. Tell,
J. Sutherland,	N. H. Smith,
C. J. Bond,	J. Law,
P. P. Travers,	E. Terry,

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C. R. Wren, P. Berwicke,
J. Elphinſtone, W. Crawford, and
H. Shank, J. Kinlock, eſquires.

The recorder having addreſſed the grand jury in a very eloquent and impreſſive ſpeech, elucidating the law, as applied to the various bills that were to be brought before them, and particularly upon the ſubject of *duelling:* the grand jury retired, and the court adjourned until the following day at ten o'clock, when the grand jury returned a true bill againſt lieutenant *George Bridges Bellaſis* and captain *Charles William Byne*, for the murder of Mr. Arthur Andrew Forbes Mitchell. No bill was found againſt lieutenant *Jonathan Mitchie* whoſe name ſtood in the ſame indictment.

Mr. Dowdeſwell, as advocate for the crown, then moved that Mr. Mitchie might be put to the bar and tried upon the inqueſt of the coroner, with the view, as he declared, of bringing Mr. Mitchie forward as an evidence upon the trial of lieut. Bellaſis and capt. Byne; which being oppoſed by Mr. Morley, as counſel for thoſe gentlemen, and the court having heard the arguments adduced for and againſt the motion, it was at length rejected. Lieut. Bellaſis and capt. Byne were then put to the bar, and after eight peremptory challenges on the part of the priſoners, and three on the part of the crown, the following gentlemen were ſworn of the *petit jury*, viz,

Capt. A. Patton, of the *Ocean*, Foreman,
Capt. J. Barfoot, of the *Nottingham*,
Capt. Wakefield, of the *Henry Addington*,
Capt. J. Rees, of the *Houghton*,
Capt. Iſaacke, of the *Skelton Caſtle*,
Capt. Saunders, of the *Travers*,
Capt. Slater, of the *Admiral Nelſon*,
Mr. Rees, chief officer of the *Houghton*,
Mr. Rammage, ditto of the *Nottingham*,
Mr. Bowers, 2d ditto of the *Travers*,
Mr. Vaughan, 3d ditto of the *Ocean*.
Mr. Leonard Jaques, Agent.

Mr. Dowdeſwell having addreſſed the jury on the part of the proſecution, evidence on both ſides was heard, and the priſoners (both of whom addreſſed the court) having finiſhed their defence, at 9 o'clock at night, the recorder ſummed up the whole of the proceedings with his uſual perſpicuity and accuracy. The jury retired at midnight, and at half paſt one o'clock on the morning of the 16th, returned their verdict *guilty*, but recommended the priſoners to mercy. The priſoners were immediately committed to cloſe confinement, and ordered to be brought up on Monday next, the 20th inſt. to receive the judgment of the court.

Monday July 20.

The court having this day met at eleven o'clock, purſuant to adjournment, lieut. G. B. Bellaſis and capt. C. W. Byne were put to the bar, and being aſked, in the uſual form, what they had to ſay why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed upon them, they ſeverally addreſſed the court in a few words, throwing themſelves upon its mercy.

The recorder then addreſſed the priſoners in a long and very affecting ſpeech, wherein he recapitulated the leading circumſtances of this melancholy caſe, and took occaſion to admoniſh the audience to take warning from the unfortunate example before them, of the danger of flying in the face of the laws, and, actuated by falſe notions of honour, ſeeking the lives of their fellow creatures or riſking their own, by that moſt barbarous practice, *duelling*, a practice in direct oppoſition to the laws of God and man, and conſequently highly *diſhonourable*.

The recorder then informed the priſoners, that, in conſideration of the jury having recommended them to mercy, the court had determined

to avail themſelves of the late gracious act of his majeſty, which enables the courts in India to award ſentence of tranſportation inſtead of execution againſt offenders in certain caſes, as they ſhall ſee fit; and further, that, from ſome favourable circumſtances which had appeared on the trial, affecting the caſe of captain Byne, as well as a repreſentation which had juſt been put into his hand from the officers of the 86th regiment, ſtating that upon a former occaſion of this nature, captain Byne had interfered and happily prevented a duel in the regiment, the court would be induced to recommend him to his majeſty for *pardon*; but that the caſe of lieut. Bellaſis appeared in a very different point of view, and he muſt not expect the ſmalleſt remiſſion of his puniſhment; the recorder concluded by ſaying, "It therefore only remains for me to pronounce the ſentence of the law, which is—that you George Bridges Bellaſis ſhall be tranſported to the eaſtern coaſt of New South Wales, for the term of 14 years;—and that you Charles William Byne ſhall be tranſported to the ſame place, for the term of 7 years."

BENGAL *Occurrences for* AUGUST 1801.

Loſs of the ſhip Duke of Clarence, *Capt. Townſend.*

On Monday morning the 10th inſt. the *Duke of Clarence*, bound to Ceylon, in dropping down with the ebb, ſtruck on the edge of the Sumatra Sand off the Eſplanade. She filled with water ſo faſt that the people had juſt time to get out, when ſhe went down in deep water, and was totally loſt.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

Auguſt 18, 1801.

His excellency in council having this day ratified a treaty for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the ſubahdarry of the territories of Arcot, for eſtabliſhing the nabob Azeem ud Dowlah behauder, in the ſtate, rank, and dignity of nabob of the Carnatic, and for veſting the ſole excluſive adminiſtration of the civil and military government of all the territories and dependencies of the Carnatic Payenghaut in the honourable the Eaſt India Company.

Ordered, that the event be announced by a royal ſalute from the ramparts of Fort William.

Fort William, Aug. 28, 1801.

The following diſpatch received by his excellency the governor-general, by expreſs from Bombay, is publiſhed by order of the hon. the vice preſident.

Leopard, Mocha Road, July 21, 1801.

MY LORD,

By the death of rear-admiral Blanket, which happened on the 14th inſt. the command of his ſquadron devolved upon me; but as ſir Home Popham had been ſent from Europe with inſtructions to take the command and carry on the ſervice in this ſea, I have reſigned to him.

The *Alert*, (one of the honourable Company's cruizers left by the late rear-admiral for the purpoſe,) is this moment arrived with a diſpatch from major Holloway, (a copy of which I have the honour to encloſe,) and as I think this event of ſuch importance to the general intereſt of the country, I have alſo tranſmitted ſimilar copies to the governments of Madras and Bombay. I beg leave to offer your lordſhip my ſincere congratulations on this important event, and the ſpeedy

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ſpeedy proſpect of the termination of the war in Egypt.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THOS. SURRIDGE.

To the Marquis Welleſley, &c.

To Admiral Blanket, commanding his Majeſty's Forces in the Red Sea.

Camp before Cairo, 30th June 1801.

SIR,

It is with much ſatisfaction I embrace the opportunity of communicating to you the pleaſing intelligence, that the garriſon of Cairo have ſubſcribed to a treaty with the combined Britiſh and Ottoman armies for the ſurrender of that city, and for their evacuation of Egypt. Hoſtages have been given on both ſides. I have it not in my power to acquaint yon with the terms of capitulation, as they have not yet been made known to me; however, I beg to offer you my congratulations on an event ſo important to the intereſt of our country.

The reduction of Alexandria alone now remains to complete the conqueſt of Egypt; and I think it highly probable the attainment of this deſirable object is not very remote, as the garriſon of that place, which cannot exceed 4000 men, will hardly think it prudent to contend with a force ſo ſuperior as that which will be oppoſed to it on the return of our army.

Colonel Lloyd and his detachment are encamped with this army.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. HOLLOWAY.

MADRAS
Occurrences for Auguſt.

Loſs of the Ship Malabar, *Capt. Kent, by Fire.*

On Monday afternoon about five o'clock the 9d inſt. the ſhip *Malabar*, captain Kent, then at anchor in Madras roads, unfortunately took fire abaft, it is ſuppoſed from a caſk of ſpirits having ſlipt out of the ſlings and taking fire from the light below: in a few minutes this all-powerful element had involved the ſhip in inevitable deſtruction; and notwithſtanding every aſſiſtance afforded by the beach department, and from the ſhipping in the roads, at ſix o'clock her powder magazine forward took fire, and ſhe blew up. Immediately afterwards ſhe went down in about ſix fathoms water, the head of her mizen-top-maſt alone remaining perceptible.

We are happy to add that no lives were loſt on this melancholy occaſion; the people, who threw themſelves overboard, being all picked up by the ſurrounding boats.

The *Malabar* had 12,000 bags of rice, and many articles of ſtill greater value on board, and was to have proceeded on her return to England in the courſe of a few days.

Purſuant to an order from the right hon. the governor in council, a royal ſalute was fired on the 12th inſt. for the important victory obtained by a ſquadron of his majeſty's ſhips under the command of vice-admiral lord Nelſon, over the Daniſh fleet under the batteries of Copenhagen.

By a letter from Canton dated in March laſt, it appears that the ſhip *Jonathan Duncan*, in proceeding through Pitt's Straits, on the 2d of December laſt, was attacked by eight very large canoes in a moſt daring manner, who diſcharged a heavy flight of arrows at the ſhip, by which four men were dangerouſly wounded, two of whom died a few days after in a delirious ſtate, owing

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owing to the arrows being poiſoned. This obliged the *Jonathan Duncan* to diſcharge a heavy fire of muſquetry, when ſeveral of the natives were killed, and the reſt deſiſted from the attack. Some of the arrows meaſured five feet in length, but they threw them on board the ſhip of different lengths, and variouſly mounted, ſome with bone, others with a hard red wood, and all barbed. One poor fellow was obliged to undergo a ſevere operation, as a piece of an arrow which had broke in his body was obliged to be extracted. Their canoes were from 60 to 70 feet long, and carried 40 men in each, of a very ſavage appearance!

BOMBAY

Occurrences for Auguſt.

Loſs of the Ship Eſizabeth, *Capt. Brown.*

Bombay Gazette, Aug. 5.

On Friday laſt ſignals were made for a ſhip to the weſtward, unfortunately a little to leeward of this port, but from the variable winds which then prevailed, and the wind being off the land, on Saturday morning hopes were entertained that ſhe would have been enabled to have got ſufficiently to the weſtward to allow of her fetching into the harbour; but, from the heavy ſwell, and the wind coming round to the weſtward, ſhe was obſerved ſtanding in, and in the afternoon ſhe anchored within about a mile of the reef in 5½ fathoms water. A pilot was diſpatched from Mahim, who fortunately got on board, ſeveral boats went off and afforded her every aſſiſtance in their power, but all was in vain. They at length came to the reſolution of riding till the morning, in expectation of meeting with a land wind to run them off to the weſtward. A little before 10 o'clock on Sunday morning, ſhe was obſerved looſing her head ſails, and ſoon after her main and mizen-maſts went overboard. and a heavy ſea broke into her, when it appeared ſhe had ſtruck; the fore-maſt ſoon after followed the other two, and we are ſorry to ſay the ſhip is entirely loſt. She belongs to the houſe of meſſrs. Colt and Baker, of Madras, freighted to the Weſt Coaſt of Sumatra, with a very valuable cargo on board. Not a ſingle man periſhed on this unfortunate occaſion.

The principal merchants of Bombay have made the following handſome and well-merited acknowledgment to captain Selby of the hon. Company's marine of this eſtabliſhment, in return for his judicious conduct while commodore on the Surat ſtation.

To Capt. William Selby.

SIR,

The attention paid by you to the trade between this and the northern ports, and the unexampled ſecurity that has been experienced during the laſt ſeaſon, by your judicious arrangements to prevent the piracies heretofore committed, merit our particular thanks, which we requeſt you will accept, for the eſſential ſervice thereby rendered to our commerce, which has been uninterrupted by any capture ſince theſe arrangements has had effect.

We further beg your acceptance of a ſword, as a ſmall token of our ſenſe of the meritorious diſcharge of the duties of your ſtation.

We have the honour to be, &c.

Bruce, Fawcet, and Co.
Smith, Forbes, and Co.
Alexander Adamſon,
Miguel De Lima e Souza,
&c. &c.

To

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To which captain Selby returned the following anſwer.

To Meſſrs. Bruce, Fawcett, & Co. &c. &c.

GENTLEMEN,

I am moſt highly flattered by your favourable ſentiments of my conduct as expreſſed in ſo handſome a manner in the letter I have been honoured with from you under date the 25th ult. and am particularly happy that I have been placed in ſuch a ſituation as to render my exertions uſeful.

I am likewiſe much gratified by the ſword you have offered me on the occaſion, which I thankfully accept as a token of your approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WM. SELBY.

The merchants of Surat have alſo addreſſed the commodore a letter on the ſame ſubject, and in nearly the ſame terms.

ST. HELENA
Occurrences for Auguſt.

Preſentation of Colours to the St. Helena Regiment.

An elegant pair of colours having been ſent by the honourable court of directors for the St. Helena regiment; that corps was drawn out on the parade on Monday the 3d inſt. to receive them. The colours, after being conſecrated in front of the regiment, by the reverend Mr. Wilſon, were delivered by the enſigns to Mrs. Robſon, who preſented them to colonel Robſon, and addreſſed him in the following terms:

SIR,

"It is flattering to me in the higheſt degree to have been honoured with your requeſt to preſent theſe colours, which are a gift of the honourable the court of directors to their St. Helena regiment. This mark of honour has been conferred on them from a ſenſe of the merit of this reſpectable corps, for the ſpirited ſervices they have afforded in the courſe of the war, and the gallant manner in which they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves on public and arduous occaſions. I am well convinced that theſe colours will in every event and circumſtance be honourably ſupported by the intrepidity of the regiment: and aſſured of the ardour and loyalty that will ever guide their exertions in defence of this iſland, the conſtitution of the united iſles, and our royal ſovereign king George the third."

The colonel expreſſed his thanks to Mrs. Robſon, in the name of the regiment, for the honour ſhe had done them, and after an appropriate addreſs to the troops, returned the banners to the enſigns, and a royal ſalute was fired from the battery.

The day was celebrated by a general entertainment to the officers and men, and there was an elegant ball at the caſtle on the enſuing evening.

The following addreſs was preſented by the inhabitants of St. Helena to the governor, on his departure from thence for Europe.

To the Hon. Col. Robert Brooke, Governor of the Iſland of St. Helena.

We, the Company's ſervants, planters, and inhabitants of the iſland of St. Helena, deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of your unceaſing exertions for the proſperity and honour of the iſland, and the welfare of thoſe you have governed for theſe

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these fourteen years past with ability and humanity, request that W. W. Doveton, esq. will present this testimony of our sincere regret at the declining state of your health for these two years past, which unfortunately renders a temporary absence necessary. The blessings we have experienced under your government have effectually marked you as an object of our esteem and affection. We consider it but a just tribute to your merits, in acknowledging, this island has, owing to your wise and active measures, been brought forward to a degree of respectability and notice unprecedented in the annals of the settlement; and it is unanimously our most fervent hope and wish, that a speedy recovery of your health will be the joyful means of restoring you once more to the chief management of affairs in this island.

To the above address 104 signatures were affixed.

BENGAL *Occurrences for* SEPTEMBER 1801.

Presentation of a Sword to Captain Hardyman.

On Friday the 4th inst. a committee on behalf of four of the insurance societies in Calcutta, viz. the Calcutta Insurance Office, the Calcutta Insurance Company, the Bengal Insurance Company, and the Amicable Insurance Company, waited on captain Hardyman, and presented him with an elegant sword, which had been voted to him in testimony of his distinguished gallantry and good conduct in the capture of the French ship *La Forte*, accompanied with the following address:

To Captain L. F. Hardyman.

SIR,

As a committee of four of the insurance offices of Calcutta, we request your acceptance of the accompanying sword, as a mark of esteem and approbation of the gallantry and good conduct displayed by you in the action wherein his majesty's ship *La Sybille*, captured the French national frigate *La Forte*.

Allow us to embrace this opportunity of expressing a sincere hope, that our country may long have the advantage of your zeal and talents for the protection of her commerce, and for the advancement of her naval glory.

We remain, with much esteem, &c.

(Signed) COLVIN,
M'TAGGART,
BLYTHE.

Calcutta, 4th Sept. 1801.

To which captain Hardyman returned the following answer:

Calcutta, 4th Sept. 1801.

GENTLEMEN,

At the same time that I acknowledge the marked attention of the insurance offices in Calcutta, by presenting me with a sword, in testimony of the advantage resulting to the commerce of India, by the capture of the French national frigate *La Forte*, on the night of the 28th February 1799, I cannot but sincerely lament the melancholy occasion which has brought me forward to the notice of such respectable companies.

The success on that unequal conflict, was entirely owing to the judicious arrangements of the late gallant captain Edward Cooke, which

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which were carried into the promptest execution by a steady, well disciplined ship's company; and I claim but that share of merit to which every individual officer is entitled.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) L. F. HARDYMAN.

To Messrs. Colvin, M'Taggart and Blythe.

At a very full meeting of the Calcutta insurance office, to which Messrs. Fairlie, Gilmore and co. are secretary, on Monday last, it was resolved, that they should present the mother of Mr. Faulkner, (late second officer of the *Armenia*, captain Meik, and killed in the engagement with the French privateer *La Clarisse*,) with a donation of 150l. To the steward of the same ship, who distinguished himself in the action and was wounded, 100l. and 500 sicca rupees as a foundation for a fund to pay an annuity to two lascar seamen who also suffered in the action.

On the 27th inst. as Mr. G. Jackson, Company's agent at Kedgeree, with his wife and family, and several other ladies and gentlemen, in all 17 persons, were proceeding to town, in his cutter, it accidentally overset below Culpee, when Mrs. Jackson's mother and sister were unfortunately drowned, and the remaining fifteen, after enduring unparalleled hardships, and just on the eve of perishing, were providentially saved, by the exertions of a poor deserving fisherman and his boat's crew.

MADRAS

Occurrences for September.

Supreme Court at Madras.

On Friday the 4th inst. his majesty's charter, constituting a new court of judicature, under the title of "the Supreme Court at Madras," was publicly read and proclaimed.

After the publication of his majesty's letters patent, the hon. sir Thomas Andrew Strange took the usual oaths of office as the first chief justice, and the honourable Mr. Justice Gwillim, and the honourable Mr. Justice Sullivan, as the two first puisne justices of the supreme court.

On the formation of the court agreeable to the provisions of the charter, a royal salute was fired from the walls of the garrison.

The style, title, and jurisdiction of the court, was afterwards proclaimed by the sheriff, with the usual solemnities.

The court then proceeded to the nomination of its officers, when S. D. Totten, esq. was appointed clerk of the crown, and register of the court of admiralty; G. Ricketts, esq. prothonotary and register; J. Abbott, esq. deputy prothonotary and register; G. Lys, esq. examiner, and L. H. Sterling, esq. sealer.

R. Williams, A. Anstruther, H. Compton, and F. Disney, esqrs. were admitted barristers of the supreme court.

Messrs. Chalmers, Samuel, MacMahon, Walters and Orme, attornies, solicitors, proctors, and notaries.—Adjourned.

On Wednesday morning the 16th inst. the right hon. the governor, attended by his excellency the commander in chief, the members of council, and the gentlemen of the civil, naval, and military services, delivered to his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, at Chepauk palace, the ratified treaty received from his excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council, for

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for settling the succession to the subahdarry of Arcot, and for vesting the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic in the honourable Company.

On the delivery of the treaty to his highness, royal salutes were fired from the garrison of Fort St. George, from the shipping in the roads, and vollies of musquetry by the troops under arms.

Yesterday at noon his highness paid his first visit to the right honourable the governor, at the government house in the fort.

The troops were formed into a street for the reception of his highness, and a salute of nineteen guns was fired on his entrance into and departure from the garrison.

Capture of the Republican Frigate La Chiffonne, *by his Majesty's ship* La Sybille.

Extract from La Sybille's Log-book.

Wednesday, Aug. 19, 1801.

"At half past 8, on observing signals flying on St. Ann's island, hoisted French colours, at 9 having rounded the island, discovered a frigate with her foremast out, and several small vessels close in shore, backed the main-topsail, cleared for action, and got springs on the anchors, then filled and set the foresail, at 10 the frigate fired a shot and hoisted French colours, at 15 min. past 10 having past through many dangerous shoals which lay in the harbour, anchored within a cable's length of her, not being able to get closer on account of a shoal which lay on her larboard bow: the frigate hailed to desire a boat might be sent on board her, answered we should have one immediately; let go the best bower under foot, brought the broadside to bear, and at 25 min. past 10 hoisted English colours, and commenced firing, which was instantly returned by the frigate, and almost immediately by a raking battery from the shore, at 42 min. past 10 the frigate struck, cut her cable, and drifted on the reef, sent lieut. Mauger to take possession of her, the battery still firing, veered away to bring the broadside to bear on it, sent lieut. Corbyn on shore, on which the colours were also struck and the people made their escape: as soon as the frigate struck, many of her crew got on shore in the boats.

She proves to be *La Chiffonne*, having 14 ports of a side on the main deck, but mounting only 26 twelve pounders on that deck, 6 six pounders and 4 howitzers on the quarter-deck and forecastle, she had however 14 twelve pounders mounted on the side she engaged us: the battery proves to be mounted with 14 of the frigate's 12 pounders from her starboard side, having a furnace for heating shot, some of which were fired during the action. *La Chiffonne*, commanded by Capt. Guieysse, had about 28 killed, and upwards of 30 wounded, whereas the loss on our side was only Ben. Johnson and John Jones seamen, killed, and Mr. Philimore, midshipman, slightly wounded, the running rigging a little cut, and the main-topsail yard shot through in both yard arms.

Took possession of a schooner and a grab ketch under French colours, the schooner being sunk by one of our 32 pounders; the grab by her own crew. Sent hawsers on board the frigate, and said them to heave her off: received prisoners from the *La Chiffonne*, and sent a party of hands on board her: found riding here besides the prizes, some small vessels under Seychelle colours, viz. a blue

a blue flag, with the words Seychelle capitulation marked in the middle with white letters: found the frigate's fore-maſt on ſhore wanting a fiſh, cheeks, and a few hoops. The battery is exceſſively well conſtructed with faſcines, and a good platform of plank, and would have done us much miſchief, had the action continued longer, as they had juſt begun to depreſs their guns: the number of priſoners that eſcaped was upwards of 100.

La Chiffonne, on her paſſage from Nantes to India, made a prize of one Portugueze frigate on the coaſt of Brazil. On the 10th of June, off the Cape of Good Hope, ſhe captured the *Bellona* country ſhip, belonging to Bengal, bound to London. She ſailed from Nantes the 12th day of April 1801. *La Chiffonne* is a new frigate, about 9 months old, and never at ſea before, pierced for 42 guns, and manned with 296 men.

On the 21ſt of Auguſt the *Spitfire* king's ſchooner, lieut. Campbell commander, from Bombay, bound to the Red Sea with diſpatches, was totally loſt on Serhome Dubophant, one of the African iſlands unknown to the Engliſh, and lately diſcovered by the inhabitants of the Seychelle iſlands, the crew and moſt part of her ſtores were ſaved. On the 2d of September lieut. Campbell arrived in a ſmall boat, he had been ſix days from the iſland on which the ſchooner was loſt; delivered over to lieut. Campbell the *Sophy* ſchooner to take in his crew and ſtores and to proceed on his voyage to the Red Sea; on the 3d in the morning lieut. Campbell ſailed, and at 3 in the afternoon of the ſame day *La Sybille* and *La Chiffonne* ſailed.

On the 22d inſt. capt. Adams anchored in Madras roads, accompanied by his prize *La Chiffonne*.

The New Madras Inſurance Company, after expreſſing themſelves highly ſenſible of the gallant conduct of captain C. Adam, of his majeſty's ſhip *La Sybille*, in the capture of the French republican frigate *La Chiffonne*; and adverting to the benefit that muſt accrue by it to their commercial intereſts, have requeſted his acceptance of a ſword, valued at two hundred pounds ſterling. Captain Adam, in complying with their requeſt, declared himſelf highly gratified by the very obliging manner in which the above reſolution of the inſurance company had been communicated to him.

BOMBAY

Occurrences for September.

Loſs of the Ships Gabriel *and* Commerce.

We are concerned to ſtate the loſs of the ſhip *Gabriel* on the 8th inſt. in the Straits of Jubal, at the entrance of the Guph of Suez, in the attempt to effect a paſſage from Coſſir to that place againſt the ſtrong north-weſt gales which blow down that part of the gulph a great part of the year. The crew, however, conſiſting of one hundred men, with forty-two women, and forty-ſix children, belonging to his majeſty's 61ſt regiment, who were on board, were happily all ſaved, and ſafely conveyed in the ſhip's boats to Coſſir, where captain Turnbull procured an Arab dow for the conveyance of the women and children to Juddah.

The *Commerce*, capt. Macauley, of Bombay, is alſo loſt in the Red Sea.

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Some Particulars of the Loss of the Ship Maria Louisa, *by Fire.*

This vessel had been obliged to bear up for Aden Bay on account of some serious leaks that threatened alarming consequences, occasioned by their long beating, often under their courses, against strong gales and a heavy sea. Here they discovered and succeeded in stopping the principal leaks, and would have been ready on the 12th July in the evening to put to sea in the prosecution of their voyage up the Arabian Gulph. On the morning of that day, however, about four o'clock, an alarm of fire was given, and smoke was perceived coming from the fore part of the ship. A scuttle which was in the gun deck before the foremast was immediately opened, and every exertion used to throw a sufficient quantity of water on the part from whence the smoke was thought to issue; guns were at the same time fired as a signal of their situation to the other ships, which readily sent their boats to assist. The smoke increasing, the fore hatches were unlaid, but the flames at this instant making their appearance at the fore scuttle, the hatches were again laid over to prevent the communication of the air from without. The efforts of the crew were then directed solely to the scuttle, and for a few minutes there were hopes of success. These however soon vanished, for the flames burst open the fore hatches, and almost immediately communicated to the rigging and every part of the ship. The long boat belonging to the ship Ceylon being fortunately along side at this time, the crew had hastily time to escape into her over the quarter of the wreck; and before they had got a cable's length from it, the after part was blown up by the spirits in the afterhold; the mizen mast going over the side. The gunpowder had been previously thrown overboard. The wreck soon afterwards burnt from her anchors, and drifting out of the bay, was consumed to the water's edge about 10 o'clock.

Narrative of the Loss of the Ship Fazy Allum, *near Cape Orfoy, and the subsequent proceedings of the crew.*

[It was drawn up by Mr. WILLIAM KINSEY, the first officer of that unfortunate ship, who arrived at Mocha, on the 10th ult. in the ship *Jehangeer*, in company with the *Hercules*. We are happy to hear that three more of the crew had found their way to Mocha, and a dow had been dispatched to Bunder Felix to ascertain the fate of the remainder, and bring back as many of the survivors as possible.]

On the 7th June, at 1 *p. m.* they saw the land bearing N. by W. to S. W. distance off shore about ten miles; after steering different courses, and making and shortening sail as was requisite, breakers were seen a-head at 10 *p. m.*; captain Baird immediately made sail and wore, but soon after struck, and the sea made a breach over the ship fore and aft. The lanyards of the fore and main rigging were cut in order to disencumber the wreck of the masts, and soon after the main-mast and fore-mast went overboard; the mizen-mast, being very short, stood.

At this time the ship lay more upright, and the lee guns were ordered to be thrown overboard, but not one of the lascars would lend a hand, nor could we get a man to clear the wreck from alongside. The wind increased every minute. The sea, about twelve o'clock, stove in the cabin windows, and the gun-deck was immediately full; we now

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saw no resource, and accordingly secured all the small spars as well as we could to furnish the means of getting on shore at day-light. We at first were apprehensive that it was a reef on which we had struck; but about 4 *a. m.* when the moon got up, to our great joy we saw the main land; and at day light discovered a fine sandy-beach, full of small bushes; at sun-rise a few of the lascars ventured on shore, first on small planks and spars. About an hour after, the captain, 2d officer, and all the seaconnies went off on a raft made of studding sail booms; the people, after they saw the captain leave the ship, went off in numbers upon small rafts.

About 10 *a. m.* the second mate, with about thirteen more, left the ship in the long-boat; soon afterwards I left the ship in a raft, with ten more; and left lieut. Dundas on board, whom I could not persuade to leave the ship at that time. About ten minutes after I left the ship, I got on shore, and got a shift of cloaths from the lascars, which they had preserved dry by putting it in the scuttle cask; half an hour after, I met the second officer, who told me that he had found the body of lieut. Dundas, and had buried it in the sand: About 2 *p. m.* we were visited by a few natives, who were very shy at first; they did not offer us any violence, and, after picking up what they could, they left us, and were followed by all the lascars. Capt. Baird then directed the Europeans to roll up all the empty water casks they could find, and make a barricado for defence, if necessary, against the natives; at 6 *p. m.* the 8th, a few lascars came back from the place where they had followed the natives, and informed us that there was a village a few miles from where we were, and that the natives were very ill disposed towards us. We slept all night under the cover of our main royal, which we had the good fortune to find on the beach at day light; we who slept together, to the number of about twenty, captain, officers, and seaconnies, with three or four Europeans and lascars, went on the beach to roll up all the full casks of water and salt provisions.

At 8 *a. m.* on the 9th, we returned to our tent, and then heard that the natives were coming to molest us. A few minutes after, we saw the natives coming down armed, to the number of fifty or sixty, men and women; our party consisted only of those who had slept in the tent; the Europeans were dispersed, and most of them drunk; we had about a dozen of cutlasses and a few boarding pikes, and I made no doubt but we could defend ourselves if we were all together; the lascars came down from the village, but could not be persuaded to join us. The natives, as soon as they saw the defenceless state of the Europeans, immediately fell upon us, and plundered us of every thing, and only left me a shirt; they did not plunder the lascars till sunset, and close to their own village; for they told the lascars to come along with them, as they were all Mussulmans, they would shew them the way to a port where they would be able to get boats to carry them to Mocha in three or four days; when the lascars followed the natives, we followed them likewise; seeing the disposition of the natives, I gave myself out for a Mussulman; when we marched off the beach about six o'clock, there were only thirteen Europeans with us; twenty-six were left on the beach, all of them drunk,

drunk, and the second officer we did not see; but I was told afterwards, that he was asleep in the long-boat, and would not come away when he was called by some of our men; we found that ten Europeans were left in coming on shore, besides seven or eight lascars: we passed a very disagreeable night near the village, and I slept close by the captain, third officer, and seaconnies.

June 10th, rose early in the morning, and begged the chief of the natives to let us proceed to the northward, and to give us a guide, which he refused; but told us we might go to the northward, and that we would find a port, where we might get boats to carry us to Mocha in three or four days; at sunrise set off and walked to the northward; about eight *a. m.* we saw that Cape Orfoy was an island, and we were obliged to walk about two miles up to our ancles in water; about 11 *a. m.* we all halted, and dug a well, but could not get any good water; we set out again about twelve o'clock, and walked more to the eastward than to the northward, to get as soon as possible towards the beach; about 2 *p. m.* we all rested again under the cliffs of a chain of mountains to the northward of the cape, and here we saw three or four natives, but they soon disappeared; at 3 *p. m.* the first tindal left us, and set off with about two-thirds of our number in quest of water; at half past four set out again, and walked to the northward in sight of the sea; about 5 *p. m.* we met a native, whom we engaged as a guide, and to shew us the well of water, which he told us was close by. In our way to the well, we could plainly see that the lascars and first tindal had gone on the same road; at a quarter past six we came into a deep valley, where, to our great surprise, we saw fifteen natives coming down towards us armed, who desired us to sit down, and then robbed us the second time. They shewed us the well, where we all got a good hearty drink, and slept some distance from it; I found a cake, and divided it with the captain, third officer and my boy. This cake was made the day before we left Orfoy, for we had some fire made, and made a few cakes of flour, and roasted some salt beef, but even this was taken from us by the natives.

June the 11th, rose up early in the morning, after a very disagreeable cold night, and went to the well, and there met the first tindal and the rest of the lascars, who told us they had been robbed by the same gang the evening before; after drinking plentifully, we all set out again, and walked along the beach to the northward; at 11 *a. m.* we all halted under some green bushes, and found some good water; here we staid till about three o'clock, and saw a very large flock of sheep and goats led by two men and two women; after taking a good drink of water, we set out and walked along the beach to the northward. At sunset we came to a salt water lake, and saw five natives who had been fishing; they gave the few lascars that went up to them at first a few fish, but when they saw the whole of us, they seemed to be very shy; seeing, however, our defenceless state, they were very forward in asking about the ship. We asked for water, and they told us that there was some to be had, but that we must go with them, which we declined; about 8 *p. m.* we got a fire made, and spent a very disagreeable night.

June the 12th, at 8 *a. m.* we all

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set out again and stood to the northward, and about 7 *a. m.* found a well of water close to the beach, where we saw a great many goats and camels; after refreshing ourselves, we set out again to the northward, and expected to go round a head land, which ran far to the eastward. About 9 *a. m.* we were attacked by a party of natives, and repulsed them. They went off with one man that had his leg broke; at eleven, we, to our great mortification, saw that we could not round the head without a danger of perishing in the attempt. The captain, myself, and 12 men, lascars and Europeans, determined to see if there was a passage round the head. The lascars and two seaconnies went back to the well, and from thence to cross over the hills; about five lascars and three seaconnies crossed over in the forenoon, but we could not do it, for we were very much fatigued, and in much want of water. At 8 *p. m.* we who remained behind set out to see if we could find a passage round the head, and if not to join the lascars; at 4, we found that there was not a passage round the head, and that the surf beat against it with great violence; we all returned back except the captain, his cook, and two Europeans; we came near the well about 7 *p. m.* I met the 3d officer and four or five Europeans, who told me that, about sunset, they were met by a party of the natives who had killed a Swiss of the Meuron regiment, and had wounded the 3d officer. We then set out again towards the well, and on the way I saw the European that had been killed. At 8 we arrived amongst the lascars, and at 12 *p. m.* were joined by the captain and his cook, but have not seen the two Europeans since.

June, the 15th, about 8 *a. m.* we were ordered away by the natives, who told us that as soon as we crossed over the hills, we would come into a good country, where we might get something to eat, and the people more civilized; that we would get into a port; and that we might have a chance of getting a boat to go over to Mocha. The country through which we passed was thinly peopled, and ill provided with provisions. At 8 *a. m.* after we got a refreshing drink of water, we set out to go over the hills, and were all in company, except the 11 Europeans who had left us early in the morning, and had taken the same road we did afterwards. At 11, we all met on the other side of the hill under a cliff, and after getting a draught of water from the people, I left all the Europeans, captain, and 3d officer, and pushed down in a deep valley that was close to the beach. This was the last day I saw the captain, and most of the Europeans I never saw afterwards. I got into the valley about 1 *p. m.* and got a drink of brackish water; here I met the seaconnies and the lascars, who gave me a little fish, but I had drank water to such an excess that I could not eat it. At 6 *p. m.* we all set out and stood into the country, to see if we could find any good water, but in vain; the 3d officer joined us in our way across the country, and told me that he had left the captain and my boy under the cliff where I had left them in the morning; we all stepped under some bushes, and passed a very disagreeable night, being very thirsty and cold.

June the 16th, began our march early in the morning, and stood towards the seaside; met some good water, and good treatment from the natives; about 12 o'clock the 3d officer and myself were unable to proceed

proceed any further, and there formed a resolution of staying behind; at 1 *a. m.* we came to a place where we saw two huts, and after praying like a Mussulman, got leave to stay behind till we were able to proceed; for our feet were swelled very much, and our backs blistered: here we remained till the 16th, getting a quart of milk each of us for the whole day.

On the 17th June, they told us to go away, and that they could not give us any more milk: after getting a piece of skin to cover myself, the 3d officer and myself walked to the sea side, and from thence we thought of going to the northward: I proceeded about 4 or 5 miles, when the 3d officer could not keep up with me, and I never saw him afterwards. I walked about 20 miles this day, and in my way met two seacunnies and the captain's cook, who told me that he left the captain in a poor state. I left them, as they could not keep up with me, and at sunset came to the hut of a native, who gave me a small drink of milk and water.

I slept there that night, and on the 18th of June set out again, and walked till 2 *p. m.* when I fell in with 4 or 5 lascars, and got some water to drink: I slept there that night, and on the 19th June, after walking about 15 miles, fell in with Dunbar volunteer, and Forelock private in the Meuron regiment, and got some brackish water to drink; at 5 *p. m.* we set out again, and promised to keep company till we rounded Cape Gardefoy. Dunbar told me that he had plainly wish'd the captain and the rest a little after I did; and that for two days he had been drinking his own urine, and had not eat any thing since the day we left the wreck; we walked 5 or 6 miles to the northward, and then laid down under some bushes to go to sleep; got up at day light on the 20th June, early in the morning, set out again and walked to the northward, and met this day with three wells, and, after filling our bag with water, at 12 *p. m.* ascended Cape Gardefoy to round it; we walked hard, and at sunset laid down on the top of Gardefoy for the night; and at day light, the 21st June, began our march again; at 12 o'clock rounded the Cape, and about an hour after came to a fine spring of water and quenched our thirst. A few minutes after I met my boy, and from him we got a few roasted crabs and some small fish: this was the third meal we ate since the ship was lost. From him I learned that most of the people were gone to a port called Bunder Felix, and that there was only a few with him near the spring; a few minutes after we saw a Swiss of the Meuron regiment, who agreed to keep company with us; at 4 *p. m.* Dunbar volunteer, Forelock and the Swiss of the Meuron regiment, set out, and as I could not walk, I remained behind with my boy and the lascars, for my feet were very sore and my back blistered; Forelock and the Swiss of the Meuron regiment I never heard of afterwards. I suppose they must have died on the way for want of water, as the roads from the Cape to Bunder Felix afforded very little, and that 30 miles from the Cape, and 20 from Bunder Allulah, a port about 20 miles to the eastward of Bunder Felix, there were some wells of fine water. I and the rest of the lascars remained here till the 23d, living upon crabs and some small fish which the natives gave us when they catched any with their nets.

On the 24th June, we all set out

with an intention to march to Bunder Felix, and at 9 *a. m.* came to a well of fine water; and after drinking heartily, marched again to the northward, but not in ſight of the ſea, as we were obliged to go in land; at 12 *a. m.* we all ſheltered ourſelves under ſome buſhes; at 4 *p. m.* we ſet out again and marched to the northward, and met with a ſmall village, where we ſaw ſome natives and large flocks of goats and camels; we were very well treated by the natives, who gave us at ſunſet ſome milk and ſmall fiſh; but they were very particular with me, as I paſſed for a Muſſulman and the naqueda of the ſhip; after our landing, they all agreed that I muſt be the naqueda, and a Muſſulman, as they ſaw my boy cloſe to me and the laſcars do what I told them; at 8 o'clock I fell in with the ſyrang and about 8 laſcars, who told me that they had come back from their march towards Bunder Felix; that they had walked 28 miles, and found no water; that the ſeaconnies, the three Europeans and laſcars that were in company with him had gone on, and by what he could learn, that they all muſt periſh for want of water; for that he heard from the natives that no water could be got till they travelled for two or three days. The ſyrang was miſtaken, for he was within 5 miles of the wells when he put back. The ſyrang behaved like a villain, and wanted to have me killed; he told the natives that I was a Coffer, and not a Muſſulman, but they inclined not to believe him. After ſleeping and paſſing a more comfortable night than I had experienced ſince the ſhip had been caſt away, on the 25th June my boy and myſelf ſeparated from the laſcars, fearing to ſtay with them any longer; we ſtood towards the ſea ſide, and met with a flock of camels and goats; we engaged ourſelves to drive the flocks and remain with them till we could find an opportunity of going to Bunder Felix; at 2 *p. m.* I met with an old man, whom I had ſeen the day before; he gave me ſome camel's milk, and carried me to an old Arab's houſe, who invited me to ſtay with him till the month of September, which he told me would be the ſeaſon for boats coming to the coaſt from Arabia, and that he would get me a paſſage in one of them.

Here I lived for 10 or 11 days, and ſaw a good many laſcars paſs by, to whom this old man gave always ſomething to eat and drink before he would let them go; here the carpenter's mate joined me, and one laſcar, who engaged to work for their living.

On the 4th July, my boy, one laſcar, and myſelf, took leave of the old Arab, who gave us his ſon for a guide, and deſired him to get us a paſſage to Bunder Allulah in a boat that was ready to ſail to that place; he likewiſe gave me a note to a ſhop-keeper at Allulah, adviſing him to take me under his roof, and feed me till the boats from Arabia ſhould touch at that place; at 4 *p. m.* we arrived where the boat was, and got a paſſage that evening from Cape Gardeſoy, and arrived at Bundar Allulah the 7th night. Here I met the 1ſt tindal and a laſcar; they told me that moſt of the laſcars and ſeaconnies had gone on to Bunder Felix, and that he only ſaw Dunbar volunteer, who had alſo proceeded on to the ſame place.

On the 8th July, the ſhop-keeper and I came to an agreement, that he ſhould find me with proviſions and the people with me, and that I ſhould pay him when I got on board any veſ-

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ſel that paſſed, or if I went over to Mocha.

Here I lived till the 10th Auguſt, and then paid a viſit to the people at Bunder Felix. I learned that there was Mitchel volunteer with Dunbar, at a place which was called Bunder Moriah. The ſyrang told me that he left the captain in his laſt moments a few miles from where I had parted with him. I found here about 36 laſcars, and heard that from 19 to 20 were in two villages to the weſtward, ſeaconnies, Europeans and laſcars included: while I was at this place I gave a boat-man a note to carry on board any veſſel that ſhould be ſeen off the place. On the 12th I arrived at Allulah again, and on the 18th had the good fortune of ſeeing two ſhips in the offing; and there being a light breeze, I ſent a boat, with a note to them, mentioning the loſs of the ſhip, and requeſting that they would ſend a boat for me; at 9 *a. m.* I received an account from the captain of the *Hercules*, ſaying, that he had detained the men belonging to the boat, and deſired me to come on board as ſoon as poſſible, which I did. There were 6 men with me, but I could only perſuade three of them to accompany me to the veſſel; at half paſt 3 *a. m.* I came on board the ſhip *Jahangeer*, captain Silveſter, from whom I got 50 dollars to pay for the boat, and the debt I had contracted while on ſhore; at 8 *a. m.* on the 19th, the ſhip got under way, with an intention to take the unfortunate people on board; at noon came breaſt of Bunder Allulah, where we ſaw the white flag hoiſted by the three men that were left behind. Capt. M'Farlane intended to go to Bunder Felix, and take them all on board; but the place to the weſtward of Bunder Felix ſeemed to be dangerous in the approach for two ſuch heavy ſhips. Accordingly at ſun ſet, capt. M'Farlane made the ſignal for capt. Silveſter and me to come on board the *Hercules*, and deſired me to give an account of the loſs of the ſhip; from capt. M'Farlane I heard that he had very great overfalls from 27 to 13 fathoms at one caſt, when he was ſtanding in the bay towards the village of Felix. On the 26th Auguſt we arrived at Aden, and on the 29th H. M.'s ſhip *Sheerneſs*, captain Carden, and the country ſhip *Griffen*, capt. Mac-Peace arrived here; to capt. Carden I related the particulars of the loſs of the ſhip *Fazy Allum*, and pointed out to him, on his charts, where the ſhip was caſt away, and the place where the reſt of the crew were when I left it.

Proceedings on ſhore at Allulah from the 8th July to the 18th Auguſt.—Having agreed to pay the ſhop-keeper for what I ſhould have from him, on my going on board ſome ſhip or other, or pay him when I went to Mocha, he ſerved out an allowance every day of a pint of corn, and 1 pound of dates amongſt three of us; my allowance was taken up by him, and I had permiſſion to eat in the ſame houſe with him; on 19th July, a ſerjeant and private of the Meuron regiment came to Allulah in a very miſerable condition, ſaying, they had been in company with the Europeans, and that they had left them all near a well of water. I got the ſerjeant and the private 16 cubits of cloth each, and fed them till the 12th or 13th of Auguſt; but the ſhop-keeper being very uneaſy about his payment, he refuſed to feed any but my boy and myſelf. As the people at Bunder Felix were more hoſpitable than the people at Allulah, I

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ſent them thither; from what I heard afterwards from the natives, they were well off; about the 25th July I ſent two men that had the government of the place, to ſee if they could find the captain and European that were miſſing; I promiſed 50 dollars for the captain, and 20 for each European officer. I gave a deſcription of the place were I left the captain and the reſt of the men. About the 14th Auguſt the two men returned without ſucceſs, but with a mortifying account that 6 or 7 of the Europeans had been murdered a few days before they went there, and that they ſaw the corpſe of one that had only been killed a day or two. On the 15th of Auguſt the king's ſon came to Allulah, and told me, that he had ſeen two Europeans at the wreck, and that his father would be glad to ſee me, and that he lived a day or two's march from Cape Orfoy, and promiſed to get me a paſſage to Arabia when the ſeaſon ſet in. On the 18th I ſaw ſhips, and accordingly ſent off a boat with a note to the commander.

On my firſt arrival at Allulah, on the 8th, 9th, and 10th July, I ſaw ſhips paſs by, and hoiſted a white flag on the beach, but they took no notice of it.

The ſhip *Fazy Allum* had on board at the time ſhe went on ſhore, 1 captain, 3 officers, 1 gunner, 6 ſeaconnies and 70 laſcars, belonging to the ſhip, and 1 lieutenant, 49 Europeans, belonging to H. M. and the Hon. Company's regiment.

BENGAL *Occurrences for October* 1801.

The Addreſs of Lieut. Col. MURRAY, *to the Britiſh Officers on the 24th Auguſt, upon preſenting the Union Colours to the 2d Batt. 1ſt Native Reg. at Dacca.*

"The imperial ſtandard which I have had the honour to preſent to this corps, exhibits the grateful ſign of a union of intereſts amongſt the beſt and happieſt people of the firſt nation on the theatre of the world. I flatter myſelf that, in the field of battle, it will ever be diſplayed in the cauſe of juſtice, of honour, and humanity; and I feel fully perſuaded, that, in the moment of danger, it will be defended by every Britiſh officer preſent,—with fervent zeal, and with cool and determined courage."

Particulars of the Loſs of the Ship Dove, *Capt. Duffin, to the Eaſtward of Sumatra.*

"The *Dove* left Sooloo, the 21ſt of September, and nothing material occurred until her arrival off the Little Andamans, when ſhe experienced continual hard ſqualls, attended with rain, that cauſed a very croſs and high ſea, and made the ſhip ſo leaky as to oblige us to keep one pump conſtantly going, by which means we found that the water did not gain on us, though the bad weather continued till we made the land in the bay of Bengal, and not having had an opportunity of taking an obſervation but twice, ſince we left the Little Andamans, found ourſelves driven a great deal to the eaſtward, with a ſtrong eaſterly current prevailing all acroſs the bay. On the 5th inſtant, being then in lat. per account 20°, 50′ N. and long. Eaſt 90°, 30′, ſtruck foundings in 32 fathoms, at midnight. At 1 *a. m.* hove to, under cloſe reefed topſails, in 13 fathoms water, it blowing very hard, and the ſea running

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running high; we, however, found the pumps did not gain on us, though the wind and sea were increasing; and at 8 *a. m.* there was a most tremendous sea running, and continually breaking over us; also found the ship to make considerable water, and the pumps gaining upon us, and not being able to work more than one pump, the other being choaked with pepper; at 9 *a. m.* an immense sea unshipped the companion, and poured a great quantity of water down the hatchway: wind and sea still increasing, and carrying a press of sail to the westward to get into Pilot's water. At 10 *a. m.* the wind shifted to the W. S. W. with constant hard gales; and, by this sudden shift of wind, such an high sea was occasioned as I never before beheld, and put us to the necessity of wearing the ship to the northward, still the sea continually breaking over us; from the violent motion of the sea, the ship sprung a very alarming leak forward; at 11 *a. m.* found 2½ feet of water in the hold, the leak still gaining on us very fast; at 10 minutes before *p. m.* wore ship to the southward, and hove to, with an intention of bailing out the larboard pump well, to clear her if possible, having then 3½ feet water in her; got the pump up, but the sea still breaking over her, obliged us to put it down again, as more water went down the pump-hole than we could bale out, notwithstanding a tarpaulin was laid on to keep out the water, but the sea was too powerful for it to be of any advantage to us. Thus unfortunately situated, and the leak gaining on us, the ship lowering considerably forward, and not trying to the sea, had no alternative left but to bear up right before the sea, and endeavoured to lighten the ship by throwing the cargo overboard, when, to our astonishment, in attempting to wear her, she would not answer the helm; we hove the guns and an iron cabcos overboard, and cut away a heavy anchor from her bows, which had the desired effect; she wore round, and we got before the wind, having then 5½ feet in the hold, and the ship at least 3 feet more by the head than the stern; the wind now shifted to the S. S. W. we steered N. and N. N. E. right in for the land, as we now found it utterly impossible to save the ship, the leak continuing to gain on us. At 2 *p. m.* saw the land from N. W. to N. E. and stood direct for it to save the crew; as we must have all perished had she gone down before we made the land, owing to such an immense high sea running, so as to prevent any boat from living. Nearing the land, we shoaled our water from 7 fathoms to ¼ less 3. At 3 *p. m.* the wind and sea abating very much, we were within two or three miles of the shore, and came to in 4 fathoms, being about low water, and the sea moderate, enabled us to take off the hatches and lighten the ship, by throwing the cargo overboard, having 6½ feet of water in the hold; we took down the top-gallant yards and masts, it still blowing hard; but the water not gaining on us, by midnight we had cleared the pepper from between the decks, which lightened her forward, and she appeared more lively to the sea, and we began to have hopes of saving her; but alas! they were but transitory; for the water that had lodged forward began, by the ship being by the stern, to find its way to the pump well, and at 2 *a. m.* of the 7th instant, she had 8 feet water in the hold; at 4 *a. m.* the water

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water had gained ſo much on her, that we could fill the buckets out of the pump well, from the lower deck, without the aſſiſtance of a lanyard to them; and not being able to keep her ſituation any longer a ſecret from the people, they were ſtruck with a general terror and conſternation; and at day light requeſted the long boat out to ſave themſelves, which was accordingly done, and though all poſſible caution was uſed not to hurt the boat, we unfortunately ſtove a hole in her bottom on one of the ſtumps of the timbers on the ſhip's gunwale: however, we ſoon nailed a piece of canvas over it, and lowered it down, when, before we could clear her of the tackles, ſhe had ſtoved her ſtarboard ſide very much againſt the ſhip; the water now was up to the lower deck, and I ſaw it quite impoſſible to ſave her: a-head of us appeared round a point of land to the N. E, a fine ſmooth bay, under the lee of the iſland we were at an anchor off, my people being now in deſpair, and continually crying to *Alla*, and ſeeing no chance of the ſhip being ſaved, I cut the cable, made ſail, and run in round the point alluded to, the water being now above the upper deck; but having very ſmooth water, and the ſhip ſettling under water, at 7 *a. m.* ſhe went down in 10 feet: we then hauled in the long-boat, and ten of us went on ſhore in her, taking a few ſhifts of clothes, a bag of rice, about 6 lb. of biſcuit, half a dozen of madeira, &c. &c. We left the whale boat for the reſt of the crew to come aſhore, and promiſed to ſend the boat as ſoon as we found a place to land, but found ſome difficulty in obtaining the ſame, finding the ſhore a complete jungle; however, at laſt we found a fine ſandy beach, where we landed. But being ebb tide, and the boat leaky, we were obliged to retain it till the tide made; during this time the people on board had got the whale boat ſtoved, and thoſe that were left on board, except the ſecond mate, gunner, and two laſcars, made rafts with the ſpars, and came on ſhore ſafe, and as ſoon as the tide made ſufficiently to float the long boat, went off to the wreck, and fortunately procured another bag of rice, and ſome light ſails; and at 10 *p. m.* the long boat arrived ſafe, and not a man miſſing."

The officers and crew arrived at Calcutta on the 22d inſtant.

MADRAS
Occurrences for October.

The right honourable the governor and council having been pleaſed to eſtabliſh a preſs for printing, at the military Male Orphan Aſylum, has, for the purpoſe of combining the public convenience with the advantage of that inſtitution, reſolved to authorize the publication of a weekly paper at the Aſylum, to be ſtyled the "GOVERNMENT GAZETTE:" Notice is therefore hereby given, that after this day all advertiſements, and other public papers of the government, will be printed in the GOVERNMENT GAZETTE only; and all orders or other public notices appearing in that paper under the ſignature of the ſecretaries, or other public officers of the government, are hereby ordered and directed to be conformed to and obeyed accordingly.

Publiſhed by order,
G. BUCHAN,
Sec. to govt.

Fort St. George, Oct. 14, 1802.

Parti-

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Particulars of the Loſs of His Majeſty's armed Schooner Spitfire, *Lieutenant Campbell commander.*

The *Spitfire* was wrecked on a reef which is off the ſouthern part of certain African Iſlands, on the 21ſt of Auguſt 1801, at 10 minutes paſt 5 in the morning: ſhe was then going about 4 knots under her foretopſail, and had ſounded often during the night, and had no ground with 20 fathom line a ſhort time before ſhe ſtruck.

On her ſtriking, her maſts were immediately cut away, to prevent her overſetting, and ſoon after ſhe was driven over the reef, into a kind of ſandy baſon, and at low water her crew were able to walk on ſhore: moſt of her ſtores and proviſions were ſaved.

On the 27th, of Auguſt, lieut. Campbell, with four men, quitted the iſlands in a ſmall boat belonging to the ſchooner, with a view of procuring relief from the Seychelle iſlands.

On the 29th, about 9 *a. m.* they ſaw the principal iſland, and arrived there on the 31ſt at 5 *p. m.* being in urgent want of water, of which they had only one bottle left.

Lieut. Campbell having landed, and procured ſome cocoa nuts, quitted the ſhore, and ſoon after ſaw and went on board of his majeſty's ſhip *La Sybelle* in Mahé roads.

The African iſlands, on which the *Spitfire* was wrecked, are two in number, very ſmall and low, ſituated about ſix leagues to the north of the bank which ſurrounds the Amirante iſlands, and were diſcovered about ſix years ago, by ſome of the ſmall veſſels which belong to and navigate in the Seychelle Archipelago. Their vegetation conſiſts only of a few ſhrubs, generally about four feet high; they abound, however, in turtle and ſea-birds, but there is no freſh water, although wells were dug to the depth of 40 feet.

Both iſlands are nearly covered with the ſea at high ſpring tides: the largeſt iſland lies to the ſouthward, and is joined to the ſmaller one by a ſand bank, which is dry at low water ſpring tides.

The whole length of the iſlands from ſouth to north is not above two miles; they are ſurrounded by a reef of breakers on the eaſt ſide, but on the weſt ſide there is a ſafe and commodious anchorage, in a bay, formed by the extremes of the iſles, and the reef which joins them.

The latitude taken on the ſouth iſland is 4° 55′ ſouth. Longitude by the mean of many obſervations of Antares and Arieties, and the Moon, is 54° 9′ 28″ eaſt, Variation 7° 44′ weſt: Time of high water, at full and change 9. 59. The tide riſes about 8 feet.

The following Deſcription and Situation of the Wreck of the Ship Malabar, *in Madras Roads, is publiſhed by Order of the Board of Trade.*

The ſtump of the main maſt is at preſent diſcernible, about eleven feet above the level of the ſea. The wreck lies in nine fathoms water, with three fathoms between it and the ſurface. The light houſe Fort St. George bearing from the maſt S. W. ¼ W. The north eaſt baſtion of the Black Town Wall. N. W. by W. ¼ W. The center of the cuſtom houſe, W. by N. diſtance from ſhore about one and a half mile.

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BOMBAY

Occurrences for October.

Copy of a Letter to Capt. Thomas Maughan, Commander of the Ship Ardaseer.

DEAR SIR,

The advanced ſtate of preparation for the movement of the army, renders it probable that our continuance on the coaſt will be but of ſhort duration, nor do exiſting circumſtances allow of any reaſonable conjecture when we may again return. Being therefore at the eve of ſeparation, we reſort to the preſent mode of addreſs as a meaſure highly gratifying to our feelings.

During a period of nearly three months, which we have paſſed on board your ſhip, when we might have expected to ſhare in the many inconveniences and diſagreeable incidents to a tedious and difficult navigation, we recollect having experienced continued comfort and every reaſonable happineſs. How much we hold ourſelves indebted to you for this ſhare of good fortune, our hearts can beſt atteſt: Offering you therefore the aſſurance of our moſt perfect eſteem and regard, we beg leave to add every ſincere good wiſh for your proſperity.

As a trifling token which may at times ſerve to recall to your remembrance the days we have paſſed together, and the ſentiments of which they have been productive in our minds, we requeſt your acceptance of a piece of plate, which will be preſented you by the adjutant general at Bombay,

We have the pleaſure to remain, &c.

(Signed) D. MAHONY, Capt.
J. HENDERSON, Aſſi. Sur.
E. TANDY, Lieut.
H. CRUSO, Lieut.
E. FREDERICK, Lieut.
A. B. BACON, Lieut.
G. GRANT, Lieut.

Coſſire Camp, 3d June 1801.

To Capt. T. Maughan.

SIR,

In fulfilling the intentions of the officers attached to the 2d battalion 1ſt regiment, who ſailed on board your ſhip to the Red Sea, I have great ſatisfaction in preſenting you, by their deſire, a piece of plate, in teſtimony of the ſentiments expreſſed in their addreſs to you at Coſſire; a token of eſteem and regard at once creditable to you, and honourable to the gentlemen concerned. I have the pleaſure to ſubſcribe myſelf, &c.

(Signed) R. GORDON, Adj. Gen.

Bombay, 24th October, 1801.

To Lieut. Colonel Robert Gordon, Adjutant General.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of the valuable piece of plate, a preſent from my friends the officers of the 2d battalion 1ſt regiment, whom I had the pleaſure of conveying up the Red Sea. I highly prize the gift as a token of their friendſhip, and more ſo from the polite mode of your preſenting it being, &c.

(Signed) T. MAUGHAN.

Bombay, 24th October 1801.

BENGAL. *Occurrences for* NOVEMBER 1801.

Supreme Court of Judicature.

On Friday the 4th inſt. the ſecond ſeſſion of oyer and terminer was held at Calcutta.

Sir J. Anſtruther, bart. the chief juſtice, addreſſed the grand jury in a clear, eloquent, and impreſſive manner, which fully detailed to them the

the various duties of their arduous and important office.

The offences in the calendar were twelve in number, of which four were for murder.

John Brennan, a ſoldier, was tried on Friday for the wilful murder of one Bucket; and being found guilty, received ſentence of *death*; and on Saturday *Samuel Bone*, for the murder of George Sheaford; and *Simon Bird*, for the murder of his wife, received ſimilar ſentences.

The unhappy culprits were executed on the 7th inſt.

At the place of execution *Brennan* and *Bone* were attended by the rev. Mr. Limerick. *Brennan* was dreſſed in a ſuit of full mourning, and *Bone* in the uniform of his regiment. The rev. Padre Pinheira accompanied *Bird*. The unhappy culprits behaved with the greateſt decorum, and with a degree of fortitude which ſeemed occaſioned by their truſt in the aſſurances of the goſpel, rather than the conſequence of hardened guilt, and the obſtinacy of an impenetrable heart.

General Orders, by his Excellency the Moſt Noble the Governor-general.

On the Ganges, near Benares, Nov. 14, 1801.

His excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general having this day ratified a treaty concluded at Lucknow, on the 10th inſt. by the honourable Henry Welleſley and lieutenant-colonel Scott, on behalf and in the name of the Governor-general, between the honourable the Eaſt India Company and his excellency the nabob Vizier, by which treaty the nabob Vizier has ceded to the honourable Company in perpetual ſovereignty certain portions of his excellency the vizier's territorial poſſeſſions, yielding an annual revenue of one crore and thirty-five lacks of rupees; in commutation of the ſubſidy hitherto payable to the Company by the Vizier.

Ordered, that a royal ſalute be fired, and extra batta ſerved to the troops at Fort William, and at all the garriſons and ſtations of the army, in honour of this event.

His excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general is pleaſed to make the following appointments, for the proviſional management of the diſtricts ceded to the Company by his excellency the nabob Vizier, and for the ſettlement of the ſame:

The honourable Henry Welleſley, lieutenant-governor of the diſtricts ceded by his excellency the nabob Vizier, and preſident of the board of commiſſioners for the management of the affairs of the ſame.

Matthew Leſlie, eſq. Archibald Seton, eſq. John Fombelle, eſq. commiſſioners for the management of the affairs of the ceded diſtricts.

John Routledge, eſq. William Leyceſter eſq. John Deane, eſq. collectors of the revenue of the ceded diſtricts.

Groeme Mercer, eſq. ſecretary to the board of commiſſioners for the management of the ceded diſtricts.

His excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general has been pleaſed to appoint lieutenant-colonel Scott, reſident at the court of the nabob Vizier, to be honorary aid-de-camp to the Governor-general.

Fort William, Nov. 20, 1801.

The following copy of a letter from Sir Home Popham, K. M. captain of his majeſty's ſhip *Romney*, &c. incloſing a copy of a letter from captain G. R. Collier, commander of his majeſty's ſloop *Victor*

Victor, is published by order of the hon. the vice president in council.

To the Honourable G. H. Barlow, Vice President, &c. &c.

SIR,

I have much pleasure in transmitting you a copy of captain Collier's letter of the 10th September, giving a very detailed account of his sinking the French national ship *La Fleche*, of 22 guns, and 170 men.

The result of captain Collier's unremitting perseverance under every trying circumstance, and his determined conduct in warping the *Victor* into Mahé harbour, is likely to be of material service to the commerce of India, as *La Fleche* was unquestionably intended to cruise in the bay of Bengal.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HOME POPHAM.

Calcutta, Nov. 18, 1801.

H. M. Sloop Victor, Mahé Road, Sept. 10, 1801.

SIR,

The extreme sickly state of the crew of his majesty's sloop under my command, after leaving the Red Sea, induced me to put into the island Deigo Garcia: after procuring a large supply of turtle and good water, I left that harbour on the 27th of August, and proceeded on the execution of the particular service pointed out in your orders of the 22d July; and, on the 2d inst. in sight of these islands, his majesty's sloop fell in with a French national corvette, and, after a few ineffectual manœuvres on her part, from the superior sailing of the *Victor*, when going large, I had the pleasure of bringing her to close action at ½ past 5 *p. m.* The disguised state of the *Victor* did not long deceive the enemy—the second broadside proved sufficient; the corvette, hauling her wind, and endeavouring to escape, which in about 20 minutes I was sorry to observe, by having almost solely directed her fire at our masts and sails, she had a fair prospect of effecting; for, on her tacking under our lee, I endeavoured to wear, with the hope of boarding on her bow, when I had the mortification to find both lower and topsail braces shot away on the starboard side, as well as the preventure ones and bowline; and before others could be rove, the corvette was half a mile to windward; night fast approaching, added to the chagrin I felt on observing the corvette sail better than the *Victor* on a wind. The chase continued all night, frequently within gunshot; and at sunset the following day, from the wind having favoured the enemy, she was four or five miles to windward. In the night of the 4th, lost sight of the chase, when probably by tacking she escaped.

In this affair I had one man wounded with two musket balls, and Mr. Middleton, master's mate, slightly. The damage sustained in the hull trifling, the foremast shot through, and I have to regret our sails and rigging much cut.

Judging from the course the corvette was steering when first seen, she must be bound to these islands, I pushed for them; and towards sun-set of the 5th, she was again seen running in for this anchorage. I kept under easy sail till dark, when the *Victor* was anchored; at day light, I had the satisfaction of seeing the corvette moored, with springs, in the bason or inner harbour, with a red flag at her foremast (which as I since learn was in defiance), being unacquainted with the channel, and having no pilot, Mr. Crawford the master, (though ill of a fever,) and Mr. Middleton, being volunteers, were sent to sound, which service they completely

ly performed, nor did the latter gentleman desist till repeatedly fired at by a boat from the corvette.

The extreme narrowness of the channel, added to the wind not being very favourable, compelled me to use warps and the stay-sails only, which exposed the ship to a raking fire for some minutes, till shoaling our water, I was obliged to bring up, having two springs on the cable, our broadside was soon brought to bear, and at ¼ past 11 *a. m.* a well directed fire was opened, which was kept up incessantly from both vessels till twenty minutes past two, when I plainly perceived the enemy was going down, in a few minutes her cable was cut, she cast round, and her bow grounded on a coral reef.

Mr. M'Lean, the first lieut. with a party of officers and men were sent to board, though scarce had they put off ere we discovered the enemy to be on fire; lieut. Smith and other officers were then sent with proper assistance, but just as they had succeeded in extinguishing the fire, she fell over on her larboard bilge into deeper water, and sunk.

She proves to have been the French national corvette *La Flesche*, mounting twenty long French eight pounders, answering to English nines, with two stern-chasers, though it appears all her guns were not mounted in the first action; was larger than the *Victor* in dimensions, perfectly new, a remarkably fast sailer, and not four months from France, commanded by captain Bonamy, lieutenant de Vaisseau, with four lieutenants, and a complement of one hundred and forty-five men, some of whom had been left sick at Bourbon: had thirty-seven passengers sent into banishment by the first consul of France, for an attempt on his life. From a number of dead and dying men reported to be found on her forecastle, as well as two alongside, I am induced to believe the carnage was great, though only four are acknowledged by the French captain.

She had twenty men to assist at her guns, forming a part of the crew of the French frigate *Chiffonne*, captured here a few days since by his majesty's ship *La Sybille*, capt. Adam.

The obstinate defence made by *La Flesche*, was on the supposition of the *Victor* being a privateer.

From the length of time elapsed ere this business was brought to a close, I have felt it necessary to be thus particular in my detail, and I trust for your excuse should I dwell longer; as I feel I should do an injustice to every officer and man on board, did I neglect paying a just tribute to the cool and determined bravery they evinced; even men labouring under the severity of a lingering fever, (of which unfortunately I had thirty,) felt a proportionate zeal.

I beg leave to recommend to your notice, lieutenant M'Lean, as well as solicit your interest for the confirmation of my second lieutenant, Mr. Smith, as also Mr. Hyde, gunner: observing that whenever Mr. Middleton, or Mr. Graves, (both having passed for lieutenants,) shall obtain the rank, they will do equal credit to your patronage.

In this action I most fortunately had not a man either killed or wounded; our hull, rigging and boats, have suffered much, besides having some shot between wind and water.

I am sorry to say that in warping out of the channel, from a hawser parting, the *Victor* drove on a coral reef, from which she was completely

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pletely extricated the next day. The fish on the foremast is now on, our other damages repaired, and I hope to proceed on the execution of the remaining part of your orders to-morrow.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. R. COLLIER.

To Sir Home Popham, K. M. &c. &c.

A very singular but unfortunate accident happened on Sunday the 29th inst. A young Gentoo, of the name of Nagoo, was amusing himself with loading an old rusty musquet, with a broken lock, and without any flint, he used every means he could devise, but ineffectually, to fire it off, as the touch-hole was too rusty to admit of any communication with the barrel; he at last hit on a very curious expedient, which was putting a piece of fiery wood in at the muzzle, and as it did not immediately take fire, he put his mouth to the muzzle to blow it, when unfortunately the fire communicating with the powder, it went off and killed him dead on the spot. A coroner's inquest was held on the body, who brought in a verdict—*accidental death.*

Capture of the French Privateer La Eugene, *by the Hon. Company's Cruizer,* Mornington, *Capt. Frost.*

The *Mornington* cruiser, on the morning of the 9th inst. latitude 21° 2′, about 9 leagues eastward of Saugur Sand, saw the *Eugene* in the S. E. quarter, 9 miles distance. The *Mornington* disguised herself so much as to induce the *Eugene* to chase her, and at 7 *p. m.* to come close under her stern: she then hailed the *Mornington*, desiring her to back her main-topsail and send a boat on board. The *Mornington* shortened sail, squared after-yards, and put her helm a weather. The *Eugene* immediately commenced a brisk fire from her great guns, a heavy discharge of musquetry from below and aloft, at the same time making sail, and received the whole of two broadsides from the *Mornington* before she shot a head of her. The *Mornington* chased her, and after about four hours, (during which the *Eugene* threw all her guns, excepting one, overboard, cut away her anchors, and sawed her gunwales through, &c.) was again within hail of her: the *Eugene*, after a few shots then surrendered.

She was formerly called the *Diana*, commanded by citoyen Cautance; left the Isle of France on 12th September, and has captured ship *Orient*, brig *Friendship*, ship *Nancy* grab; she is pierced for 18 guns, and sails uncommonly well; mounted 6 carriage guns, with a tier of swivels and blunderbusses round her gunwale. Her crew 89 Europeans, chosen from the crews of *La Confiance* and *La Nymphe.*

General Orders by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-general.

Benares, No. 24, 1802.

Dispatches having been this day received by his excellency the most noble the Governor-general, from his excellency vice admiral lord Keith, commanding his majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean, announcing the surrender of Alexandria to his majesty's forces, on the 1st of September 8, 1801.

Ordered, That a royal salute, and three vollies of musketry, be fired at the several stations of the army under the presidency of Fort William, in honour of this important event.

Extra batta to be served to the European troops.

ADDRESS

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ADDRESS *of the British Inhabitants of Benares, to the Governor-general.*

On the 27th inst. major-general George Deare, commanding officer of the troops in the district of Benares, and John Neave, esq. second judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit, and agent to the Governor-general at Benares, waited on his excellency the most noble the Governor-general, having previously obtained his excellency's permission for that purpose, and presented to him the following address on the part of the British inhabitants of Benares:

To his Excellency the Most Noble RICHARD MARQUIS WELLESLEY, *K. P. Captain-general and Governor-general in India, &c. &c. &c.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, the European inhabitants of Benares, impelled no less by the highest respect and admiration of your excellency's character, than by ardent love of our native country, cannot refrain from offering to your excellency our sincerest congratulations upon the late glorious successes of the British arms in Egypt. While we exult in the general effect of your excellency's administration, which has, in the short space of three years, extended and established the British empire in India, in a degree which must ever be contemplated with astonishment, we cannot repress the emotions which arise, on the present occasion, excited in our minds by a consideration of the prompt and vigorous manner in which resources, so recently unknown, were applied by your excellency to the aid of the feeble cause of the British empire; and when we rejoice as Britons at the glorious success which has followed the animated exertions of our brave countrymen in Egypt, we feel indebted to your excellency for the proud reflection, that a force from British India has co-operated on this important service; and that a part of that army, which so lately entitled itself to the approbation of its sovereign, and of its country, by the reduction of Seringapatam, is at this moment employed on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The casual, but to us fortunate, occurrence of your excellency's having received the intelligence of the fall of Alexandria, and total expulsion of the French from Egypt, at this place, has suggested the idea of the present address, which we confidently hope, your excellency will graciously accept as the honest and unpremeditated effusion of sentiments, which we are conscious of only entertaining in common with the rest of our countrymen in India.

(Signed)

G. DEARE,	J. NEAVE,
P. TREVES,	J. RIDER,
J. DURANT,	H. CORNISH,
W. G. MAXWELL,	T. YELD,
F. HAMILTON,	J. MEIK,
J. STEWART,	F. WILFORD,
G. WARDEN, lt.	G. FORBES,
W. BAKER, lt.	H. COLEBROOK,
W. WILSON,	J. ROUTLEDGE,
J. A. GRANT,	J. DUBOIS,
R. ADAMS,	J. J. BIRD,
R. ARBUTY,	J. T. GRANT,
G. PENNINGTON,	B. D'AGUILAR,
G. ROBINSON,	P. STARLING.

To which his excellency the most noble the Governor-general was pleased to return the following answer:

GENTLEMEN,

I accept with the most sincere satisfaction this testimony of your constant and unabated zeal for the interests and honour of our country. The glorious success of his majesty's arms in Egypt, must raise in the mind of every British subject the

emotions

emotions and ſentiments which you have expreſſed.

In obeying the wiſe and provident commands of his majeſty's miniſters, and of the honourable the court of directors for the invaſion of Egypt from India, I was happy to afford a convincing proof of the extenſive and vigorous reſources of theſe flouriſhing dominions, and of the effectual aid to be derived from this part of the empire in maintaining the arduous cauſe in which we are engaged.

My orders in this important criſis have been carried into effect by every ſubordinate civil and military officer, whom I have employed, with the ſame ſpirit of loyalty and public zeal, and with the ſame anxious deſire to participate in the danger and honour of the war, which I have uniformly experienced ſince the commencement of my adminiſtration.

This addreſs is dictated by a ſimilar ſpirit: and I deem it to be an indiſpenſable article of my duty to encourage and animate, in the heart of every Britiſh ſubject reſident under my authority, ſentiments equally calculated to maintain in theſe diſtant poſſeſſions the purity of our character, and the ſtability of our power.

I receive with cordial gratitude the flattering terms in which you have conveyed your favourable opinion of the general tenor of my adminiſtration: the confidence which you are pleaſed to repoſe in me, will greatly contribute to my happineſs, if it ſhall enable me to confirm in your minds a reſpect for the Britiſh government, an affectionate attachment for our country, and an honourable pride in the honeſt and zealous diſcharge of the important duties of your reſpective ſtations.

(Signed) WELLESLEY.

The Eſtabliſhment of a Military College at Calcutta.

This eſtabliſhment is to conſiſt of a ſenior and junior department. In the ſenior department will be admitted thirty officers, to be inſtructed in the duties of the general ſtaff of the army, and in particular thoſe which belong to the quarter-maſter-general in the field.

The junior department to be for the inſtruction of thoſe who are from early life intended for a military profeſſion, and who will by this means be well grounded in a knowledge of ſcience, previous to their attaining the age that enables them to hold commiſſions in the army. This department is to receive 300 ſtudents, from the ages of 14 to 16; of which number, 50 may be cadets of the Eaſt India Company's ſervice; 100 the ſons of noblemen and gentlemen who may intend them for the ſervice; 100 the ſons of officers actually in the ſervice; and 50 the ſons of officers who have died or been diſabled in the ſervice, and are left in pecuniary diſtreſs. The eſtabliſhment to be governed, as a military body, according to his majeſty's rules and regulations for the diſcipline of the ſervice, with ſuch additional reſtrictions as may be neceſſary to the conduct of youth, and the objects of the inſtitution. The commander in chief for the time being, to be chief governor of the military college, under whoſe control the eſtabliſhment will be placed. Each department to be under the command of officers of rank in the army, who will be reſponſible to the reſident lieutenant governor for the diſcipline and the conduct of the ſtudents, together with the interior care and economy of their reſpective departments. All elementary tuition will be conducted

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ducted by profeſſors and maſters, ſubject to the control of a director of inſtructions. Public examination will be held of the progreſs made by ſtudents in their ſtudies.

The ſum which will be required this year, on account of the purchaſe of land, and the conſtruction of buildings for a royal military college, is 30,000l. In the year 1802, 25,000l. will be required; and in the year 1803, 12,000l. making the total expenſe for building 67,000l. The balance between the annual expenditure and receipts of the eſtabliſhment is eſtimated at 23,000l. 8s. 4¼d. to be defrayed by the public. The expenditure for officers, &c. is reckoned at 20,245l. 8s. 4¼d. the receipts at 16,945l.

MADRAS
Occurrences for November.

Particulars reſpecting the Capture and the ſubſequent Proceedings of the Creole *Brig.*

His majeſty's ſloop *Victor*, capt. Collier, on the 7th November laſt, while cruizing off Madagaſcar, deſcried, at ſun riſe, a brig at anchor in Anton Gel Bay—the *Victor* crowded all ſail to near the veſſel as ſoon as poſſible, from obſerving all hands employed in landing goods from her; it was ſhortly after perceived that her crew had ſet her on fire; at this period capt. Collier inſtantly manned the *Victor*'s boats with orders to make and board the veſſel; before they got alongſide, an attempt was made to cut away the maſts of the ſtrange ſail, but finding themſelves cloſely preſſed they deſerted the veſſel and made the ſhore with all expedition. The crew of the *Victor*'s boats, after boarding the veſſel and extinguiſhing the flames, in which they ſoon ſucceeded, took poſſeſſion of her. She proved to be the *Creole*, French brig, belonging to the Mauritius, and was on a ſlave voyage.

Captain Collier was ſo much ſtruck with the general fine appearance of the *Creole*, from her being alſo copper faſtened, and a very faſt ſailor, that he manned and armed her, and appointed lieutenant M'Lean to the command until the expiration of his cruiſe on that ſtation; when captain Collier had it in contemplation to ſend the *Creole* into Bourbon, (on a ſervice the accompliſhment of which has been, in many conſpicuous inſtances in the courſe of the late war, proved to be within the ability and gallantry of Britiſh ſeamen:) to cut out ſuch veſſels as ſhe might find lying there, and on which a ſucceſsful effort might have been made; unfortunately, however, a dreadful gale of wind aroſe and baffled this projected enterpriſe. The *Creole* parted company from the *Victor;* and was very near being loſt; the ſtorm trey-ſail ſheet gave way, and ſhe inſtantly fell over in the hollow of the ſea on her beam-ends. In this ſituation ſhe continued for three quarters of an hour before ſhe could be righted again. The gale continued for two days; ſhe ſaw no more of the *Victor;* and finding themſelves in great diſtreſs, very ſhort of ſtores and proviſions, and driven a great diſtance from their place of rendezvous, the commander determined on making the neareſt port, and therefore ſteered for this harbour.

The *Creole*, we are informed, ſubſequently made the iſland of Malaki, one of the Laccadives, for a ſupply of proviſions; on entering the harbour, or roadſtead, ſhe got upon the bar—in this ſituation ſhe

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was seized upon and detained by the inhabitants under a plea, in spite of every assurance to the contrary, of her being a French vessel—the commander and crew in consequence experienced a long confinement and harsh treatment, and was ultimately released from the interference of the local authority at Cannanore, but we refrain from detailing particulars from having reason to understand that they will become the subject of future investigation.

COLONEL BARRY CLOSE.

It is with pleasure we have selected, and here present to our readers the following extracts from different orders, &c. issued in India, respecting colonel BARRY CLOSE, an officer who has so conspicuously signalized himself during the late war in India, and particularly at the storming of Seringapatam.

Extract from General HARRIS, *Commander in Chief, to Marquis* WELLESLEY, *Governor-general of India.*

Dated Grand Army, Seringapatam, May 1799.

In every point of view I must call your lordship's particular attention to the adjutant-general of the army. His general character as an officer, is too well established by a long and distinguished course of the most meritorious services to require my testimony, but the particular exertion of his talents in the present service, in directing, regulating, and assisting the progress of our departments, when embarrassed by all the difficulties attending a deficiency of conveyance for an uncommonly extensive equipment, during the advance of the army, and the ability, zeal, and energy displayed by him in superintending the operations of an arduous siege, where he was ever present, stimulating the exertions of others, or assisting their judgement and labour with his own, claim from me to be stated to your lordship in the most forcible terms. It is my earnest wish that my sentiments on this subject may be publicly recorded, and it is my firm opinion, that if the success of this army has been of importance to the British interest, that success is to be attributed in a very considerable degree to lieut. col. Close.

The right honourable the Governor-general in council directs the commander in chief of the allied army in the field, to assure the officers on the general staff of the army, those composing the confidential staff of the commander in chief, and those whose zeal, ability, and exertion have been distinguished in aid of the departments to which they were not officially attached, that his lordship entertains the highest sense of their several eminent services during the late glorious campaign in Mysore.—The conduct of the adjutant-general, lieutenant-colonel Close, has amply justified the implicit confidence reposed by the Governor-general in council, in his extensive knowledge, approved experience, superior talents, ardent valour, and indefatigable activity. The uniform zeal, perseverance, and fortitude, with which lieutenant-colonel Close has exerted all these great qualities in every trial of difficulty and danger, entitle him to the praise, respect, and esteem of the Governor-general in council. His lordship feels himself bound by every obligation of justice and public duty to recommend the extraordinary merits of lieutenant-colonel Close to the particular approbation of the honourable the court

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of directors, and to the applauſe and gratitude of his country.

G. O. By Government.

Fort St. George, Dec. 25, 1800.

The high ſenſe entertained by the moſt noble the Governor-general in council of the meritorious ſervices and eminent abilities of lieutenant-colonel Cloſe, having been repeatedly publiſhed to the army, the Governor in council conſiders it not to be neceſſary for his lordſhip to add any obſervations to the following extract of a letter from the honourable court of directers, expreſſing their approbation of that officer's conduct—

Extract, Par. 209. "From the great eſtimation in which we held the character and abilities of your late adjutant-general colonel Cloſe, even previous to the knowledge of the diſtinguiſhed ſervices rendered by him in the late war againſt Tippoo Sultaun, we ſhould have felt no heſitation in yielding to his requeſt, had he continued to occupy that ſituation, that his allowances ſhould maintain their equality with thoſe of the quarter-maſter-general, but we have the ſatisfaction to obſerve by your late diſpatches, that lieutenant-colonel Cloſe, on account of his eminent talents and integrity, added to his extraordinary ſkill in the country languages, and to his experience in the manners, cuſtoms, and habits of the nations of India, had been ſelected by lord Mornington, now marquis Welleſley, for the important charge of reſident with the rajah of Myſore, an appointment which has met our entire approbation, and as both the governor-general and commander in chief have borne moſt honourable teſtimony to the ability, zeal, and energy, diſplayed by colonel Cloſe, during the late Myſore campaign, thereby manifeſting extenſive knowledge, approved experience, ſuperior talents, ardent valour, and indefatigable activity, we have reſolved to preſent that officer with a ſword, to be made in England, of the value of three hundred guineas, in teſtimony of the high ſenſe which we entertain of his ſervices upon that memorable occaſion."

Extract of a Letter from Fort St. George, dated October 1801.

"Notice having been given to the troops in garriſon to be under arms for the purpoſe of obſerving the ceremony of preſenting the ſword voted by the court of directors to colonel Barry Cloſe for his eminent ſervices in the Myſore, and particularly at the ſiege of Seringapatam. The right hon. the Governor, attended by colonel Cloſe, and the gentlemen of his lordſhip's ſuite, together with his excellency lieutenant-general Stewart, commander in chief, and his ſuite, attended the ceremony, when his lordſhip taking his ſtand near the ſtatue of marquis Cornwallis on the general parade, preſented the ſword to colonel Cloſe, with a ſhort and appropriate addreſs. His majeſty's Scotch brigade and the two Madras battalions were drawn up in the form of a ſquare, and, immediately on the ſword being preſented, fired three vollies. This intereſting ceremony was attended by almoſt every gentleman in the civil and military ſervice at the preſidency, and the ſentiments expreſſed on the occaſion were flattering."

G. O. By Government.

Fort St. George, 25th Oct. 1801.

His excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general having been pleaſed to appoint lieutenant-colonel Barry Cloſe to the office of reſident

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ſident at Poonah, the right honourable the Governor in council has accordingly permitted lieutenant-colonel Cloſe to be abſent from the eſtabliſhment of Fort St. George, for the purpoſe of exerciſing the duties of that diſtinguiſhed ſtation.

BOMBAY

Occurrences for November.

Extract of a Letter from Lieut. John Hayes, Commander of the Swift, *to the Superintendant of Marine.*

Dated Ternate, 5th July 1808.

"The copies of letters from the reſident at *Amboyna* will ſhew the nature of my late employment; immediately after the receipt of that dated 1ſt April, I weighed with the fleet and proceeded to the iſland of Ternate. The letter of the 17th June alludes to the previous tranſactions of the ſquadron in which I had made two cloſe attacks on the enemy's batteries with the ſhips under my command.

"On the 17th May, we captured two *Paduachers* from Java, and on the 21ſt, the American brig *Hazard* from Batavia, all bound to Ternate with ſupplies; the cargo of the *Hazard* the entire property of the Dutch government, whoſe paſſes are in my poſſeſſion.

"On the morning of the 21ſt June, the third and laſt attack was made on Fort Orange; in this I was moſt gallantly ſupported by the *Star*, lieutenant Scott; the ſhips lay ſtationary within piſtol ſhot of the batteries for more than 30 minutes, expoſed to a croſs and raking fire from twenty-four 12 and 18 pounders; the attack was continued and attended with the deſired effect. At 11 *a. m.* Ternate and its dependencies ſurrendered, and was taken poſſeſſion of by the land forces; the veſſels in the roads had previouſly ſtruck to the *Swift*.

"I have been fortunate in having, on this ſervice, loſt only one man killed and nine wounded, the latter all recovering; but the ſhip's hull, maſts, rigging and ſails have been very ſeverely handled. I ſhall ſend you a regular detail of our proceedings hereafter.

"The marine lieutenants, Scott, Deane, Rawling, Roſs and Henderſon, have particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves. I beg leave to introduce to your notice Mr. Daniel Owler, maſter, Mr. John Burgh, 3d lieutenant of the *Swift*, and captain Richard Hughes, the Hon. C.'s ſurveyor of the Moluccas, as men of undaunted courage and ſuperior abilities. Mr. Egan commanding the honourable Company's brig *Reſource*, is alſo entitled to the higheſt commendation; the ſeamen I brought from the preſidency fought with me in the ranks againſt Tolooka on the 11th February, and have behaved equally well ever ſince."

(Signed) P. DUNDAS,
Superintendant.

The Dutch flag was ſtruck and the Britiſh colours diſplayed on the 21ſt of June, under a royal ſalute.

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BENGAL *Occurrences for* DECEMBER 1801.

Particulars reſpecting the Paſſage of the Ship Counteſs of Sutherland, *to the Cape of Good Hope.*

"On the 12th April, the pilot quitted us, and we proceeded on our voyage in company with the *Walſingham* and *Earl Spencer* Indiamen; the *Counteſs* proving to be a remarkable ſwift ſailer, and the Indiamen dull ones, captain Eggleſton, under the idea we would make a quick paſſage, parted company with them on the 20th April; on the 23d we began to experience dark cloudy weather, with ſqualls, rain, lightning and thunder, which continued until the 14th June, when it blew violent hurricanes. The 16th, the ſea broke over us to that degree, we were under the neceſſity of pumping ſhip every two hours; on the 17th there was ſuch a violent gale, that it ſprung the mainmaſt 3 feet below the upper deck, carried away all the fore and main rigging, ſplit our ſails to pieces, and compelled us to cut away the main top-ſail yards and bear away before the wind; the tremendous ſeas ſhipped were ſuch, that the water on the gun-deck, ſteerage, and great cabin, was from 2 to 3 feet in depth, and every perſon on board employed pumping, to prevent her ſinking; in this ſituation, until the 22d, we were experiencing theſe violent gales with ſharp vivid lightning, ſleet, ſnow, and rain, carrying away all our yards and every ſail that could be ſet, when the ſtorm for a day or two moderated; from the quantity of birds ſeen, the captain and officers were of opinion that we were then on the banks of Lagullus, and within a day's ſail of Table Bay. On the 25th the gales recommenced as violent as before, which drove us ſo far to the weſtward of the Cape, that on the 3d of July we diſcovered land on the Natal coaſt, about the place where the *Groſvenor* was loſt; on the 7th hove to under bare poles, and ſhipping ſome heavy ſeas; on the 8th the ſhip labouring and ſhipping ſo much water, we were in momentary expectation of her ſinking, and dreadful to relate, between 11 and 12 at night, when ſo dark that not an object on deck could be diſcovered at an arm's length, experiencing ſtrong gales and a high ſea, the mizen-maſt was carried away clean with the poop-deck; between 12 and 1 the main-maſt went clean with the quarter-deck, and before 2 in the morning the fore-maſt about 14 feet above the forecaſtle-deck; and to add to our diſtreſs and confuſion, the captain, in the early part of the night, received a blow in his ſide by one of the ſpars that got looſe, he was carried motionleſs to his cot, and confined for 5 or 6 days; the veſſel was a complete log on the water, left to the ſyrang and laſcars to clear the wreck; the paſſengers, fearful of broken limbs, or being daſhed to pieces by the cheſts, &c. rolling from one ſide to the other, by the motion of the ſhip, faſtened themſelves in their cots, and in that ſituation were toſſed to and fro at the mercy of the winds and waves until the 18th, when it again moderated; on which and the following day we got up jury maſts: the gale then recommenced as violent as ever, and ſhipping ſuch heavy ſeas, we hove to, and ſet the pumps to

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work to prevent her ſinking; the 15th at night the ſhip rolled to that degree, that every water caſk was ſtove except four, and fortunately at day light we came in ſight of the African coaſt, about De Lagoa bay, diſtant from the Cape about 600 miles; on the 19th we anchored in St. Francis's bay, adjoining to the bay aforementioned, where we remained watering and repairing the ſhip until the 18th Auguſt, and then proceeded to the Cape."

Extract from the Proceedings of the Marine Board, on the 26th of December 1801.

The following charge having been preferred againſt Mr. Thomas Purcell, maſter in the pilot ſervice, a committee of inquiry was ordered to inveſtigate into his conduct, viz.

"For the loſs of the ſhip *Ganges*, on the 11th of November, whilſt in his charge."

The committee of inquiry having found Mr. Thomas Purcell, maſter, *guilty* of the above charge, the honourable the vice preſident in council has thought proper to direct, that Mr. Thomas Purcell be diſmiſſed from his ſtation of maſter in the pilot ſervice of the honourable the Eaſt India Company, and he is hereby accordingly diſmiſſed.

MADRAS
Occurrences for December.

Narrative of the Loſs of the Brig Dundas, *Captain James Newbigging, in the Red Sea.*

"The *Dundas* ſailed from Judda harbour on the 16th September, in company with ſix other tranſports, under convoy of his majeſty's ſhip *Wilhelmina*, with inſtructions that in caſe of parting company with the fleet, to rendezvous at Tore. The weather continued tolerably moderate until the 19th, when it commenced blowing exceedingly hard from the northward, with a very heavy ſwell, which induced the captain of the *Wilhelmina* to make the ſignal to the convoy to make the beſt of their way without attending to the preſcribed order of ſailing, which indeed was found impracticable from the ſeverity of the weather, which ſcattered the convoy very much. The *Dundas* was under the neceſſity of carrying a preſs of ſail to keep up with the fleet, and blowing exceedingly hard, and a heavy ſea running, ſhe ſplit ſeveral of her ſails, and was otherwiſe damaged; in repairing of which, and ſhifting her ſails, they twice loſt ſight of the fleet. On the 2d of October, at 6 *p. m.* they were once more in ſight to the weſtward, courſes down to windward. The wind proving favourable for the tack, the *Dundas* then continued to ſtand on, in hopes, by taking advantage of the ſhifts of wind, to be enabled to join the convoy next day. Between nine and ten *p. m.* there was an alarm given of breakers on the lee bow, as in ſuch an intricate navigation all hands were conſtantly kept in readineſs, orders were given for tacking, and the helm put down, but owing to a very light wind, and a heavy confuſed ſea, cauſed by the late blowing weather, ſhe would not ſtay; all the ſails were then immediately thrown aback, and from the heavy ſwell, and a ſtrong current, hopes were entertained that ſhe might have drifted clear of the ſhoal, but unfortunately a ſpit running out to a conſiderable diſtance, ſhe was brought up upon it. Nothing could now be more dreadful than their ſituation, uncertain of the nature or extent of the ſhoal or their diſtance from the land, a heavy ſea running, with

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with the surf breaking over the vessel, and every moment expecting she might go to pieces, produced a scene of horror easier to be conceived than described; fortunately, however, the vessel took a heel towards the shoal, otherwise every soul must have been washed overboard from the violence of the surf beating over her. The wished-for dawn at last broke on them, but instead of alleviating, rather added to their distress, they found the vessel had run upon the weather side of a coral bank extending about N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. eight or ten miles, forming a kind of half moon or horse-shoe, the high land of Africa in sight bearing S. W. distant about nine or ten leagues, the vessel wholly lost, being bulged and full of water; their only hope of safety now depended on the preservation of the boat, it was found impracticable to get her overboard to windward, for the heavy sea that was running would inevitably have dashed her in pieces; and a difficulty almost as unsurmountable appeared in getting her over to leeward, or how they were to get her across the rocks into deep water to leeward of the shoal.

"In this choice of difficulties, the latter was preferred, and, after much labour and fatigue, it was at last effected, but not without the boat receiving considerable damage, having a part of her bow stove in; fortunately they at last succeeded in dragging her over the rocks, when they constructed a small cattamaran, and had a rope run out to communicate with the rocks; every one then was busily employed in making such repairs to the boat as circumstances would admit, by nailing pieces of pipe staves up her sides and gunwale, and in fixing a half bread of canvas all round to break off the heavy sea, putting on board water, biscuit, and other provisions they could procure; and at sun-set the commander, officers and crew, embarked in this crazy conveyance to endeavour to reach Judda, preferring the risk of crossing the sea in a small open boat, rather than landing on the coast of Africa then in sight, from the danger to be apprehended from the barbarous natives; fortunately they experienced very moderate weather, and on the 6th of October at sun-set, they saw two coral rocks with some boats at anchor to leeward of them; they immediately rounded the rocks and worked up to the boats, several of whom they found had come from Judda; they hove a rope to the boat, and behaved exceedingly friendly to the *Dundas*'s people, unsolicited, offering them water, fish and rice; these boats were employed picking up what they could get from the wreck of the *Louiza*, that had been lost some time before on these rocks.

"The crew of the *Dundas* kept by these boats all night, not deeming it prudent to run in the dark amongst these dangerous shoals; they made sail at day-light in the morning, and at sun-set arrived in Judda harbour, where they made fast to a snow until the morning, when they all landed safe at Judda."

Two pieces of plate, value 200 pagodas, have been presented to capt. Charles Armstrong, by the cadet company under his command, accompanied with the following address:

SIR,

The cadet company wishing to embrace every opportunity of expressing their thankfulness for the indefatigable zeal manifested by you for the promotion of their future interest

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tereſt and welfare, as well as for their immediate comforts, beg leave to preſent you with the accompanying pieces of plate, as the tribute of gratitude and eſteem, ſo juſtly due to an officer, whoſe ſuperior merit, and generous diſpoſition, render him dear to every individual.

Chingleput, Sept. 1801.

To which they received the following anſwer:

To the Company of Gentlemen Cadets.

GENTLEMEN,

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your note (adorned with a beautiful emblematical painting) and the very handſome teſtimony of eſteem which accompanies it.

So flattering a mark of the friendſhip of gentlemen, whoſe conduct has ever claimed my higheſt approbation, and whom I am perſuaded will not only become ornaments to ſociety, but the able defenders of their country, cannot fail of being moſt pleaſing and ſatisfactory to me, and ſhall ever be acknowledged with ſentiments of eſteem, by

Gentlemen, &c.

CHAS. ARMSTRONG.

Chingleput, Dec. 22, 1801.

BENGAL *Occurrences for* JANUARY 1802.

Fort William, 15th Jan. 1802.

The following Extract of a Letter received laſt night from Thomas Surridge, Eſq. Capt. of his Majeſty's Ship *Leopard*, incloſing a Copy of a Letter from Charles Adam, Eſq. Capt. of his Majeſty's Ship *La Sybelle*, is publiſhed by Order of the Hon. the Vice Preſident in Council.

"I have great pleaſure in forwarding you a copy of captain Adam's letter to me, announcing the capture of *La Hirondelle* French privateer."

H. M. Ship La Sybelle, off Negrais, Jan. 2, 1802.

SIR,

I have the pleaſure of informing you, that at five *a. m.* on the morning of the 31ſt ult. ſtanding to the eaſtward in the lat. of Drowned Iſland, in company with the *Mornington* and *Alert*, who had fallen in with me the preceding day, we diſcovered a ſtrange ſhip ſtanding athwart us on the oppoſite tack; we ſtood on till ſhe was a-beam of us, tacked within gun-ſhot of her, and after a chaſe of three and a half hours, exchanging our chaſe guns the whole time, ſhe ſtruck her colours, and proved to be *L'Hirondelle* French privateer, commanded by Monſieur Le Meme, pierced for 18 guns, but mounting only 14, conſiſting of two braſs 12-pounders, ten 6-pounders, and two 12-pounders carronades, the remainder being in the hold; ſhe is quite new, and in every reſpect a very fine veſſel: her complement conſiſted originally of 130 men, but there were only 95 on board at the time of her capture, the reſt being detached to the Iſle of France in the prizes ſhe has made as per margin*; ſhe left the Mauritius on the 11th of September, touched at the Seychelles on the 16th, where ſhe took on board ſeveral of the people who formed part of the crews of *La Chiffonne* and *La Fleche*, was chaſed by the *Fox* to the eaſtward of the

* *Clariſſe, Sophy, Apollo, (Belleſurius) ſunk.*

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the Nicobars, on the 7th December, ſince which ſhe has been to Mergui for water and refreſhments, and had only left that place two days when we fell in with her.

Captain Le Meme informs me he had taken his ſtation off Negrais, with a view of intercepting the Portugueze ſhips from China.

Captain Froſt very judiciouſly kept the *Mornington* to leeward during the chaſe, to cut her off had ſhe attempted to eſcape that way, and the *Alert* was kept cloſe to the wind with a ſimilar view if the privateer had put about.

Nearly at the concluſion of the purſuit, ſhe exchanged her fire with the *Mornington*, but I am happy to ſay, neither her nor *La Sybelle*, have received any damage from her ſhot. Her own fore and main-maſts are, however, much wounded, and her mizen-top-gallant-maſt, top-ſail ſheets, &c. were ſhot away.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. ADAM.

To Thomas Surridge, Eſq. &c.

MADRAS
Occurrences for January.

Capture of Tirnakull.

The following Letter from Major-General Campbell, commanding the Forces in the Ceded Diſtricts, is publiſhed by Authority of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

To John Chamier, Eſq. Chief Sec. to Government, Fort St. George.

SIR,

I have great ſatisfaction in reporting for the information of the right hon. the Governor in council, the following particulars relative to the operations againſt Tirnakull, which have happily terminated in the fall of the fort, and chaſtiſement of its rebel defenders.

Immediately after the affair of the 20th inſtant, I detached major Strachan, captain Noble, and Mr. deputy commiſſary Beſt, to Gooty, to prepare ſuch heavy guns as the place afforded. On a minute inſpection, only one iron twelve, one iron, and one braſs nine-pounder, were found fit for our purpoſe. By the ſtrenuous exertions of the garriſon, theſe guns were brought down from the rock, and two hundred and fifty rounds of ammunition for each, with carriages, and the articles neceſſary to keep them in order, were got ready, and with this ſupply the major and party arrived in camp on the 26th. Faſcines and gabions had been made here; and in the night of the 29th a battery for ſix guns againſt the N. W. curtain of the lower fort, was conſtructed by captain Croſdill of artillery, and another for three guns againſt the Eaſt face of the fort and citadel, by lieutenant Fitchet of his majeſty's 73d regiment; the guns were alſo got into them, and at a quarter paſt ſix o'clock yeſterday morning, both opened with the beſt poſſible effect. In the courſe of the day, the fire of lieutenant Fitchet's battery effected a practicable breach in the lower wall, and at the ſame time opened the face of the citadel; while that from captain Croſdill's made a breach in the curtain ſufficiently wide for a company to enter a-breaſt. Theſe deſirable objects being attained; the line turned out at half paſt three in the afternoon, and the ſtorming parties were formed in the following order.

That for the N. W. breach under lieutenant-colonel Davis, ſeconded by major Strachan, conſiſted of the flank and two battalion companies of his majeſty's 73d regiment; one company 2d battalion 4th regiment, and four companies of the 1ſt battalion

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lion 12th regiment native infantry, flanked by forty volunteer dismounted dragoons, of his majesty's 25th regiment.

That for the eastern breach under captain Robert Munro, consisted of three battalion companies of his majesty's 73d regiment, the flank companies of the 2d battalion 4th regiment, and two companies of the 2d battalion 15th regiment native infantry.

At a quarter before four o'clock, the troops were ordered to advance, and in half an hour were completely masters of the place, the rebels having quitted the works, and retreated to their well-built houses, where they for some time individually defended themselves; most of them were however killed, and of those who fled, but very few if any escaped the cavalry who surrounded the fort. To the honor of the troops, I must beg leave to add, that every woman and child was humanely spared, only two of the former and one of the latter having fallen even from accidental shot.

The wound formerly received by lieutenant-colonel Moneypenny, deprived me of his valuable services on the present occasion, but his place was most ably filled by lieutenant-colonel Davis, and though it is difficult to discriminate where all have behaved in a manner so honourable to themselves, with such perfect unanimity, and so much to my entire satisfaction, I yet feel it my duty to point out to his lordship's notice, lieutenant-colonel Moneypenny, lieutenant-colonel Davis, major Strachan, captain Robert Munro, captain Crosdill, captain Noble, and lieut. Fitchet, as officers whose zeal and ability have shone conspicuous throughout, and to whose exertions I am particularly indebted.

Much praise is due to my aid-de-camp, captain Read, whose zeal and activity, during our various operations against the place, was unremitted. Nor can I pass over in silence, the meritorious conduct of lieutenant Maclean, of his majesty's 25th light dragoons; who, on the several attacks of the 14th, 20th, and 30th instant, stept voluntarily forward to accompany major Strachan.

The conduct of Mr. deputy commissary Best, has also been much to my satisfaction. It gives me the most heartfelt pleasure to add, that not a life has been lost on this occasion, and that the accompanying return of wounded will be found to contain but very few. The officers, and most of the men formerly wounded, are doing well.

A minute examination of the fort, and the knowledge since obtained, enables me to add, that the attack, made by major Strachan, on the 14th instant, was by no means more spirited than judicious, for determined resistance must, long ere that, have been the fixed attention of the rebels; as it is now ascertained, that the several gates were previously built up, and in the most permanent manner; a circumstance, which, from the information received, the major had no reason to expect.

The potail or killedar of Tirnakull, has been hanged; but the women, children, and such of the wounded rebels as were collected after the assault of yesterday, have been permitted to depart.

It is my intention to destroy the whole of the fort, and I feel confident that this example will effectually restore the tranquillity of the Adoni province.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) DUG. CAMPBELL,
Maj. Gen.

Camp at Tirnakull.

To

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To the EDITOR *of the* ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

La Sybelle, 12th Jan. 1802.

SIR,

Incloſed I forward you a tranſlation of a letter I have received from captain Le Meme, late commander of *L'Hirondelle*, together with a copy of the paper alluded to in his poſtſcript, and have to requeſt you will give it a place in your work, for the information of the public, as well as in juſtification of captain Le Meme's conduct.

I am, Sir, &c.

CHAS. ADAM.

To CHARLES ADAM, *Eſq. &c.*

Jan. 7, 1802.

SIR,

It is painful to me, being your priſoner, to be under the neceſſity of making known the conduct I have purſued towards thoſe of your nation, whom I have made priſoners. But the victim of an unexampled calumny, it is my duty to undeceive a public too apt to judge without a competent knowledge, and it is in expoſing the falſity of the declaration made by captain James, in his letter of the 29th October 1801, that I am hopeful to have that juſtice done me which I merit. If, however, I thought that this ſlander would only operate upon the minds of thoſe of a ſimilar diſpoſition to my calumniator, ſilence and diſdain would be the only arms I ſhould employ to defend myſelf, but too well perſuaded that many others will be prejudiced againſt me, it is to them that I wiſh to make known the truth. I took the *Clariſſe* on the 11th October, at 1 *p. m.* Capt. James came on board without his effects; I ſent him back to get them, with particular orders to my officer to let him take every thing that belonged to him. At five o'clock in the evening I diſpatched my prize to the Iſle of France, and at night I even diſlodged my officers to give beds to all the Engliſhmen that were on board of me; the next morning I gave orders to captain James, as well as to the others, to put in a ſingle cheſt the clothes and effects they would have occaſion for during their ſtay with me; their other trunks, which were put in the hold, I made them ſeal, and, whenever they had occaſion for them, they were never opened without their having firſt examined them.

My officers being numerous, and having but little wine, I reduced their conſumption, not to refuſe him the large quantity that he drank, and though we had been limited to a bottle of water a day, I permitted him to drink as much as he pleaſed. I even carried my complaiſance farther; for, to the prejudice of my ſhip's company, and notwithſtanding the orders of general Mengallon, I acceded to his earneſt deſire in putting him aſhore on the coaſt of Coromandel; after ſuch conduct it is eaſy for you to judge, ſir, if I had any reaſon to expect a ſimilar return to that which he has made me.

I have made ſince the commencement of the war many priſoners, and I can defy any one to prove, that I have not always behaved to them in as humane and civil a manner as it was poſſible; the kindneſs and civility that I experienced from Mr. Duncan has ſecured him my higheſt eſteem, but it has not increaſed the pleaſure I received in doing good.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LE MEME.

P. S. I have likewiſe the honor to incloſe you a paper, which will prove

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prove to you in part the truth of what I have advanced.

(A true translation.)

CHAS. ADAM.

L'Hirondelle, French Privateer,
Oct. 25, 1801.

We the undersigned do hereby certify, that during our captivity on board the *L'Hirondelle*, we have experienced every civility from the commander and officers, and such comforts as the vessel afforded, for which we are particularly indebted to captain Francis L'Meme, and his brother Mr. Henry L'Meme.

(Signed) J. WALKINGHAM,
Com. of the Belliforine.
C. H. WOLFE,
Supercargo.
M. DUNN,
Conductor of Ordnance.

BOMBAY

Occurrences for January.

On the 20th instant, Edward Atkins and James Douglas Richardson, esqrs. were sworn in before the honourable the governor, the former as mayor, and the latter as sheriff of this presidency, for the ensuing year.

Bombay, Jan. 9.

On Thursday last the fourth session of oyer and terminer commenced before sir William Syer, knight, recorder, and his associates, Edward Atkins, esq. mayor, and Messrs. Lechemere, Gray, and Haddow, aldermen.

John Turnbull was tried on a charge of murder, and acquitted.

Anthony Baptista alias *John Fryer*, was tried for larceny, and found guilty of stealing to the value of thirty-nine shillings.—Adjourned.

Shocking Murders.

A letter from Surat, dated the 11th inst. mentions two shocking murders committed there a few days before, on two young Parsee girls, the eldest about nine or ten years of age, by two or three women and a boy of their own cast, who were tempted to the perpetration of the crime, by the lure of the joys which the unfortunate children wore, amounting, it is said, to about two thousand rupees. One of the deceased, the eldest, was decoyed by these wretches into a compound, and there pushed into a well, where she was kept for several hours; about six o'clock in the evening the body was taken out and plundered. The youngest was drowned in a tank, and afterwards stripped of the joys which she had about her person. To prevent a discovery it was the intention of the murderers to cut up and salt the bodies in small pieces; and to bury them in different parts of the compound; but on the girl's being missed a hue and cry was sent round by the relations, and Mr. Crowe's people dispatched in search. They passed the house and compound where the horrid scene had taken place; and the murderers, being alarmed and apprehensive of the bodies being found on the premises, carried them out into the street, where they were found by the constables on their return, and the guilt of the perpetrators fully established by the property found in their houses and the well and tank.

To the Honourable JONATHAN DUNCAN, *President and Governor in Council.*

HONOURABLE SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that the *Harriet* armed boat, belonging to this station, commanded by

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by William Worthey, gunner of artilley, fell in with three pirate boats, belonging to the port of Rajapoor, in the Cooley country, who engaged her from 8 o'clock at night of the 16th inſt. till four the next morning, and after ineffectually boarding the *Harriet* three different times, with matchlocks, pikes, and ſwords. The gunner and part of the crew boarded in return, and captured one boat, armed with eight matchlocks, 18 ſwords, ſeveral pikes, and one iron gun.—The two others obſerving the ſituation of their companion, ſet ſail and eſcaped. Only one ſepoy is wounded by a ball in the thigh, in our pattamar. On board the pirate four men were killed, ſeven dangerouſly, and two ſlightly wounded: the number who jumped into the water, and were drowned, cannot be aſcertained. The wounded men I have ſent to the hoſpital at Tannah; the remainder, four in number, are confined in this fort. I requeſt to be favoured with your orders reſpecting the boat and priſoners.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILLIAM SIMPSON,
Verſovah. Collector of Saltſette.

BENGAL *Occurrences for* FEBRUARY 1802.

Loſs of the Brig Succeſs, *Captain Creighton.*

The brig *Succeſs*, captain Creighnon, bound from Bengal to Penang and Malacca, was loſt on Thurſday the 4th inſt. when the pilot was endeavouring to take her over the James and Mary ſand.

The veſſel took the ground, or as it was ſuppoſed by ſome, that ſhe ſtruck the wreck of a Paria, and inſtantly fell on her broad-ſide, leaving the people no alternative but that of endeavouring to ſave their lives, as any attempts of ſaving the veſſel were found impracticable; and before the tide had completely ebbed, her hull was entirely under water.

We are, however, happy to add, that no lives were loſt on this occaſion.

A Pariah ſloop has ſince been wrecked near the ſame place, and, with her cargo, entirely loſt.

Inhuman Murder.

A moſt ſhocking murder was committed at Pulo Penang, on the 12th inſtant, in the following manner:

A Malay woman, her huſband, and three other Malays, laid a plan to plunder the houſe of the late Peter Robertſon, where there was only his daughter, a fine girl of ten years old, her mother, and a ſervant girl:—to effect their wicked purpoſes, they made intoxicating cakes and gave them to the people of the houſe to eat; after which they moſt inhumanly ſtrangled the little girl, cut the throat of the mother, and ſtabbed the ſervant girl; the aſſaſſins then carried off the effects. They afterwards returned and ſet the houſe on fire; on the alarm of fire being given, ſeveral perſons ran to the houſe, to ſee if the people in it were aſleep, and to give them aſſiſtance; but as no anſwer was given from within, concluded they were not at home; after the houſe was burnt down, the three bodies were found, which

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gave immediate ſuſpicion that they had been murdered; and by the activity of Mr. Brown, the provoſt, the murderers were found, and have confeſſed the whole as mentioned above.

Annual Examination of the different Claſſes of the College of Calcutta.

February 11, 1802.

On Saturday laſt, the 6th February, being the anniverſary of the commencement of the firſt term of the college of Fort William, and the day appointed for the public diſputations in the Oriental Languages, and for the diſtribution of the prizes and honorary rewards adjudged at the late public examinations; the honourable the acting viſitor, accompanied by the members of the ſupreme council, and by the governors of the college, proceeded to the college.

The honourable the acting viſitor was met at the entrance of the college, by the provoſt, vice provoſt, profeſſors and officers of the college, who attended him to the public examination room, where the ſtudents were aſſembled.

The diſputation immediately commenced in the following order:

Diſputation in the Perſian Language.

POSITION.—"An academical inſtitution in India, is advantageous to the natives, and to the Britiſh nation."

Defended by	Mr. J. H. Lovett.
Chief Opponent,	Mr. C. Lloyd.
Second Opponent,	Mr. G. D. Guthrie.
Moderator,	Lieut. J. Baillie, *Profeſſor.*

Diſputation in the Bengalee Language.

POSITION.—"The Aſiatics are capable of as high a degree of civilization as the Europeans."

Defended by	Mr. W. B. Martin.
Chief Opponent,	Mr. W. B. Bayley.
Second Opponent,	Mr. H. Hodgſon.
Moderator,	W. C. Blaquiere, eſq.

Diſputation in the Hinduſtanee Language.

POSITION.—"The Hinduſtanee language is the moſt generally uſeful in India."

Defended by	Mr. W. B. Bayley.
Chief Opponent,	Mr. J. H. Lovett.
Second Opponent,	Mr. C. Lloyd.
Moderator,	John Gilchriſt, eſq. *Profeſſor.*

When the diſputations were ended, the following prizes and honorary rewards, adjudged at the ſecond examination of 1801, were diſtributed by the provoſt, in the preſence of the acting viſitor.

Perſian Language.

Mr. J. H. Lovett, medal, and 1500 rupees. Mr. R. Jenkins, medal, and 1000 rupees. Mr. C. Lloyd, 500 rupees.

Hinduſtanee Language.

Mr. W. B. Bayley, medal, and 1500 rupees. Mr. J. Lovett, medal, and 1000 rupees. Mr. C. Lloyd, 500 rupees.

Arabic Language.

Mr. J. H. Lovett, medal, and 1500 rupees.

Bengalee Language.

Mr. W. B. Bayley, medal, and 1500 rupees. Mr. W. B. Martin, medal, and 1000 rupees.

Perſian Writing.

Mr. H. Dumeleton, medal, and 1000 rupees.

Nagree Writing.

Mr. M. Morton, medal, and 1000 rupees.

Bengalee Writing.

Mr. H. Hodgſon, medal, and 1000 rupees.

Engliſh Eſſays.

SECOND TERM.

Mr. W. B. Martin, medal, and 1000 rupees.

THIRD TERM.

Mr. T. Hamilton, medal, and 1000 rupees.

FOURTH TERM.

Mr. E. Wood, medal, and 1000 rupees.

After the diſtribution of the prizes and honorary rewards, the honor-

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honourable the acting viſitor addreſſed the ſtudents to the following effect:

GENTLEMEN,

The public ſervice having demanded the preſence of the moſt noble the patron and founder of the college of Fort William, in a diſtant quarter of the Britiſh empire in India, he has been pleaſed to render it my duty to witneſs this firſt diſtribution of the prizes and honorary rewards, which have been adjudged under the ſtatutes of the inſtitution.

The ſatisfaction which I have derived from the diſcharge of this honourable duty, has been greatly heightened by the additional proof of the beneficial effects reſulting from this inſtitution, afforded by the public exerciſes of this day.

Thoſe who are yet but imperfectly acquainted with the nature and objects of this inſtitution, will learn with equal ſurpriſe and ſatisfaction, that ſtudents recently arrived in India, have this day ably maintained a public diſputation in the Oriental languages.

The eſtabliſhment of the college of Fort William has already excited a general attention to Oriental languages, literature, and knowledge, which promiſes to be productive of the moſt ſalutary effects in the adminiſtration of every branch of the affairs of the honourable Company in India.

The numerous and important benefits to be derived from this inſtitution, cannot however be juſtly eſtimated from the experience of the ſhort period of one year which has elapſed ſince it commenced its operation. But if ſucceeding years ſhall exhibit advantages proportionate to thoſe which have been already manifeſted, this inſtitution will realize the moſt ſanguine expectations which have been entertained of its ſucceſs.

I am happy to avail myſelf of this occaſion to expreſs my ſatisfaction at the uniform zeal and attention which have been manifeſted by all the officers and profeſſors of the college in the diſcharge of their public duties. I alſo experience great pleaſure in expreſſing my thanks to thoſe gentlemen who have conducted the public examinations, and who, by affording the aid of their talents and knowledge, have rendered an eſſential ſervice to the inſtitution.

Of the ſtudents now entering on their courſe of public ſervice, as well as of thoſe who continue attached to the college, I am happy to obſerve, there are many who have not only diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their proficiency in the Oriental languages and literature, but whoſe uniform obſervance of the ſtatutes and rules of the inſtitution, and whoſe general correctneſs of conduct, have afforded an honourable and uſeful example to their fellow ſtudents. I am perſuaded that thoſe deſerving characters will reflect further credit on the inſtitution; and that they will continue to exert their endeavours for the attainment of a higher degree of perfection in the different branches of knowledge of which they have ſo happily laid the foundations.

I entertain a confident hope, that all the ſtudents who remain attached to the college, will emulate the laudable example furniſhed by the meritorious characters whom I have deſcribed. The inſtitution now affords to thoſe ſtudents the means of qualifying themſelves for the important offices which they are deſtined to exerciſe under the Britiſh government in India. By diligent-

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ly availing themſelves of thoſe means, they will proportionally advance their perſonal intereſts and reputation; and they will alſo enjoy the grateful and animating proſpect of becoming eminently uſeful to their country; by rendering it eſſential aſſiſtance in realizing the important advantages to be derived from the extenſive and valuable dominions which it has acquired in India; and by aiding it in fulfilling the high moral obligation attendant on the poſſeſſion of its Indian empire, on the diſcharge of which the proſperity and permanency of that empire equally depend.

In the evening, a dinner was given by the honourable the acting viſitor, at the college, at which were preſent the honourable the chief juſtice, and the judges of the ſupreme court of judicature, the members of the ſupreme council, and all the principal civil and military officers at the preſidency.

The following Reports are publiſhed by Order of the Council of the College.

SECOND EXAMINATION OF 1801.

Perſian Language.

FIRST CLASS.

J. H. Lovett, 1ſt prize.
R. Jenkins, 2d prize.
C. Lloyd, 3d prize.

C. D. Guthrie, J. Wauchope,
J. W. Laing, H. Hodgſon,
T. Hamilton, W. P. Potts,
W. B. Bayley, D. Campbell,
A. Roſs, E. Wood.

Hinduſtanee Language.

FIRST CLASS.

W. B. Bayley, 1ſt prize.
J. H. Lovett, 2d prize.
C. Lloyd, 3d prize.

R. Jenkins, W. Chaplin,
H. Hodgſon, J. Hunter,
H. Dumbleton, R. T. Goodwin.
W. R. Petts,

Arabic Language.

FIRST CLASS.

J. H. Lovett, prize.

C. Lloyd, G. D. Gutherie,
A. Roſs, J. W. Laing,
D. Campbell, R. Thackeray.

Bengalee Language.

FIRST CLASS.

W. B. Bayley, 1ſt prize.
W. B. Martin, 2d prize.

H. Hodgſon, G. Hartwell,
C. Lloyd, W. Scott.
M. Law,

Writing in the Perſian Character.

FIRST CLASS.

H. Dumbleton, prize.

J. H. Lovett, R. T. Goodwin,
C. Lloyd, J. Romer,
R. Thackeray, R. C. Roſs,
T. Newnham, H. Hodgſon.
E. Wood,

Writing in the Nagree Character.

FIRST CLASS.

W. Morton, prize.

J. Hunter, H. Shaw,
J. H. Lovett, R. Jenkins,
R. S. Goodwin, A. H. Kelſo,
C. Lloyd, H. Hodgſon.
H. Dumbleton,

Writing in the Bengalee Character.

FIRST CLASS.

H. Hodgſon, prize.

W. B. Martin, M. Law,
W. B. Bayley, W. Scott,
C. Lloyd, G. Hartwell.

Engliſh Eſſays.

SECOND TERM OF 1801.

"On the advantages to be expected from an academical inſtitution in India; conſidered in a moral, literary, and political point of view."

FIRST CLASS.

W. B. Martin, prize.

W. P. Elliott, W. Chaplin,
W. B. Bayley, S. Bourchier,
J. W. Laing, H. Dumbleton,
T. C. Metcalfe, W. P. Potts,
T. Hamilton, D. Campbell,
C. Lloyd, J. Morriſon,
T. Newnham, A. B. Tod,
E. Wood,

THIRD TERM.

"On the beſt means of acquiring

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ing a knowledge of the manners and customs of the natives of India."

FIRST CLASS.

T. Hamilton, prize.

W. B. Martin,	A. H. Kelso,
T. C. Metcalfe,	J. J. Sparrow,
E. Wood,	H. Agar,
S. Bourchier,	T. Perry,
W. Chaplin,	P. W. Pechell,
W. P. Potts,	R. C. Rofs,
H. Dumbleton,	J. Romer.
R. Jenkins,	

FOURTH TERM.

"On the character and capacity of the Afiatics; and particularly of the natives of Hindustan."

FIRST CLASS.

B. Wood, prize.

W. B. Martin,	J. Sprott,
T. Newnham,	H. Dumbleton,
J. J. Sparrow,	A. H. Kelso.

Names and Proficiency of Students who arrived in India within or previous to the year 1798, *and who are now leaving the College, to enter on the Public Service:*

C. Lloyd,—in firft clafs of Arabic, Perfian, Hindufianee, and Bengalee languages.

H. Hodgfon,—firft clafs, Perfian, Hindufianee, and Bengalee; and firft in Bengalee writing.

W. P. Potts,—firft clafs Perfian and Hindufianee: and fecond clafs Arabic.

G. D. Guthrie,—firft clafs Arabic and Perfian.

A. Rofs,—firft clafs Arabic and Perfian.

J. W. Laing,—firft clafs Arabic and Perfian.

D. Campbell,—firft clafs Arabic and Perfian.

G. Hartwell,—firft clafs Bengalee; and fecond clafs, Perfian and Hindufianee.

W. Scott,—firft clafs Bengalee; and fecond clafs Hindufianee.

R. Thackeray,—firft clafs Arabic; and third clafs, Perfian.

M. Law,—firft clafs Bengalee.

W. J. Sands,—fecond clafs Perfian and Hindufianee.

J. Wemyfs,—fecond clafs Perfian and Hindufianee.

F. Morgan,—fecond clafs Perfian and Hindufianee.

R. O. Wynne,—fecond clafs Perfian.

R. Vanfittart,—fecond clafs Perfian.

J. W. Grant,—fecond clafs Hindufianee.

Extract from the Proceedings of a Council of the College, held the 9th February 1802.

Ordered, That the three firft eflays of each term be printed in one volume; and that the Thefes pronounced at the public difputations in the Oriental languages, be printed in their refpective languages.

Ordered, That the thanks of the council of the college be communicated to John Herbert Harrington, efq. captain David Richardfon, William Hunter, efq. and William Coates Blaquiere, efq. for the very able and fatisfactory manner in which they conducted the late public examinations in the college of Fort William.

Ordered, That the thanks of the council of the college be communicated to captain John Malcolm, for the valuable collection of Perfian manufcripts prefented by him to the college of Fort William.

Ordered, That the thanks of the council of the college be communicated to David Burges, efq. for the valuable collection of books in Oriental literature, prefented by him to the college of Fort William.

Ordered, That the thanks of the council of the college be communicated to Francis Gladwin, efq. for the valuable fonts of types in the Oriental characters, prefented by him to the college of Fort William.

Publifhed by order of the council of the college,

(Signed) C. ROTHMAN,
Secretary.

GOVERNMENT LOAN.

Fort William, Feb. 18, 1802.

1ft. The public are hereby informed, that the fub-treafurer at the prefidency, the refident at Luck-

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now, and the several collectors of the land revenue, have been authorised to receive, until further orders, any sums of money in even hundreds (not being less than sicca rupees one thousand) which may be tendered on loan to the honourable Company at an interest of eight per cent. per annum.

2d. The above-mentioned officers have been authorised to receive in transfer to this loan all outstanding treasury bills of this government; accepted bills of exchange drawn on the Governor-general in council, after deducting interest at the rate of nine rupees two annas per cent. per annum, for the period which the bills may have to run; bills for arrears of salary, whether the same shall have been advertised for payment or not; and generally all authorised public demands.

3d. The paymasters of the army are also authorised to transfer any demands which may be payable by them respectively to this loan, and to grant drafts for the amount in the usual manner on the military paymaster general, which drafts shall be received by the several officers above-mentioned in payment of subscriptions on being tendered to them for that purpose.

4th. The holders of the twelve per cent. promissory notes of this government, issued under the terms of the advertisement of the 15th July 1801, will, on transferring these notes to the present loan, be allowed a premium of five per cent. on the amount principal and interest, provided the transfer be made prior to the 30th April next; but this premium will not be allowed on the transfer of any other description of twelve per cent. notes, nor on any other subscriptions whatever.

5th. The sicca rupee of Lucknow and Benares will be received as equal to the Calcutta sicca rupee.

6th. A receipt will be granted for each subscription, bearing interest at the rate of nine rupees two annas per cent. per annum from the date of such receipt until the 1st of August next.

7th. The interest which may be due on that date, on receipts granted for subscriptions to this loan, will be paid in cash at the general treasury at the presidency; and for the principal a promissory note or notes will be granted bearing date the 1st of August 1802, and be numbered and registered in the order in which the receipts may be presented at the accountant general's office.

8th. The principal of the promissory notes shall be payable, either in Bengal, under the rules established for the payment of the register debt now existing, or by bills (at the option of the proprietor of the notes) to be drawn by the Governor-general in council on the honourable the court of directors at the exchange of 2s. 6d. the sicca rupee, payable twelve months after sight; and any bills which may be so granted will, if the proprietor desire it, be forwarded by the deputy accountant general in the public packets, to him, or his agent, or assign, according to the instructions which may be given for this purpose.

9th. The interest of the promissory notes shall be payable half-yearly, viz. on the first of February, and the first of August, from year to year, until the principal shall be discharged; and it shall be at the option of the proprietor of the notes to receive payment, either in cash at the general treasury at the presidency, or by bills to be drawn

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drawn by the Governor-general in council on the honourable the court of directors, at the exchange of 2s. 6d. the ficca rupee, payable twelve months after ſight; provided always, in the latter caſe, that the intereſt for which bills may be ſo required amount to the ſum of 50l. ſterling at the leaſt, and no bills will be granted for a ſmaller amount.

10th. For the accommodation of perſons returning to Europe, the ſubſcribers to this loan, their executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, ſhall be entitled, on application to the Governor-general in council, to have their promiſſory notes (provided they amount to the principal ſum of ficca rupees 10,000), depoſited in charge of the ſub-treaſurer for the time being, at the riſk, and under the ſecurity of the Company. An acknowledgement will be granted by that officer for the promiſſory notes ſo depoſited with him, and the intereſt accruing thereon will be remitted as it ſhall become due, by bills on the terms above-mentioned; which bills will be forwarded by the deputy accountant general to the proprietor, his agent or aſſign, according to the inſtructions which may be given for this purpoſe.

11th. All applications to the Governor-general in council to have promiſſory notes depoſited in the treaſury, muſt be accompanied by the notes to be ſo depoſited, and directions muſt be written in the following terms on the face and acroſs the lines of each note, and be atteſted by the ſignature of the proprietor, or his conſtituted attorney or attornies:

"The intereſt accruing half yearly on this promiſſory note, and the principal, as it ſhall become payable according to the order eſtabliſhed for the diſcharge of the regiſter debt, are to be remitted (unleſs it ſhall be hereafter directed to the contrary) by bills to be drawn on the honourable the court of directors, purſuant to the tenor of this promiſſory note, and the other conditions of the loan, publiſhed in the Calcutta gazette, of the——— 1802, payable to ——— and to be forwarded to ———, but this promiſſory note ſhall not be pledged, ſold, or in any manner negociated, or delivered up to any perſon whomſoever; nor are theſe directions, with reſpect to the mode of payment of the intereſt or principal, to be in any manner altered, except on application to the Governor-general in council, to be made by myſelf, my executors, or adminiſtrators, or under the authority of a ſpecial power of attorney, ſpecifying the number, date and amount of this promiſſory note, to be executed by me or them, for that purpoſe."

12th. For the ſatisfaction of perſons who may propoſe to return to Europe before the period preſcribed for the final adjuſtment of the accounts of this loan, and who may be deſirous of availing themſelves of the accommodation offered them under the foregoing article, the deputy accountant general will on their part write the declaration above preſcribed on the promiſſory notes, provided he ſhall receive inſtructions for this purpoſe by an indorſement to be executed on the receipt or receipts under the ſignature of the proprietor, or his conſtituted attorney or attornies. The deputy accountant general will alſo make the neceſſary application to the Governor-general in council for an order to the ſub-treaſurer to receive the promiſſory notes in depoſit, and will forward the acknowledgement

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of that officer to the proprietor of the notes, or to his agent or aſſign, according to the inſtructions which may be furniſhed him for this purpoſe.

13th. A receipt will be granted in the following form for ſubſcriptions which may be made at any of the public treaſuries:

Form of Receipt.

"I do hereby acknowledge, that A. B. has this day paid into the honourable Company's treaſury, the ſum of ſicca rupees ————, which is to be accounted for to him, or order, as follows:—Intereſt on the principal will be paid to him at the general treaſury at the preſidency, at and after the rate of nine rupees two annas per cent. per annum from this date, to the 1ſt of Auguſt 1802; and for the principal, a promiſſory note to be dated on the 1ſt of Auguſt 1802, will be granted on application to the deputy accountant general, payable conformably to the conditions of the loan publiſhed in the Calcutta gazette of the ———— 1802.

(Signed) "C. D.
"Sub-treaſurer.

"———— of ———— 1802."

14th. When ſubſcriptions may be made at any of the public treaſuries by the transfer of the twelve per cent. promiſſory notes to this government, iſſued under the terms of the advertiſement of the 15th of July 1801, the date and number of the note or notes, and the amount of the premium, are to be ſpecified in the receipt, and the notes are to be cancelled and forwarded to the office of the accountant-general. Should the principal and intereſt of the note, with the premium, amount to a fractional ſum, the officer receiving the ſubſcription will pay back the fraction to the ſubſcriber in order that the receipts to be granted by him may in every inſtance be for ſums in even hundreds.

15th. Promiſſory notes under the ſignature of the ſecretary to the government will be granted in the following form in exchange for the receipts:

Fort William, 1802.

"Promiſſory note for ſa. rs.

"The Governor-general in council does hereby acknowledge to have received from A. B. the ſum of ſicca rupees ———— as a loan to the honourable the united Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, and does hereby promiſe for and on behalf of the ſaid united Company, to repay and diſcharge the ſaid loan, by paying unto the ſaid A. B. his executors or adminiſtrators, or his or their order, the principal ſum of ſicca rupees ———— aforeſaid, at the preſidency of Fort William, agreeable to the order in which this note may ſtand on the general regiſter of notes and bonds of this preſidency, payable according to priority of date and number; unleſs the ſame ſhall have been previouſly diſcharged by bills drawn on the honourable the court of directors, according to the conditions of the plan for a loan publiſhed in the Calcutta gazette of the ————; and by paying the intereſt accruing thereon at the rate of eight per cent. per annum, by half yearly payments, viz. on the 1ſt of February and 1ſt of Auguſt following, from year to year, until the principal ſhall be diſcharged, at the option of the lender, his executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, either in caſh at the general treaſury at the preſidency, or by bills to be drawn by the Governor-general in council on the honourable the court of directors, at the rate of 2s. 6d. the ſicca rupee,

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rupee, and payable twelve months after sight.

"Signed by the authority of the Governor-general in council.

(Signed) "E. F.

"*Sec. to the Govt. Public Dept.*

"Accountant general's office,

"Registered as No. ——of——."

16th. The accounts of this loan are not to be made up until the 1st of August next, as mentioned above; but it is hereby notified at the same time, that the loan will be closed whenever the Governor-general in council may think proper to give directions for that purpose.

Published by order,

C. R. CROMMELIN,
Sec. to Govt. Pub. Dept.

ALLOWANCE *of* TONNAGE *of* BAGGAGE, *&c. from India.*

Fort William, Feb. 11, 1802.

The following extract from a general letter from the honourable the court of directors in the public department, dated the 26th of August 1801, is published by order of the honourable the vice president in council:

Paragraph 15. Having adverted to the immense quantity of baggage brought home by the passengers arrived in the Company's ships, and being desirous of promoting every regulation that appears to us likely to increase the importation of surplus tonnage, we have investigated this as one cause which has occasioned the reduction of that important benefit both to the Company and owners, the space occupied by the passengers baggage in one of the ships lately arrived, having amounted to the immense quantity of 63 tons; conceiving therefore some regulation necessary to be adopted, to correct as much as possible this growing evil, and to prevent such immense quantities of baggage being imported, to the ultimate exclusion of the Company's cargo, we have come to the following resolutions, with copies of which you must furnish the commanders of all ships in the Company's service, for their information and guidance, and we direct that you adopt every other means which may appear necessary towards carrying the same into effect, viz.

That gentlemen proceeding to England in the undermentioned stations, be restricted from taking with them a larger tonnage of baggage and stores, than the following, exclusive of their bedding, a table, and a sopha, or two chairs, for their respective cabins, viz.

	Tons.
Gentlemen of council, -	5
General officers, - -	5
Colonels of his majesty's or Company's service, -	4
Senior merchant, - -	4
Lieutenant colonels -	4
Junior merchants, - -	3
Majors - - -	2½
Factors - - -	2½
Captains, - -	2

That gentlemen proceeding to England in either of the above-mentioned stations, who may be permitted to bring home their families with them, be restricted from taking more tonnage than one-half of the preceding allowance in addition as the ladies baggage.

That married ladies proceeding to their husbands in England, be restricted from taking more than two-thirds of the tonnage prescribed for a gentleman of the same rank as their husbands.

That writers, lieutenants, ensigns, and other cabin passengers, be restricted from taking a larger quantity of baggage and stores,

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than one ton each, exclusive of their bedding, a table, and sopha, or two chairs.

That married ladies, proceeding to their husbands in England, of either of these last mentioned descriptions, be restricted from taking more than a similar quantity of baggage.

That such gentlemen, of either of these last mentioned descriptions, who may be permitted to bring home their wives with them, be restricted from taking more than one ton in addition as the ladies baggage.

That single ladies be restricted from taking more than the same quantity of baggage and cabin furniture.

That all excess of baggage beyond the above-mentioned quantities, on whatever ship it may be brought home, be invariably charged freight, at the charter party rate per ton; and that the said baggage be not delivered from the Company's warehouse till such freight shall have been paid into the Company's treasury.

By order of the honourable the vice-president in council,

C. R. CROMMELIN,
Sec. to Govt. Pub. Dept.

To the EDITOR *of the* ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

SIR,

Having reason to think, that the capture of the honourable Company's ship *Cornwallis*, by the French prisoners on board, then under my command, has not been fully explained in the different details which have been submitted to the public, being called an armed ship, in many of the Indian papers, you will oblige me by inserting the following recital of the circumstances, in your *Asiatic Annual Register*, which is compiled from the log-book of the *Cornwallis*, viz:—

"The *Cornwallis* left Bombay on the 15th of December 1801, with French prisoners of war, bound for England, under convoy of His Majesty's frigate *Braave*, captain Alexander, and after some detention upon the Malabar coast, sailed from Goa, for Anjengo, to join six sail of Indiamen, that were then waiting for the said frigate, being appointed their convoy home: during this time, nothing material happened until the 11th January 1802, of which the following are the particulars:

"At sun-set, steady breezes and clear weather, the extremes of the land from N. E. by E. to S. E. by S. distance 3 leagues, the shipping at Anjengo roads, just in sight, from the fore-top gallant-mast head, bearing S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. all sail set to keep with the *Braave*, which had greatly the superiority of sailing: having lost sight of her from the deck, some time before, but in sight from the mast-head, running as I apprehend to anchor at Anjengo that night; after taking the above bearings, and the watch being relieved by Mr. Taylor the 1st officer, I went aloft myself, but could neither see the *Braave* nor the shipping, it being then the dusk of the evening; I then came down, and walking a few minutes with one of the French officers on the quarter deck, I heard a very unusual noise below, and a person calling out that a man was over-board, immediately ordered the helm to be put down, but on seeing no person in the water, the helm was again righted; by this time all the prisoners were running up at all the hatchways, but laying hold.

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hold of nobody, and making a confused noise, as if the ship was on fire below, which I took to be the case, and running down in haste to see what the matter was, I was laid hold of by six of the prisoners, at the foot of the companion ladder; getting clear of them, I forced my way to my cabin door, but found it in possession of six more, one of whom had hold of my fusee, and another of my sword, being the only arms in the *Cornwallis* at the time, every other having been taken out at Bombay, by order of that government, previous to our receiving on board the Frenchmen: by this time the passage from behind being full of men, to prevent my going on deck, I went into my cabin, where some of them told me in good English, that all resistance was vain, asking me what could I and my two officers unarmed do against ninety-six French officers and seamen, ten of that number were of the former description, and acquainting me as the *Braave* was out of sight, they had unanimously taken possession of the ship, and should carry her to the Mauritius; at this time both my officers were brought confined to my cabin, but the doctor was left at liberty, being in a bad state of health, and the lascars confined forward, and myself and the two officers under a guard of nine of them in my cabin; they then hauled the ship W. S. W. or right off shore, putting out all lights, and shutting in all the ports; we were soon joined in my cabin by the French officers in their turns, some of whom took charge of the deck, though on parole of honour; a party then came down to my cabin, demanding the signals of the *Braave*, in a peremptory manner, to which I replied that they were overboard; but to this they answered that it was impossible, as they had watched me particularly since I went aloft to look out for the *Braave*; the signals being at this time over the cabin door, in a private place, but being apprehensive of a search for them, I got up, seized them, and tore them all to pieces; seeing them rendered uselefs, they left them on the cabin floor. At 8 *p. m.* the first and second officers were left at liberty to go on deck, but kept me and the lascars confined until 10 o'clock; none of them were allowed to come aft, nor have the least communication with us after being released. At half past 11 *p. m.* seeing no appearance of the *Braave*, a strong steady gale, the ship going very fast through the water, and not the least probability of recovering the ship in our present predicament, several of the officers on parole having taken their regular watches, and it being out of our power to make any night signals, I left the deck, guarded by three men, and my officers, by one each: during the rest of the night, previous to my leaving the deck, the only resource I saw left was to cut the little ropes, which could only be effected on deck, and probably disable the ship for a short time, and which I should certainly have attempted, could I once but see the *Braave's* night signals; but not seeing them, put it out of my power, knowing how soon such an accident is put to rights, by seamen, who appeared to me then to be under little or no apprehension of seeing the *Braave* any more; at day-light seeing nothing of our convoy, though very clear weather, and expecting a strict search for my papers, I took an opportunity of destroying a packet for the honourable court of directors, with other private letters I had formerly stowed away in my own quarter gallery:

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lery: at 8 *a. m.* they took off my ſentries, giving me leave to go on deck, and making the beſt of their way for the Mauritius.

"The above is a true ſtatement of the capture of the *Cornwallis*, in which, I am ſorry to ſay, I am ſo far concerned; but from which I hope that the public will ſee that an exertion of mine or that of my two officers, a gunner, and a carpenter, (the latter who was confined at the time to his bed, in a bad ſtate of health), being all the Europeans belonging to the ſhip, with a weakly crew of native laſcars, all unarmed, would be of little effect in defending or recovering the *Cornwallis* in ſuch a predicament, and againſt ſuch a ſuperiority of officers and ſeamen, there being ninety-ſix of them in number, and all of them Europeans, (double our numbers,) and by orders equally at large with our own ſhip's company.

"I arrived at the Mauritius on the 7th of February, and after a moſt diſagreeable paſſage to myſelf and officers, and then by mere chance; the officers who were in charge of the ſhip being in every reſpect unacquainted with their duty: in conſequence of which, the ſeamen were entirely in the command, ſo that there was but one continual ſcene of confuſion during the whole paſſage. Previous to their arrival there, they divided all the ſtores in the ſhip of every deſcription among them, my own cloathing, and that of my officers excepted; but ſuch as canvas, candles, liquors, proviſions, laſcar cloathing, &c. &c. in ſhort all was common plunder. This conduct I repreſented to the municipal officers on their coming on board, with that of thoſe officers who had broke their parole, four of whom I did not, to whom I gave certificates to that effect; but theſe matters were taken no notice of whatever.

"During my ſtay there, they made me an allowance of 1½ dollar per day, and the ſame for my two officers, but refuſed making any whatever to any others of the ſhip's company, or contributing any for my paſſage from thence. I have no reaſon to flatter the municipality of the iſland, in ſome inſtances, rather the reverſe; ſuch as that of lending their interpreter, monſieur Bonne Foi, in a friendly manner, my commiſſion for their peruſal, he aſſuring me it ſhould be returned: to this I conſented, relying on their honour and integrity, but ſoon found I was miſled by the interpreter; for on demanding my commiſſion, it was denied, on the plea that the ſhip having no regiſter, it was eſſential for her condemnation; nor could an application to his excellency general Mangalon get it returned. I muſt obſerve, at the ſame time, that I met with attention and politeneſs from ſeveral gentlemen in that iſland, but particularly from ſir Charles Pilgrom, the Imperial and Daniſh conſul, whoſe hoſpitality and kindneſs I ſhall always revere with gratitude.

"I am ſorry to add, eleven poor ſickly invalids, ſome without limbs, others worn out in the ſervice, ſent on board by order of captain Alexander at Goa, to join the Indiamen at Anjengo, to proceed to Europe, were among the numbers of the priſoners, but which they humanely put into their hoſpital with the ſhip's carpenter, on their arrival there.

"I am, ſir,

"Your's, &c.

"Lt. A. M'Askill,

Late Commander of the Hon. Company's ſhip Cornwallis."

Calcutta, May 6, 1802.

Extract

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Extract of a Letter from Macao.

"Two maſſy temples, the one of gold, the other of copper, were lately ſent from Pekin with extraordinary ceremony, and ſet up over the body of the late Lama, at Dagurſhel.

"Till lately people of all deſcriptions were permitted to approach under circumſtances of peculiar indulgence, when as the extent of ſublunary bleſſing, they were allowed to touch the ſacred coffin.

"But the prieſts having announced the ſpeedy regeneration of the Lama, a circumſtance firmly believed by all his devotees, a ſelect number of holy men are only ſuffered to approach the body, and the emperor and all China wait with impatience for the news of this great event."

BENGAL *Occurrences for* MARCH 1802.

A Deſcription of the Engagement between La Subtile *and the* Highland Chief, *taken by* Mr. HARRY STOWE MAN, *fourth officer.*

In latitude 2, 9, ſouth, and longitude 93°, 30′, eaſt, at 10 *a. m.* Tueſday 9th February 1802.

A veſſel was diſcovered ſteering to windward, ſteering S. W. and bearing right down upon us, we being then cloſe hauled and ſteering N. N. E. She (the enemy) being hull down, we could not aſcertain her ſize, but having two maſts, we ſuppoſed her to be a brig; the arm cheſt, which was in the after hold, was got up, and every preparation made for action.

At 11 *a. m.* we could diſcover her to be a ſmall brig with ſtudding ſails, ſtay ſails, and colours flying, but ſhe was at ſo great a diſtance, that we could not diſcover whether ſhe was friend or foe. However captain Greenway had his ſuſpicions; ſhe being very low in the water, and making all ſail ſhe could carry towards us.

At half paſt 11 *a. m.* we hoiſted our pendant and colours, loaded our great guns, took in our royals and ſtay ſails.

At noon we hauled up our main ſail, and we could by this time diſcover ſhe had American colours flying, and were by this circumſtance put off our guard, and all hands were going from their quarters; but captain Greenway perceiving a number of men upon her decks, gave him reaſon again to ſuſpect that ſhe was a French corvette.

At half paſt one *p. m.* ſhe came within hail, and we accoſted her thus: From whence came you? anſwer, "From Ceylon, bound to ſome port in America." We then ordered her to come under our ſtern, and ſend her boat on board, when ſhe immediately gave us a complete broadſide, which compliment we returned, and *at it* we went warmly. Moſt of our people being foreigners they went below, and we then had nineteen Europeans upon deck, beſides the firſt officer Mr. Thompſon, ſecond officer Mr. Lee, third officer Mr. Greenway, and fourth officer Mr. Harry Stowe Man, which, as ſoon as they perceived, they ran their brig alongſide, and after a little ſkirmiſh, boarded; we being ſo few were obliged to ſurrender.

Our

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Our colours were then down, when the officer of the boarding party perceiving our captain, went up, and ſhot him dead.

At two *p. m.* monſieur Penaud had poſſeſſion of the *Highland Chief*, after a conflict of fifteen minutes, our ſecond officer and three ſeamen were wounded.

The French had 14 killed and ſeven wounded, three of the latter died ſhortly afterwards.

The *Subtile* had been out fifteen days, and ſaw not a ſail. Before the commencement of the action ſhe had 190 men on board. The *Highland Chief* had been 47 days from the Cape of Good Hope, having ſailed from thence on the 23d of December.

Remarks by a Gentleman on board the American brig Rochuck.

February 10, latitude 2, 15, S. longitude 93, 37, E.

At 6 *a. m.* ſteering about W. N. W. wind northerly, two ſail were ſeen right a-head of us; at 8 we diſcovered the ſhip *Highland Chief* and a brig, with her jib-boom gone; knowing the *Highland Chief* was bound to Madras, and having a paſſenger on board for that place, we heſitated not to cloſe with them. When we were within piſtol ſhot of them, and our broadſide to them (our colours at the mizen-peak), the *Highland Chief* opened her fire upon us under French colours, ſhe continued firing for the ſpace of five minutes, both round, grape, and ſmall arms; the people were ordered to lay cloſe to the deck, and luckily no man was hurt—they cut away our main-ſtay, and did us a good deal of damage in our ſails and rigging.

An officer and a boat's crew armed, then boarded us, ſent the captain and officers on board the *Highland Chief:* they then began to plunder us, they broke open drawers, cheſts, bales, &c. &c. and took away every thing that pleaſed their fancy, even the table and tea ſpoons they could find; out of one bale they ſtole ſeventeen pieces of muſlin, alſo a necklace and ear-rings from a black-girl, paſſenger; in ſhort they committed every outrage and inſult.

They made us hoiſt out our boats, our long-boat they employed ſhifting the guns from the *Highland Chief* into the brig, and *vice verſa*, which buſineſs and ſhifting their men took up twenty-eight hours of our time. They ſent forty-ſix of the *Highland Chief's* paſſengers, officers and crew on board of us, againſt our conſent, with only ſixty gallons of water; four bags and one barrel of biſcuit. At 2 *p. m.* the captain and officers obtained leave to go on board the brig, but could not obtain our log-book and ſome of our papers.

11th. At noon the firſt officer was ſent on board the privateer to endeavour to get our log-book and ſome more proviſions and water, but the captain told him he might think himſelf well off with what he had got, that if the caſk of water had not been in our boat, he would not have given us any: luckily we had nine buts of water on board, which enabled us to make out very well. They were told by the chief officer of the *Highland Chief* that we were Americans, and that we left the Cape on the ſame day with them; that we were not armed they could plainly perceive; therefore to what we are to attribute their inhuman conduct by firing into us we are at a loſs—we conjecture their wiſhes and hopes were to deſtroy the captain and officers, hoping

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hoping thereby to be enabled, by making our people to ſwear what they pleaſed, to make a prize of us: what leads to this conjecture is, that they drew up a paper purporting that, at the Cape of Good Hope, we were under Engliſh colours, which paper they requeſted Mr. Cooke, ſurgeon on the Bengal eſtabliſhment, to ſign, which he declined; they then called the captain down from the poop, where he had been under a guard three hours, and allowed him and his officers to proceed on board the brig.

The privateers name is the *Subtile*, captain Penaud, the ſame man who ſeized and carried the *Prince* into the Mauritius—ſhe is no doubt gone to the Pedier coaſt—ſhe is a low black brig, with new ſails and a white head.

MADRAS *Occurrences for March.*

Quarter Seſſions.

On Thurſday the 25th inſt. a general quarter ſeſſions of the peace for the town of Madraſpatnam was holden before the honourable ſir Thomas Andrew Strange, knight, chief juſtice of the ſupreme court.

John Edwards, a private of his majeſty's Scotch brigade, was convicted of the murder of David Brady, a private of the ſame regiment, and received ſentence of *Death*. He has ſince been recommended to his majeſty for mercy.

Five natives were convicted of felony and grand larceny, and ſentenced to be tranſported to Prince of Wales's Iſland for the term of ſeven years.

Venkataram, a native, was alſo convicted of felony and grand larceny, but being recommended to mercy by the jury, was ordered to be publicly whipped, and to labour on the roads for twelvemonths.

Nuptials of the Coorga Rajah's Daughter.

We have been favoured with the following extract of a letter from Seringapatam, giving an account of the late nuptials of the daughter of the late Coorga Rajah—named Tambarratty Lacſhme.

The roads in every direction for ſeveral coſs, were illuminated on each ſide, and ornamented with curious and coſtly devices. They commenced from the entrance of Nanour, extending to the limits of the Cuſbah. Three Engliſh gentlemen, captains Foulis, Marriot and Oſborne, attended this ſplendid ceremony.

On their arrival at the palace they were ſaluted with one and twenty guns, and uſhered into the preſence, to the notes of ſoft muſic, ſelect bands of Hinduſtanee girls dancing before them. For the ſpace of ſeven days the rejoicings continued, each ſucceſſive day varied by amuſements created by the happy and inventive genius of the rajah himſelf; who ſtudied with his wonted liberality the accommodation and pleaſures of his gueſts; at the end of the ſeventh day the above-mentioned gentlemen took their leave, and were highly complimented by the rajah for the favour of their attendance.

On one occaſion, during the feſtivals at the grand hunt, attended by the rajah and his company, no leſs than 18 elks, 14 wild buffaloes, 18 cheeters or ſpotted tygers, 2 elephants, and 32 wild boars were ſlain. The heads of the animals were laid in triumph at the feet of the young, amiable, and blooming bride, who has ſcarcely attained her fifteenth year. This princeſs,

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ceſs, it is ſaid, poſſeſſes very ſuperior accompliſhments; certain it is, that nature has been moſt kind to her, in a lovely animated countenance, and a moſt beautiful and delicate form.

Her huſband, the Joonda Rajah, is about thirty years of age, a well informed and pleaſant character.

BOMBAY
Occurrences for March.

Two perſons with their wives, and three children, (of the taylor caſt,) had engaged a paſſage in one of the Bombay boats to Bancoote, where they were proceeding in order to diſpoſe of ſome piece goods which it appears they had not become maſter of by very fair means, and which led to the diſcovery of their unhappy end. The perſons who had been robbed of theſe articles, had been in ſearch of them for ſome time, and at length traced part of them at Bancoote, where the goods were ſold by the boatmen. Theſe perſons had previouſly laid the plan, and as ſoon as they had got out to ſea, they put their execrable ſcheme into execution, by throwing overboard every ſoul of them, men, women, and children, to the number of ſeven, and not one is ſuppoſed to have eſcaped.—Five of the perpetrators are in cuſtody. The tindal has confeſſed the whole of this diabolical tranſaction, and another has ſince followed his example.

CEYLON
Occurrences for March.

Loſs of His Majeſty's Ship Senſible, *Capt. Sauce.*

La Senſible, it appears, ſtruck on the 3d inſtant, at two o'clock in the morning, on a quick-ſand, about twenty miles to the ſouthward of Molodiva, on the iſland of Ceylon.

Capt. Sauce, his officers and crew exerted every poſſible means in their power to get her off, until ſeven o'clock in the evening of the 4th, when finding the water gaining faſt on the pumps, they were neceſſitated to quit her.

We are happy, however, to add, that the whole of the crew were landed in ſafety, notwithſtanding there was a tremendous ſurf beating on the ſhore, and that great hopes are entertained of ſaving a part of her ſtores and proviſions.

We have been favoured with *The Ceylon Government Gazette*, which has juſt reached this country. At a period, when, in a larger portion of the world, the Freedom of the Preſs is circumſcribed or annihilated, it muſt, to Engliſhmen, prove a high gratification to obſerve, that the extenſion of the Britiſh power in foreign poſſeſſions, naturally generates that free communication of opinion, by means of the Preſs, which is at once both the offspring and the ſafeguard of Britiſh Liberty. The firſt Paper was publiſhed in *Ceylon* on the 15th of March laſt. A Number appears every Monday. From theſe we think our Readers will be gratified by the following Extracts:

Columbo, March 15, 1802.

The final ceſſion of this ſettlement to his majeſty has been the occaſion of much joy to the native inhabitants, of which the governor lately received a ſtrong teſtimony.

On the 21ſt ult. an entertainment was given at the houſe Maha Modeliar, at which many of the civil and military officers, and moſt of the ladies in Columbo, were preſent.

On his excellency's entrance, he was conducted to a chair of ſtate, to which a deputation of the native head men, led by Maha Modeliar,

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approached and delivered the following addreſs:

To His Excellency the Honourable FREDERICK NORTH, *Governor, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the Britiſh Poſſeſſion on the Iſland of Ceylon, &c. &c. &c.*

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

We the Maha Modeliars of your excellency's gate and all other Modeliars and native headmen, his majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects, beg leave to approach your excellency on this joyful occaſion, that peace has again been re-eſtabliſhed, by which Ceylon, the country of our nativity, has been finally ceded to his Britannic Majeſty, our moſt gracious ſovereign lord, king George the third.

Permit us then to offer to your excellency, as the repreſentative of our ſaid lord the king, our ſincere congratulations on this new acceſſion to the crown of Great Britain, by which its empire in India has been ſo much aggrandized and ſecured.

Permit us alſo to aſſure your excellency, how much we rejoice in having become ſubjects of ſo good, great and benevolent a ſovereign, whoſe paternal care and ſolicitude for the general welfare of the ſettlements in Ceylon, have already been fully manifeſted by his placing the government of this iſland in the hands of your excellency, whoſe conſtant and humane endeavours have been, to put this country into a flouriſhing ſtate, and thereby to promote the happineſs and welfare of the inhabitants at large; which endeavours we have already been ſo happy as to ſee crowned with ſucceſs.

We humbly beg your excellency to be perſuaded, that animated by your excellency's example, and by the love for the beſt of kings and our country, that our utmoſt aſſiduity (as becometh loyal ſubjects) ſhall be employed in aſſiſting to promote, as much as lies in our power, the general welfare of his majeſty's dominions on the iſland of Ceylon, and to ſecure the happineſs of the native inhabitants of the ſame.

We humbly and heartily beſeech Almighty God, to endue our moſt gracious ſovereign lord king George plenteouſly with heavenly gifts, and to grant him health and wealth, and a long life, for him to reign over us: in the like manner we pray that God, the fountain of all goodneſs, will proſper you with happineſs, and allow us long to enjoy the fruits of your excellency's auſpicious government.

To the protection and favour of your excellency, as the repreſentative of our beloved ſovereign, and as our governor, we beg leave to recommend our perſons, and have the honour to be with due reſpect,

May it pleaſe your excellency, his majeſty's moſt loyal and dutiful ſubjects, and your excellency's moſt obedient, obliged and humble ſervants.

(Signed) BY ALL THE NATIVE HEADMEN.

Columbo, Feb. 22, 1802.

To which his excellency was pleaſed to make the following anwer:

Maha Modeliars, Mohandirams, Chiefs, and Native Headmen of the Iſland.

I am highly gratified with your dutiful and affectionate addreſs, and feel in common with you the moſt devout and lively ſenſe of the bleſſing which it has pleaſed Divine Providence to confer on this iſland in fixing it, by the preſent peace, under

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under his majesty's paternal dominion.

I am sincerely grateful for the good will which you have expressed towards my person and government, and happy to acknowledge the assistance which your integrity, zeal, and intelligence have afforded me, in carrying into effect the measures which I have adopted to secure the happiness of the inhabitants of Ceylon; that has been, and ever will be, while I am entrusted with their government, the first object of my heart.

(Signed) F. NORTH.

After which dancing commenced, and continued, with the interval of supper, until two o'clock the following morning.

MARCH 22.

His excellency the governor is at present on a progress through the British territories under his government, during which he has passed a fortnight at Aripo, in order to direct a survey of the pearl banks. On the 18th his excellency laid the foundation stone of the cottoos and other buildings about to be erected at Candaatzie, for the reception and washing of the oysters fished from the banks in the straits of Manar; and the same day, his excellency laid the first stone of the government lodge, preparing for the residence of the governor during the time of the pearl fishery.

His excellency left that place on the 19th, and arrived at Manar the same morning; from thence he proceeds by sea to Jaffnapatnam.

The governor is attended on this tour by Mr. Arbuthnot, Dr. Christie, captain Moubray, Mr. Atkinson, civil engineer, and Mr. John Macdowall writer, on the establishment.

From the Ceylon Government Gazette, April 19, 1802.

On Sunday morning, the 11th instant, his Majesty's ship *Victorious*, bearing the flag of his excellency Vice Admiral Rainier, sailed from the Roads for Trincomallee. The weather appeared very unsettled all day, and increased to a gale of wind next morning, which continued that day and the following. On the morning of the 14th, it blew a storm from the southwest, with much rain, thunder and lightning; and about half past seven o'clock, a tremendous whirlwind arose in the southwest quarter, which, sweeping the Slave island, where the Malay battalion is quartered, tore up several large trees by the roots, and demolished the barracks, where fortunately but few of the men remained, it being the commencement of one of the Mahomedan festivals, to attend the celebration of which a great number had obtained leave of absence. Two men and three children were unhappily killed, and many maimed and bruised. This toofaun, whirlwind, tornado, or whatever it may be called, proceeded towards the northeast, carrying the tiles off all the houses in its direction, tearing up the planks from the garret stories, and occasioning great apprehension and alarm. The wind immediately changed to the N. E. from which quarter it blew hard for some time, and, (with a short interval of a calm for a few minutes,) continued in that direction several hours. It is stated to have shewn itself in the form of a small black cloud, leaving in its track a thick mist, which evaporated soon after its passage into the sea between the flag staff bastion and Blackenberg's battery. Luckily its duration did not exceed

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ceed three minutes, or its effects muſt have been fatal.

We learn from the interior, that great devaſtation has been committed in the cocoa-nut groves. The roads, in many places, are entirely broke up, and the country is completely inundated for many miles round the capital.

MAY 10. No accounts have been received of his excellency the governor, of a later date than the 26th ult.

His excellency had that day entered the diſtrict of Battacola, at Anative, near the pagoda of Wergel, where he was met by lieutenant John Jewell, agent of revenue and commerce, and Mr. J. A. Barclay, his aſſiſtant.

Private letters give the moſt ſatisfactory account of the improving ſtate in population and agriculture of that diſtant province.

The governor has ordered arrangements to be made for the eſtabliſhment of a weekly tappal between Trincomallee and Battacola, which will begin early in the month of June.

BENGAL *Occurrences for* APRIL 1802.

JOURNAL *of the* ROUTE *of the Marquis* WELLESLEY, *to the Upper Provinces.*

His excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general having appointed Saturday the 15th of Auguſt 1801, for his embarkation from Fort William, for the purpoſe of viſiting the Upper Provinces; his excellency, attended by the officers of his ſuite, and by a detachment of the body-guard, proceeded from the Government Houſe, to Chandpaul Ghaut, through the ſtreet, formed by the troops in garriſon, the ſeveral corps receiving his excellency with the uſual honours.

His excellency was accompanied to the place of his embarkation by the hon. Sir J. Anſtruther, Mr. Graham, Major General Popham, and by many of the principal officers and gentlemen of the ſettlement.

His excellency embarked on the *Soonamooky* yatch, between five and ſix in the morning, under a ſalute of 19 guns, from the ramparts of Fort William, and proceeded up the river; the ſhips in the port ſaluting as he paſſed.

Tueſday 18th, his excellency having held a council at Barrackpore, in which he nominated P. Speke, eſq. to be vice-preſident in council, and deputy-governor of Fort William, proceeded in the yatch, attended by his ſuite, on his progreſs to the upper provinces, and, on the ſame day, reached Chinſurah, where his excellency landed, and was entertained at dinner, on that and the ſucceeding evening, by Mr. Birch, the commiſſioner of that ſettlement.

Wedneſday 19th, his excellency proceeded on his voyage, accompanied by Sir Home Popham, who had joined him at Barrackpore. On the 24th, Sir H. Popham returned to Calcutta.

Wedneſday 26th, his excellency reached Dowdpore, where the nabob of Bengal, who had come from Murſhedabad, to meet his lordſhip, had ſtationed his boats. The unfavourable ſtate of the weather prevented the Governor-general from receiving the viſit of the nabob of Bengal, until the 30th; after that ceremony had been concluded, his excellency the Governor-general ſailed for Berhampore, which ſtation he reached on the 31ſt. The troops of the cantonment were drawn up along the bank of the

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river, and saluted his excellency as he sailed past.

September 1st, his excellency landed at Berhampore, and was entertained at dinner by Mr. T. Pattle, senior judge of the court of circuit and appeal at Murshedabad; and on the 2d, his excellency, attended by the officers of his suite, and a party of the body-guard, inspected the troops of the cantonment, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Wood. After which his excellency breakfasted with Colonel Wood, and at ten o'clock held a levee, and gave audience until twelve; at which house he also held a durbar for the native inhabitants of the district. In the evening of the same day, his excellency dined with Mr. Rocke, second judge of the court of appeal and circuit, and on the 3d in the morning, the Governor-general took his departure from Berhampore; the troops of the cantonment being drawn up on the bank of the river, saluted his excellency at his departure. On the same evening, the yatch anchored nearly opposite to the palace of the nabob of Bengal; to whom, and to the begums, his excellency paid a visit of ceremony on the morning of the 4th, being attended by all the civil and military officers of his suite, by a party of the body-guard, and by a captain's guard of European infantry, sent from the regiment stationed at Berhampore.

His excellency, after having visited the nabob of Bengal, on the 4th, left Murshedabad, and arrived at Jungipoor, on the 6th. On the 10th, his excellency passed Rajmahal, and arrived at Culgong on the 14th, and at Bhagulpoor on the 16th.

The Governor-general landed at Bhagulpoor, and remained at the house of Mr. Fombelle, the judge and magistrate of that district, until the 19th, when his lordship departed from Bhogulpoor, and reached Mongheer, on the 21st, where he landed, under a salute from the fort, and was received by major general Brisco, and the officers of the station. The Governor-general resided in the house of major general Brisco, during his lordship's continuance at Mongheer, and was entertained at dinner by major general Ellerker, at Peerpuhar on the 26th.

October 2d, his excellency proceeded to Patna, and arrived at that city on the 6th, where he was received on landing by the civil officers of the station, accompained by whom, his excellency proceeded to the house of Mr. Leslie, the second judge, where his lordship resided until the 23d, having been entertained at dinner, during his residence at Patna, by Mr. Keating, the chief judge, and by several of the principal civil officers of the station.

The Governor-general proceeded to Dinapoor on the 24th of October, where he arrived on the 26th. The troops were drawn up in the square of that cantonment, to salute his excellency as he passed to the quarter prepared for him. On the 27th, his excellency reviewed the troops, and the 18th regiment of native infantry received their honorary colours in his presence. During his residence at Dinapoor, his excellency was entertained at dinner by the commanding officer colonel Dunkly, the second in command major Davidson, and by the officers of the cantonment.

The Governor-general left Dinapoor on the 30th of October, and arrived on the 5th of November at the fort of Buxar, where he resided

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ſided in the houſe of lieutenant colonel Stafford, the commanding officer. On the 7th, his lordſhip held a durbar at the fort of Buxar, where he received the rajah of Benares, who had proceeded down the river to meet the Governor-general. On the 8th, his lordſhip proceeded to Ghazepoor, which place he reached on the 10th, and was received under the uſual ſalute of cannon. The troops of the ſtation were drawn up to ſalute his excellency as he paſſed to lieutenant colonel Pringle's houſe, where his lordſhip was entertained during his reſidence at Ghazepoor.

On the 11th, his excellency reviewed the troops at Ghazepoor, and on the 12th, proceeded to Benares, at which city he arrived on the 15th.

On the 24th of November, at Benares, his excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general received official accounts of the ſurrender of Alexandria to the Britiſh arms.

This intelligence was immediately announced by a royal ſalute, and in the evening, the troops ſtationed at Benares, and thoſe forming the Governor-general's eſcort, were paraded, and fired three vollies in honour of this important event.

On the ſame day, the Governor-general received in his tents, the viſits of three of the princes of the royal family of Hinduſtan, who have reſided for ſome years at the city of Benares.

The princes who viſited his excellency, were, the prince Mirza Khorum, Mirza Shegooftuh Bukht, (commonly called Mirza Hadjee,) and Mirza Alli Khudder, all ſons of the late prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, and grandſons of Shah Allum, the preſent king of Delhi. The Governor-general was attended on this occaſion by major-general Deare, and all the civil and military officers of his excellency's ſuite, and by the civil and military officers ſtationed at Benares. Their royal highneſſes were ſeverally ſaluted by the whole of the troops of the ſtation, and thoſe forming the Governor-general's eſcort, and received a royal ſalute on their arrival and departure, with every other honour due to their rank. After the departure of the princes, his excellency held a durbar, which was attended by the rajah of Benares, and by all the principal natives of the place.

On the 25th, his excellency gave a public breakfaſt in his tents to the ladies and gentlemen of Benares, and to the officers of his lordſhip's eſcort.

On the 26th, the Governor-general, attended by major-general Deare, and the principal civil and military officers of his excellency's ſuite, and thoſe of the ſtation of Benares, returned the viſits of the princes, at their reſpective places of reſidence, in the city of Benares. The Governor-general alſo viſited her royal highneſs the Kuttuck Sultauna Begum, the widow of the late prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht and mother of the prince Mirza Khorum.

On the 27th, the Governor-general received a congratulatory addreſs from the European inhabitants of the diſtrict of Benares, on the occaſion of the ſurrender of Alexandria. [*For a Copy of which Addreſs, ſee Chronicle, p.* 88.]

On the 29th, the Governor-general left Benares under the uſual military honours, and proceeded to Ramnagur, the reſidence of the rajah of Benares. His excellency was received on landing by the rajah, attended by whom, he viſited the houſe and the adjacent buildings and gardens. His lordſhip re-

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turned to the yacht, and proceeded on towards Chunar.

The Governor-general resided at Benares, at the house of major-general Deare, and in the course of his residence there, was entertained by that officer, by Mr. Neave, second judge of the court of appeals and acting agent for the Governor-general at Benares, and by the principal civil officers of the station.

On the 3d of December, the Governor-general arrived at Mirzapoor, and proceeded to the house of Mr. Colebrooke, judge and magistrate of Mirzapoor, where his lordship resided during his stay at that place; colonel Collins, resident at the court of Scindiah, who had joined his lordship at Benares, took leave of his excellency to return to Futty Ghur on the 4th instant; on the evening of the same day, the hon. Henry Wellesley joined his lordship from Lucknow, and proceeded on the 7th December, with the Governor-general, towards Allahabad, where his excellency arrived on the evening of the 11th.

The Governor-general landed on the following morning, under the usual salute from the fort; the troops of the garrison, and those composing his excellency's escort, being drawn up to salute his lordship as he passed. His excellency was received on landing by lieut. colonel Kyd, commanding at Allahabad, and by the principal officers of the garrison, and proceeded to the house of lieut.-colonel Kyd, where his lordship resided.

On the 26th December, the Governor-general, attended by the honourable Mr. Wellesley, lieut. governor of the ceded provinces, proceeded by land from Allahabad to Cawnpore, accompanied by an escort of European and native cavalry and infantry.

On the 3d of January 1802, Almas Alli Khan, with other officers deputed by the nabob Vizier, met the Governor-general, and attended him on his march.

On the 4th, the hon. Mr. Wellesley left the Governor-general, and proceeded to Corah; and on the 5th, his excellency the commander in chief, attended by the officers of his staff, and by major-general Stuart, met the Governor-general, and was received with the honours due to his rank.

On the 8th, the Governor-general, accompanied by his excellency the commander in chief, and by major-general Stuart, arrived at Cawnpore. Major-general St. John, at the head of the troops of the station, received his lordship; the troops forming a street to the house prepared for the residence of his lordship during his continuance at that cantonment. The Governor-general held a levee immediately after his arrival, at which the officers of that cantonment were presented to his lordship.

On the 17th, the nabob Vizier, attended by his five younger sons, by the British resident at his court, by the chief officers of his court, and by many of the principal inhabitants of Lucknow (from which city the nabob Vizier had come to meet the Governor-general) arrived in the vicinity of Cawnpore, and encamped on the bank of the Ganges opposite to that cantonment. The nabob Vizier was accompanied by a large body of troops.

On the 18th, the Governor-general was present at an entertainment given by the commander in chief in honour of her Majesty's birth-day.

On the 19th, his lordship received in his tents, the visit of the nabob Vizier, the troops of the station

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ſtation being drawn up in line for the reception of the nabob Vizier; a royal ſalute was fired on his excellency's arrival at the Governor-general's tents, and the ſame on his departure. The nabob Vizier was attended on that occaſion by his ſons, and by many of the principal officers of his court.

On the 20th, the Governor-general reſumed the viſit of the nabob Vizier, at the Vizier's camp.

On the 21ſt, the Governor-general entertained the nabob Vizier at dinner in his tents.

On the 22d, the hon. Henry Welleſley, lieutenant-governor of the ceded provinces, who had arrived at Cawnpore from Corah on the 16th, proceeded towards Canouge.

On the ſame day, the nabob Vizier and his ſons were preſent at a ball given by the Governor-general in his tents, when the Governor-general preſented to the nabob Vizier two large ſtate tents, ornamented with emboſſed cloth of Britiſh manufacture.

On the 23d, the Governor-general held a durbar for the reception of the natives of rank, at which were preſented the nabob Emdaud Huſſain Khan, nabob of Furruckabad, and his miniſter Khirrud Mund Khan, (who came to Cawnpore to wait on his lordſhip,) together with the following perſonages:

Moodar-ud-Dowlah, grandſon in the femal line of the emperor Behauder Shah, and father-in-law of the nabob Vizier, with his ſons, Coſſim Alli Khan, ſon of the nabob Salar Jung, Sherruf Alli Khan, and their reſpective brothers.

Mohubbur Khan and Eradut Khan, ſon of the late Hafiz Rehmut Khan, the Rohillah chieftain.

Ekbaul-ud-Dowlah, the ſon, and Syud Abul Coſſim the nephew, of the late nabob Mokhtar-ud Dowlah, formerly miniſter of the late nabob Aſſof-ud Dowlah.

Tujumul Huſſain Khan, ſon, and Sulaum Oolla Khan, couſin, of the late Tufuzzul Huſſain Khan, formerly miniſter of the nabob Vizier.

Tehſeen Alli Khan, and Afreen Alli Khan, principal officers of the houſehold of the nabob Vizier.

Abdoo Rhemaun Khan, commandant of the Candahar horſe in the ſervice of the nabob Vizier, and his ſon.

Daraub Alli Khan, principal officer of the houſehold, and miniſter of her highneſs the Begum, widow of the late nabob Vizier Shujah ud-Dowlah.

Mirza Jaaffer, a perſon of high rank and conſideration at the court of Lucknow, and his ſons.

Culloo Khan, agent at the court of Lucknow, on the part of his majeſty Shah Allum.

Molavy Zeea-ud-Nubbee, one of the principal officers of the nabob Ahmud Alli Khan, the nabob of Rohilcund.

With many others of the nabob Vizier's officers, the vakeels of the ſeveral chieftains of Hinduſtan, reſiding at Lucknow, and other perſons of conſideration.

On the 25th, the Governor-general breakfaſted with the nabob Vizier at his camp, and on the 26th the nabob departed for Lucknow.

During the reſidence of the Governor-general at Cawnpore, his excellency, accompanied by the commander in chief, reviewed the troops at that ſtation in line, and in ſeparate corps, and expreſſed in public orders the higheſt ſatisfaction at their appearance, diſcipline, and performance.

His excellency, during his reſidence at Cawnpore, was entertained

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at dinner by the commander in chief, by major-general St. John, by his Majeſty's field officers, and by the hon. Company's officers at that ſtation.

On the 30th of January, the Governor-general left Cawnpore, and proceeded to Lucknow with an eſcort of European and native cavalry and infantry.

On the 3d of February, the Governor-general was met by the nabob Vizier at the diſtance of ſix miles from Lucknow, with a numerous train of attendants; and was conducted with every mark of reſpect and honour through the city of Lucknow to the Vizier's palace, where his lordſhip was entertained at breakfaſt. After which, the Governor-general paid a viſit to lieutenant-colonel Scott, the Britiſh reſident at Lucknow, from whoſe houſe his lordſhip proceeded to the houſe of the late major-general Martin, near the city of Lucknow, which had been prepared by the nabob for his lordſhip's reception.

On the 8th, the nabob Vizier entertained the Governor-general at dinner. On that occaſion, a magnificent illumination was diſplayed at the nabob's palace, and the entertainment was cloſed by a ſplendid exhibition of fireworks.

On the 16th, the Governor-general, and the nabob Vizier viſited Mirza Solymaun Sheko, ſecond ſon of his majeſty Shah Allum. The Governor-general alſo viſited the Begum, mother of the nabob Vizier.

On the 18th, the prince Mirza Solymaun Sheko returned the Governor-general's viſit, and on the ſame day, the Governor-general received the viſits of the nabob Vizier's brothers.

On the 20th, the Governor-general viſited the Begum, widow of the late Vizier Aſſof-ud-Dowlah.

Previouſly to the Governor-general's departure from Lucknow, his lordſhip was entertained by the nabob Vizier's ſons at dinner, and with a magnificent diſplay of fireworks.

On the 22d, the Governor-general was preſent at the nabob Vizier's palace, at the ceremony of the inveſtiture of the nabob Vizier's ſecond ſon, Mirza Ahmed Alli Khan, with a khelaut, on occaſion of his proviſional appointment to the temporary charge of affairs during the eventual abſence of the nabob Vizier from his dominions. The Governor-general was entertained on that occaſion by the nabob Vizier at dinner, and with an exhibition of fireworks.

Previouſly to the Governor-general's departure from Lucknow, his lordſhip, accompanied by the nabob Vizier, viſited Almaſs Alli Khan.

The Governor-general was entertained at dinner by lieutenant-colonel Scott, the Britiſh reſident at the court of Oude.

The Governor-general, during his reſidence at Lucknow, held a levee for the European gentlemen, and a durbar for the reception of the natives of rank.

On the 24th, the nabob Vizier viſited the Governor-general, and held a private conference with his lordſhip for the final adjuſtment of all points of public buſineſs. On that occaſion the nabob Vizier appointed his ſecond ſon, Mirza Ahmed Alli Khan, to be the executive prime miniſter for the affairs of Oude. The Governor-general having declined the nabob Vizier's offer of accompanying his lordſhip during a part of his march from Lucknow on his lordſhip's return to

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the presidency, the Vizier took leave of the Governor-general on the 24th of February.

On the 26th, the Governor-general left Lucknow, and commenced his march on his return to the presidency, with the same escort which had attended him to Lucknow.

On the 2d of March, Almas Alli Khan (who had been deputed by the nabob Vizier to attend the Governor-general through the country under his charge) took leave of the Governor-general, and was invested by his lordship with a khelaut.

In the evening of the 4th, the Governor-general inspected the 14th regiment of native infantry, commanded by Lieut.-colonel Grant, at Sultaunpoor.

On the 6th, Rhemut Alli Khan, brother of Almas Alli Khan, who had been appointed by the nabob Vizier to attend the Governor-general to the frontier of the nabob's dominions, took leave, and was invested with a khelaut. Rajah Bhawanny Pershaud, who accompanied Rhemut Alli Khan, was also invested with a khelaut. On the same day, Rajah Newaz Sing, aumil of the district of Sultaunpoor, who attended his lordship during his progress through that district, also took leave, and was invested with a khelaut.

On the 8th, the Governor-general arrived at Juanpore, and resided at the house of Mr. Welland, judge of that zillah.

On the 10th, the Governor-general arrived at Benares, and proceeded to the house of major-general Deare, and on the 15th the Governor-general embarked, and proceeded down the river for the presidency.

On the 17th, the Governor-general arrived at Buxar, and remained at that station until the 19th, at the house of lieutenant-colonel Stafford.

On the 22d, the Governor-general reached Dinapore, and was received on his landing by major-general Frazer, by whom his excellency was entertained the same day at dinner.

On the 23d, the Governor-general arrived at Patna, and on the 29th, at Mongheer, where he was received on his landing by major-general Ellerker, at whose house the Governor-general remained until the 30th March.

On the 4th of April, the Governor-general arrived at Bogwangolah, and on the 6th landed, and proceeded to the house of Mr. Pattle, senior judge of the court of circuit and appeals at Murshedabad.

On the evening of the 6th, the Governor-general received the visit of the nabob Nausir-ul-Mulk.

On the 7th, the Governor-general returned the visit of the nabob, and at the same time visited the nabob Munnee Begum, Bubboo Begum, mother of the late nabob Mobarekud-Dowlah, and the Begum, mother of the nabob Nausir-ul-Mulk.

His lordship resided at the house of Mr. Pattle until the 8th, when he proceeded to Plassey, where tents had been pitched for his lordship's accommodation. His excellency the Governor-general was entertained at Plassey at dinner by major-general Brisco.

On the 9th, the Governor-general proceeded to Jugdunpore, where his lordship was entertained at dinner in his tents by Sir A. Seton, the collector of Nuddea.

On the 10th, the Governor-general

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neral arrived at Kiſhenagur, and reſided at the houſe of Mr. Oldfield, judge of Nuddea.

On the 11th, the Governor-general proceeded to Santipore, and reſided at the houſe of Mr. Philpot, the commercial reſident at that ſtation, until the 12th, when his lordſhip proceeded to the houſe of Mr. Brooke, judge and magiſtrate of Hoogly. The hon. the vice-preſident met the Governor-general at Hoogly on the 13th, and on the ſame day, his excellency was entertained by Mr. Birch, at Chinſurah; and on the 14th, accompanied by the vice-preſident, he proceeded from Hoogly, and arrived at Barrackpore, and was received upon his arrival by Mr. Udny, member of the ſupreme council, by major-general Popham, and the ſtaff of the preſidency, and by the principal civil officers of the government: a ſalute was fired at the Daniſh ſettlement of Serampore, as his excellency paſſed on the oppoſite ſide of the river.

On the 20th, his excellency arrived at Fort William from the Upper Provinces, attended by his ſuite, and by a detachment from the body guard, left Barrackpore at half-paſt five o'clock in the morning. All the troops in garriſon were drawn up in a ſtreet, extending from the ſouthern extremity of Old Court-Houſe-ſtreet, to the government-houſe, through which his excellency paſſed.

At the entrance of the government-houſe, his excellency was received by the hon. the vice preſident and deputy governor of Fort William, by Mr. Udny, member of the ſupreme council, and by the principal civil and military officers of government at the preſidency. When his excellency quitted his carriage, the uſual ſalute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William.

MADRAS
Occurrences for April.

Particulars of the Capture of the Ship PRINCE.

At 6 *p. m.* of the 29th of October in lat. 1° 41′ N. long. 85° 14′ E. his Majeſty's ſhip *Suffolk* was on their ſtarboard bow, about ¼ of a mile, the *Lord Thurlow* about 2½, and the *Gilwell* about 1½ miles diſtant, in the ſame direction.

The ſecond officer, Mr. Helſey, had the charge of the deck, the chief officer Mr. Holland having gone up to the fore-top maſt croſs-trees, to examine the fore-top-gallant maſt, on which the ſhip's company had been employed the greater part of the day, the other top-gallant maſts, top-gallant yards, &c. had been got down, and the main-ſail unbent ſeveral days before, in conſequence of the blowing weather.

Captain Scott, major Greenhill, capt. Brown, Mr. Jones, Mr. Jernſted, and two of the commiſſioned French officers, lieutenants Van Neſs and Fromant, were drinking their tea in the cuddy, when a ſtrong party of the French priſoners, headed by Mr. Pinaud, ruſhed in, armed with cutlaſſes, knives and ſticks, and made them priſoners.

Another party ſucceeded in driving the crew from the deck, and took poſſeſſion of the ſhip.

At about nine o'clock in the evening ſhe eſcaped from the convoy, having taken the precaution of putting out the lights, and at eleven they ſuffered the officers to go to their cabins, over which they placed ſeparate guards.

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In the morning no veſſel was to be ſeen, and they made the beſt of their way to the iſle of France, where they arrived on the 20th of November.

Captain Brown, major Greenhill, and Mr. Jones, aſſiſtant-ſurgeon, remained at the iſland nine days, when they embarked on the American ſhip *Commerce* for the Cape.

Captain Scott and Mr. Holland, chief officers of the *Prince*, had taken their paſſage to Bombay on the American ſhip *Sirius*.

SPECIAL VESTRY.

Notice is hereby given, that a ſpecial veſtry has been appointed for the purpoſe of diſtributing charity to the poor of Madras, on a more permanent and uniform ſyſtem than hitherto adopted.

The particular object of this inſtitution is to adminiſter relief to Europeans and others who are ſuffering from poverty in this ſettlement, to aſſiſt with ſome pecuniary aid thoſe who may be thrown into jail for ſmall debts, to ſupport thoſe who may be naturally reluctant, under a reverſe of fortune, to make their diſtreſſes publicly known, and to relieve the public from thoſe numerous applications for charity and ſubſcriptions which are conſtantly circulated through Madras, and are not ſeldom impoſitions on the humanity of the public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed members of the ſpecial veſtry for the year 1802, in conjunction with the miniſters, church wardens, and other pariſh officers.

Names of the Members.

John Chamier, Cecil Smith,
John Kenworthey, William Jones,
John Mitford. Charles Baker,
William Webb, Alexander Falconar,
Wm. Harrington, Francis Latour,
John Rowley, B. Roebuck, eſquires.

The ſpecial veſtry is to aſſemble at the church lodgings on the firſt Monday in every month, for the diſtribution of charity, and to diſcuſs the claims of the different applicants

All applications for charity to be addreſſed to the veſtry clerk.

Publiſhed by order of the veſtry.

R. C. SHERWOOD,
Clerk of the Veſtry.

Fort St. George, 10th March 1802.

BOMBAY LAW REPORT.

Before the Hon. the Court of the Recorder of Bombay.

N. C. MAW, *v.* C. LEARMOUTH, *and* OTHERS.

This was an action of aſſault and battery, brought by the plaintiff, who is a lieutenant on the military eſtabliſhment of the honourable the Eaſt India Company at Bombay, againſt the defendants, two of whom are officers, and the reſt ſeamen, of the ſhip *Scaleby Caſtle* of this port. The caſe was as follows:

When the *Scaleby Caſtle*, on her paſſage from England hither, croſſed the line, the ſailors, according to a long prevailing cuſtom, determined that the paſſengers then on board ſhould undergo the ceremony of *Shaving and Ducking*. The plaintiff expreſſed his averſion to the ceremony, and declared he would do his utmoſt to reſiſt it—yet at the ſame time offered to purchaſe his exemption. Thoſe offers were refuſed, and he was compelled to ſubmit to the operation.

Mr. PHINEAS HALL having opened the pleadings, was followed on the ſame ſide by Mr. THREIPLAND, of whoſe ſpeech, which took up above an hour and a half

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half in the delivery, and was heard with marked attention by a crowded court, we can only hope to give our readers a very faint outline.

After an eloquent exordium in which he expreſſed his regret that it ſhould have been rendered neceſſary for him, in diſcharge of his profeſſional duty, to bring forward ſuch an accuſation againſt the defendants, two of whom were in the ſituation and of the rank of gentlemen, Mr. Threipland ſaid he was ſufficiently aware, that the greater number of thoſe to whom he addreſſed himſelf, had croſſed the Equator more than once, and that many of them poſſibly might have witneſſed certain ridiculous proceedings which not unfrequently take place on that occaſion, when any paſſengers happen to be on board who have never been ſo far travelled on the ocean before. The cuſtom to which he alluded, if indeed it could be called ſuch, was one, in his opinion, which, even at the beſt, and when moſt moderately adhered to, was "much more honoured in the breach than the obſervance." But though he was of this opinion, he could ſafely ſay for himſelf, and believed he could anſwer for his client, that if the proceedings on board the *Scaleby Caſtle*, on the 28th of September, 1801, had been kept within reaſonable bounds, had Neptune, as he was called, and his attendant deities confined themſelves to throwing a few paleſulls of their own element about the ſhip, or exacted any moderate fine or forfeit from thoſe who were landſmen enough to prefer the comforts of a dry ſkin, their proceedings would never have been the ſubject of diſcuſſion or complaint either at his inſtance, or the inſtance of Mr. Maw, in a court of juſtice.

But when amuſement degenerates into brutality, when under colour and pretext of ſport, proceedings take place, revolting to every man of common ſenſe and common feeling, when young gentlemen, paſſengers on board a merchant veſſel, and entitled to every degree of reſpect and attention, are not ſuffered to purchaſe their exemption from injury and outrage, but are forced, at the point of naked cutlaſſes, to ſubmit to both, it is high time for the law of the country to interfere, and to teach thoſe who were ignorant of it before, that it extends its protecting arm to thoſe who travel by water, as well as to thoſe who journey by land, and will no more ſuffer a paſſenger to be abuſed and mal-treated by a ſet of ſailors on board a ſhip, than in a mail coach or other vehicle of the kind, by thoſe who have the guidance of ſuch conveyances.

Mr. Threipland then deſcribed, in animated language, the manner in which ſeven or eight young gentlemen, all of them deſtined for an honourable profeſſion, in the courſe of which they would have to command the brothers and friends of thoſe who were ſpectators on the occaſion, (alluding to the laſcars and other Indians by whom the ſhip was manned) were *tarred*, and *ducked*, and *ſhaved*, as it was called, with part of an iron-hoop, which partook, he ſaid, of the nature of a ſaw much more than of a razor; treatment to which they ſubmitted, not becauſe they had no objection to ſuch beaſtly uſage, but becauſe they were ignorant to what extent matters would be carried, and were perſuaded to believe that all reſiſtance would be ineffectual.

But with reſpect to the plaintiff, from the firſt moment that the threat

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threat of such proceedings reached his ear, he had uniformly declared his positive determination that he, for one, would not submit his person to what he conceived a series of gross indignities, unworthy of any gentleman to put up with, though he was perfectly ready and willing, as he always added, to pay any forfeit that was usual, or could be required of him.

Here Mr. Threipland begged to draw the attention of the court to the character and general conduct of his client, insisting that, in proportion as his mind and manners, his habits and his rank in life entitled him to respect and attention, in that proportion was the aggravation of the injury of which he complained. Having with this view spoken of Mr. Maw in terms of the highest eulogium, as one whose whole conduct and deportment testified that he had not only been born, but what was of still greater importance, bred a gentleman, and argued that from this alone it was impossible not to anticipate his decided aversion to becoming the butt and victim of the low-bred, brutal sport, in presence of a whole ship's company. Mr. Threipland added that his client had held situations of trust and confidence in the military service of his native country during the recent rebellion in Ireland, and had acquitted himself in the field, on every occasion, with a degree of gallantry and good conduct, which it falls to the lot of few so young to have an opportunity of displaying. With these facts, as to the plaintiff's professional reputation and acquirements, the defendants were, one and all of them, well acquainted. Indeed, to every one who saw him, Mr. Maw carried a proof of unquestionable professional merit, even in that which might otherwise be accounted his misfortune. It was an extremely delicate part of the task he had to perform, but he felt himself obliged to state, that though the plaintiff had no reason to complain of nature in other respects, he had the misfortune to be born with one arm so much shrunk and distorted, that though not entirely deprived of its use, the circumstance would have been an insuperable objection to his appointment as a cadet, if his application had not come recommended by such marked and striking testimonies in favour of his military character and exertions, that the court of directors, with that attention to merit and to the honour of their own service which had raised it to such high respectability, unanimously resolved that the defect in question should be no obstacle to the plaintiff's preferment. Not only did they do this, but shewing, in the midst of the vast concerns which press for their attention, that the prosperity of a meritorious young gentleman about to be employed by them was an object not too small to attract their regard, they were at pains to accompany their intimation of Mr. Maw's appointment with a particular statement of the reasons which had influenced them in his favour; in consequence of which he had not been many days in the country when he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in the service.

This, Mr. Threipland said, was not the only reason which had conquered his reluctance to make the deformity he had been speaking of, a topic of such public observation and remark. Besides giving the plaintiff's superior claim to be protected from every personal attack, it could not but occur to every one at all acquainted with human

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human nature, that though Mr. Maw had reaſon to be proud of the defect in queſtion, ſince he had ſo honourably ſurmounted its conſequences, ſtill it could not be very pleaſant for him to have it rudely expoſed to public view, and leaſt of all to the view of thoſe who, inſtead of compaſſionating the misfortune with the feelings natural to generous minds, might be apt to turn it into deriſion, and make it heighten the reſt of their brutal *ſaturnalia*, by holding it forth to ridicule.

Having thus paved the way, as he truſted, not impertinently, for a deſcription of what his client had undergone, Mr. Threipland ſtated the circumſtances to the court in a manner highly to the credit of his own feelings, and with manifeſt effect on the feelings of all who heard him.

It appeared from his ſtatement that the plaintiff, after making repeated offers, both of money and ſpirits to the men, on condition of their not moleſting him, and finding theſe offers contemptuouſly rejected, ſhut himſelf up in his cabin; the door of which he barricadoed with trunks and boxes the beſt way he was able, uſing the farther precaution of lowering his port, to prevent intruſion from without. After remaining ſome time in this ſtate of impriſonment, without light or air, and that under the line, and during the hotteſt part of the day, the party, whoſe characters had all been caſt before-hand, came to his door, and with oaths and imprecations inſiſted on immediate admiſſion. This he reſolutely refuſed to grant, but with the ſame breath again entreated them to take his money, and leave him unmoleſted; a propoſal, on his part, which was ſtrongly ſeconded by Mr. Patterſon, the fourth mate of the ſhip, with the additional aſſurance that he, their officer, would be anſwerable for the plaintiff's ſupplying all of them with ſpirits on the ſhip's arrival at Bombay. Neither to be won by intreaties, however, nor intimidated by threats, the gang immediately began attempting to force open the door, but not ſucceeding in this ſo eaſily as they expected, they all, with one accord, went on deck, as if on purpoſe to get farther orders and freſh inſtructions: Mr. Raymond accordingly, the 3d mate, deſired ſome of them to go below and take the door off the hinges, and ſuggeſted that others might make their way in at the port. While one party went down with a carpenter for the firſt of theſe purpoſes, a ſailor of the name of Edwards was let down the ſide of the ſhip, brandiſhing a naked cutlaſs in one hand, while he held a bludgeon in the other. By the aſſiſtance of the latter weapon the plaintiff's port, which he was not ſailor enough to know how to faſten properly, was lifted up, and Edwards ſtretching the arm which held the cutlaſs into the cabin, made thruſts therewith in every direction, which Mr. Maw, for ſome time, parried with his ſword; and though he could, at this period, with great eaſe, have either ſtabbed or ſhot his aſſailant, he abſtained from doing him any injury. Indeed, the piſtols with which he armed himſelf, and which he now fired off, in hopes of protecting himſelf from farther outrage, were loaded with powder only. No ſooner, however, were they both diſcharged than Edwards made a leap into the cabin, his aſſociates at the ſame inſtant ruſhing in at the door. The whole armed gang now preſſed round the plaintiff, and after wreſting his ſword from the only hand

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hand he had to hold one, tore and dragged him upon deck. There he clung for ſome time to the poſt of the cuddy door, and ſeeing no hopes of protection, but the contrary, from the firſt and third mate, who were upon deck, called out in the loudeſt and moſt anxious manner for the captain of the ſhip, who, from the unfortunate circumſtance of the door of his apartment being ſhut at the moment, joined to the great noiſe which prevailed without, heard nothing, as he afterwards declared, of this appeal to his protection, which otherwiſe there could be no doubt, from his diſapprobation of the proceedings, when informed of them, would not have been made in vain.

Such was now the agitation of the plaintiff's mind, that he actually made an attempt to eſcape from farther outrage by throwing himſelf over-board, and would have effected his fatal purpoſe, if it had not been for the active humanity of his friend Mr. Patterſon. But neither the pain he had already undergone, nor his evidently preferring death itſelf to farther indignity, had the effect of procuring him any reſpite or releaſe. He was torn from his hold—dragged along the quarter deck to the waſte, and forcibly fixed in a boat, half full of filthy water, which had been placed there for the buſineſs of the day. His eyes being bandaged with a dirty napkin, a naufeous compoſition of tar and pitch was rubbed over his face, and taken off again by means of the ruſty hoop already mentioned. He was then puſhed back with violence into the boat, and there held ſtruggling for ſome ſeconds with his head beneath the water.—In conſequence of this treatment the plaintiff kept his bed the whole remaining part of the day, and next morning, finding his ſores and bruiſes ſtill extremely painful, had recourſe to the ſurgeon of the ſhip's aſſiſtance, who would inform the court in what ſtate he found him, and in particular of which arm he moſt complained; for, with the cowardice of malice as well as its cruelty, ſaid Mr. Threipland, the ruffians by whom he was attacked, ſeemed to find peculiar ſatisfaction in making him ſenſible of that misfortune, which, with generous minds, would have been his ſureſt ſafeguard and beſt protection againſt every approach towards perſonal inſult.

From the conſideration of what the plaintiff had undergone, Mr. Threipland next adverted to the poſſible apologies, for vindication was out of the queſtion, which might be ſet up for the defendants.

In the caſe of ſhips manned entirely by European ſailors, thoſe who permitted ſuch proceedings had to urge the amuſement they afforded to a whole ſhip's company. This was to be ſure about as abſurd and puerile an argument in favour of the practice as could well be imagined; but even this defence, weak and and futile as it was, the defendants, Meſſrs. Learmouth and Raymond, had not to reſort to on this occaſion; for, except the immediate actors in that ſcene of elegant recreation which he had deſcribed, there was not a man, he believed, on board the ſhip, the reſt of the crew being, without exception, natives of India, who could extract the ſlighteſt entertainment from any part of the ceremony. The ſhip's company aſſembled, no doubt, in great numbers, to be ſpectators of what was going forward; but he thanked God they evidently ſhewed they had yet to learn to take delight in ſeeing an Engliſh officer ſo let down, and ſo abuſed, by the loweſt and vileſt of his

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his own countrymen. How long they might continue to feel in this manner, were it poſſible for ſuch proceeding to be lightly treated in a court of juſtice, he could not ſay; but of this he was certain, that thoſe who inſtigated and encouraged ſuch atrocities in preſence of ſuch a ſhip's company, did their utmoſt to weaken a hold which he conceived it the bounden duty of every man at all connected with India to do his utmoſt to ſtrengthen, by every means in his power.

So much for conſulting the amuſement of the crew; and it would be readily admitted, that it would not have been extremely amuſing for thoſe concerned in the aſſault, if Mr. Maw had run one of them through the body, and blown out the brains of another; and that he might have done both with perfect impunity, there could not be a doubt, attacked as he was, with illegal weapons, and in his own cabin, his houſe for the time being, which it is the proud prerogative of every Britiſh ſubject to conſider as his caſtle, which even thoſe who are armed with the authority of the law dare not preſume to enter forcibly, except in purſuit of a felon.

It turns out then, ſaid Mr. Threipland, that the only perſons amuſed and ſafe at the ſame time were, the two officers on deck, Meſſrs. Learmouth and Raymond; but, in proportion as they ſhould have been diſguſted and not amuſed, in proportion as they abuſed their authority into an engine of oppreſſion, inſtead of exerting it to the utmoſt in the defence of one entitled by ſo many ties to their beſt protection, in that meaſure was their offence, and in that meaſure the court he knew would take eſpecial care ſhould be their puniſhment.

But it might be ſaid, perhaps, the defendants conceived their proceedings juſtified by cuſtom. Even admitting the plea to the extent contended for, Mr. Threipland denied it would afford them the ſmalleſt vindication in a court of juſtice.—He knew of no cuſtom that would legalize oppreſſion, cruelty, and outrage. If the cuſtom alluded to had laſted for ten thouſand years, and never a whiſper of complaint been heard concerning it till now, it would not have this effect: But it was well known that this cuſtom, as it was called, had long been put a ſtop to, from a ſenſe of its impropriety, in nine ſhips out of ten that navigated the ſeas. This alone was ſufficient to ſtop the current of preſcription in its favour—But again, admitting that certain proceedings do take place on board all merchantmen on croſſing the line, it could not ſurely be contended that it is the cuſtom to break open paſſengers doors, to attack them with naked cutlaſſes, to refuſe their offers of money, to drag and tear them about the ſhip, as no man of common humanity would a brute.—To ſay that proceedings ſuch as theſe are cuſtomary, would be ſuch a ſatyr on the navy, and the merchant ſervice in particular, that he who ſhould be bold enough to aſſert it, would run the riſk of an action of defamation at the inſtance of every officer of every ſhip within ſight of the court.

There was but one other conſideration, Mr. Threipland ſaid, to which he would ſolicit attention. Two of the defendants being of the rank of gentlemen, it could not eſcape the court, that it would have occurred to many young men, eſpecially of the plaintiff's profeſſion, to have reſorted to a very different mode of redreſs. But Mr. Maw had too much reſpect for the laws of his country, and knew beſides with

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with what promptitude they would be applied in his behalf, to have ever had a thought of being a-kin himself to the barbarous species of revenge to which he alluded. By fulfilling his expectations, and those he believed he might say of the public on the occasion, the court would do more to check a practice, which could not be sufficiently deprecated, than any court or any jury had yet performed. But really, if young men of high spirit find, when they have been at all the trouble, and all the expence of bringing their grievances in regular shape, before a court of justice, the redress they meet with is inadequate to the wrongs they sustained, he would not say an excuse is furnished them for taking revenge into their own hands, "God forbid, said Mr. Threipland, I should presume to say that, in this presence, or to think it, but this I will say, and cannot avoid thinking, very poor encouragement indeed is held out to them, to resort to the laws of their country."

Here evidence was adduced in support of the plaintiff's case.

Mr. DOWDESWELL, upon the part of the defendants, observed, that no particular injury was proved to have been done to Mr. Maw.—The other passengers who had not crossed the line, voluntarily underwent the ceremonies of the day, and considered them as a joke. The custom had so long prevailed, that if it did not amount to a justification of the defendants, it would be trusted exempt them from the payment of any considerable damages.—General notice had been given by capt. Gardiner, that if any passenger disliked to partake of the pastimes of the day, he might go into his, (capt. Gardiner's) cabin.—Mr. Maw, instead of availing himself of such protection, had come upon deck armed with a cutlass and pistols—bidding defiance. By such defiance he had brought the injury, if he could be said to have suffered any, upon himself. It was the character of British sailors to revolt at such defiance. In respect to the two mates, Mr. Learmouth and Mr. Raymond, they were mere passive spectators. It was to be remembered that they were not now answering for a neglect of duty to a superior officer—Mr. Learmouth, so far from intending injury, had taken the watch from Mr. Maw's pocket for the purpose of preserving it. No precedent quarrel between Mr. Learmouth, Mr. Raymond, and Mr. Maw had been proved—No ill will exerted towards him—No degradation or disgrace thought of—Neither ought a circumstance of this kind to be supposed to bring disgrace or degradation upon any man—Most men who had come to India, at an early period of their lives, had undergone the ceremony without its ever having disturbed their repose. In the life of a sailor there were few days of recreation.

If the play was a little more rough than a game at blind man's buff with a party of fine ladies, and the perfumes not quite so grateful, it might have been submitted to without complaint—Should the court be of opinion that the ceremonies ought to be suppressed, and that they might be productive of evil consequences—the ends of public justice would be answered by the smallest damages. The defendants, it had been proved, were not able to pay large damages. Mr. Learmouth gaining, by a life of danger and hardship, only 140 rupees per month, and Mr. Raymond only 100 per month.

The RECORDER delivered the judgement of the court to the following effect:

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The court highly approve of the conduct of the plaintiff in having brought the preſent action. If the mirth in which ſailors uſually indulge themſelves in croſſing the line is attended with no material inconvenience to others, Mr. Threipland has with juſt propriety ſaid, he would be the laſt to check it, and, if ſuch had been the caſe, he ſhould have been reprehenſible in adviſing the preſent action. In that I agree, but when indulgence of one man's mirth is made the medium of violence or injury to another, it is highly proper that it ſhould be reſtrained, and that the injured party ſhould reſort to the laws of his country for redreſs. Something has been ſaid of juſtifying or at leaſt extenuating the proceedings complained of on the ground of cuſtom and uſage. I hope, however, it never will be ſuppoſed that this court can entertain the idea that, cuſtom or uſage can legalize, or juſtify oppreſſion or injuſtice of any kind. The proceedings, however, in the preſent inſtance, ſeem to have been carried much beyond even former uſage. Captain Gardiner, who unfortunately was in his cabin at the time, (and who I wiſh had been on deck, where his preſence might have reſtrained any improper violence,) admits that the treatment the plaintiff received was highly improper, and that he would not have ſuffered it if he had been preſent; capt. Speake, who has repeatedly croſſed the line, ſays he never witneſſed ſuch treatment as this gentleman received, and that he would not, on any account, have ſuffered ſuch on board his ſhip; and all the other paſſengers who voluntarily underwent the ſame ſort of treatment, from their ignorance of the extent to which it would be carried, agree in ſaying, they would on no account ſubmit to the ſame again. The plaintiff refuſed to ſubmit as the other gentlemen had done, and offered money and liquor to the ſailors, which, on ſimilar occaſions, have been held ſufficient to procure his exemption. But his offers were rejected, his cabin, where he had taken refuge, is broke open, and he is dragged out in ſpite of all reſiſtance, to undergo the ceremony which has been deſcribed. It does not indeed appear that he ſuffered greater violence than the other gentlemen, or that he received any very important perſonal injury, but the dirt and filth to which he was ſubjected was extreme in the higheſt degree, and added to injury, the greateſt inſult to the feelings of a gentleman.

The queſtion is, whether the charge is brought home to the defendants, Learmouth and Raymond, the firſt and third officers? and we think it is. It is not neceſſary that the violence ſhould have been committed by their immediate hands—if they were privy to, and preſent, and concurring in the general deſign, it is ſufficient, and there is ſufficient evidence not only to ſhew that they were ſo, but that they encouraged it. Learmouth, the firſt officer, when the plaintiff aſks permiſſion to go to his cabin, ſays, he may go there if he pleaſes, but that he will not be ſafe there. And Raymond, when he is gone to his cabin, gives orders to the gang to bring him up again; and on the men ſaying the door was faſt, he tells them to get in through the door or port, which orders are both immediately carried into execution. Both Learmouth and Raymond are preſent on deck during the whole of the violence which the plaintiff ſuffers, Learmouth himſelf, as one of the witneſſes ſays, firſt throwing a bucket

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bucket of water over him from the poop, and as another ſays, taking his watch from him while he undergoes the remainder of the ceremony.

With reſpect to the other defendants, we ſee no reaſon to acquit any of them; they all ſeemed to have formed part of Neptune's gang, and to have taken more or leſs active parts in the tranſaction. I wiſh, however, the defendants had not been ſo numerous: encouraged by their officers, the blame imputable to the men is comparatively ſmall; but on this ground the court cannot ſever the damages, or apportion them to each particular perſon's guilt. The damages given muſt be entire; but the plaintiff may do what the court cannot—he may levy them on which of the defendants he pleaſes, leaving it to them to call on the others to contribute their proportion, ſo that the damages will ultimately fall where they ought. With reſpect to the quantum of the damages, the defendants do not any of them appear to be in a ſituation to pay heavy ones, nor do we ſuppoſe the plaintiff expects to obtain ſuch. It is, however, proper, that he ſhould be reimburſed all the expenſes of his ſuit, and that the damages ſhould not only be ſufficient for that purpoſe, but ſuch as mark the diſapprobation of the court of the defendants' proceedings, and will prevent a repetition of ſimilar practices in future.

The damages the court award are 400 rupees.

Attornies for plaintiff, Meſſrs. Hall and Hungerford.

Attorney for defendants, Mr. J. Cumberlege.

SORCERY.

Five women were lately tried at Patna, on charges of ſorcery, and being found guilty, were put to death. His excellency the Governor-general, on being informed of the circumſtance, ordered all the principal perſons who compoſed the tribunals, to be apprehended, and arraigned before the circuit court of Patna, on charges of the murder of theſe women, and the court adjudged them to ſuffer death. It appeared, however, that this cuſtom had prevailed time immemorial; ſeveral of the witneſſes remembered numerous inſtances of perſons having been put to death, by the Brahmans, for ſorcery; and one of them, in particular, proved, that his own mother had been tried and executed as a witch. The government, therefore, pardoned the offenders; but to prevent the recurrence of circumſtances ſo diſgraceful to humanity, a proclamation has been iſſued, declaring, that any one forming a tribunal for the trial of perſons charged with witchcraft, or aiding or encouraging in any act to deprive ſuch perſons of life, ſhall be deemed guilty of murder, and ſuffer the penalty attached to that offence.

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Several new Members having been lately elected into this learned Society, we insert an accurate List, for the information of our Readers.

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EGYPT.

Although Egypt is not, geographically conſidered, a part of Aſia, yet from its intimate connexion, in all ages, with that quarter of the globe, as well in regard to its civil hiſtory and commerce, as to its ſcience and literature, it appears incumbent on us, not only to embrace in our view of Aſiatic affairs all the moſt important tranſactions in that country, but likewiſe to give an account of ſuch new publications as treat either of its antiquities, or of its preſent condition. Some obſtacles have hitherto prevented us from fulfilling our intentions on this head. But we hope, in our next volume, to be able to preſent our readers with a complete ſummary of all the principal public occurrences which have happened in Aſia, including Egypt, from the period at which our work commenced, to the beginning of 1803; and alſo to give a review of every book that has been publiſhed, reſpecting Egypt, within that time.

In our preſent volume, we can only inſert under this head a few articles, either immediately connected with the primary object of our publication, or of ſuch a nature as to demand our notice, from the ſentiments of indignation and horror which the intrinſic and enormous atrocity of the actions related, muſt univerſally excite.

The accounts of the operations and triumphs of the Britiſh army in Egypt are far too voluminous to inſert in detail; we muſt therefore confine the relation of thoſe intereſting and glorious events, to the limits of our propoſed ſummary.

INDIAN ARMY IN EGYPT.

The army, under the command of Major-general Baird, which ſailed from India in the latter end of the month of December 1800, in order

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order to co-operate with the British army in Egypt, had been very much delayed by contrary winds in the Red Sea, and did not reach Coſſire till the 8th of June 1801. A diviſion of troops from the Cape were ordered to join him in the Red Sea.

General Baird's object was to land at Suez, and act according to thoſe circumſtances he ſhould become acquainted with there, ſince at ſuch a diſtance no poſitive operations could have been preſcribed. The hope was, however, always entertained, that he would arrive in time to aſſiſt the European army, even in debarkation, by dividing the French force. Unfortunately the monſoon had commenced before his entrance into the Red Sea, in the month of April, and it was found impoſſible to gain his deſtination; but learning at Juddah the ſucceſſes of the Engliſh on the 21ſt of March, which intelligence had been tranſmitted to him by Admiral Blankett, he determined to land at Coſſire, and brave the difficulties of the deſert, in the hopes of affording a conſiderable ſupport to General Hutchinſon, and contributing to the final conqueſt of the country.

On the 8th of June he arrived at Coſſire, and found colonel Murray, the adjutant-general, who had preceded him, and reached that poſt with a very ſmall advanced guard on the 14th of May; but the greater part of the army was ſtill miſſing, and none of the troops from the Cape had arrived. Anxious, however, to promote the general ſervice, he employed himſelf in preparing the means for enabling his army to paſs the deſert, in which he was aſſiſted by the Vizier's firmans; and in a ſhort time he ſaw himſelf provided with 5000 camels. Having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, he ſet out for Cuneh (or Kinneh), where he arrived on the 30th of June, and immediately arranged the march of the remaining diviſions, facilitating their paſſage, by eſtabliſhing poſts at the different wells in the deſert, and digging others; iſſuing at the ſame time the following orders for the regulation of the march of each ſucceeding column.

MEMORANDUMS *for Lieut. Col.* CARRUTHERS.

Camp, Coſſire, July 20, 1801.

You will proceed with the detachment under your orders, on the evening of the 20th inſt. to the new wells, diſtance about 11 miles.

The wells are a little off the road, therefore be careful not to paſs them, nor allow your camels and baggage to miſs them. An officer's party is ſtationed at the wells. On your arrival there, which will be about eleven o'clock at night, you ſhould not allow your men to ſtraggle about, or keep each other awake, as a good night's reſt will enable them to make the march of the next night with more alacrity. In the morning, half a pint of wine ſhould be iſſued to each man, and their rice, which they muſt cook for that day and the following.

The men's canteens ſhould be filled with congu, or the water in which rice has been boiled; and juſt previous to their marching, another half pint of wine ſhould be given them, to mix with their congu. The men ſhould be kept in their tents, and as quiet as poſſible during the heat of the day.

The muſſecks, or water bags, will be filled up at the wells, if any ſhould have leaked out. As you will find plenty of water at the wells, of courſe you will not economize the water carried from this. But be extremely careful of your

your muſſecks, that they do not get damaged, particularly in lifting them on and off the camels, which ought to be done with a tent pole.

On the evening of the 21ſt you will proceed half way to Moilah, which is about 33 or 34 miles from the wells; therefore, if you ſtart from the wells at five o'clock in the evening, and march till twelve at night, you will have marched 17½ miles (at the rate of two miles and a half an hour), or half way to Moilah. You will halt there, and in the morning iſſue half a pint of wine per man, and the rice which was cooked the preceding day. No water is to be had at this halting place; you will therefore iſſue to the troops and followers, from your caſks and muſſecks, a proportion of water. Two gallons of water for each man is ſent with you, with an allowance for leakage. You ſhould therefore in the morning iſſue a gallon per man, and fill the canteens in the evening before you march. If you find you ſtill have water to ſpare, you will iſſue it at your diſcretion. On the evening of the 22d you will proceed to Moilah, where you will find an officer's party. Water and proviſions are to be had there. You will indent on the commiſſary for two days proviſions, to be carried with you, to ſerve on the way to Legaitte.

If you find your men much fatigued, you may halt one day and night at Moilah, and on the following evening you will proceed to the advanced wells, about nine miles beyond Moilah; there you will fill up your muſſecks, and cook rice for the following day. Your next march is half way to Legaitte, which is about 38 miles from the advanced wells. You will take the ſame precautions and meaſures on this march, as directed in that from the wells to Moilah: for as there is no water until you arrive at Legaitte, you muſt carry your proviſions cooked for one day, and be very careful of your water. Your next march is to Legaitte, where you will find water and proviſions. You may halt there a day and night if you find it neceſſary. Your two next marches carry you to Ghinna, diſtance 28 miles.

Every halting day the camel-drivers are to receive 40 comaſſes for each camel; the deputy quarter-maſter-general will advance the money if you require it; 450 comaſſes are equal to one dollar. You will endeavour to conciliate the drivers as much as poſſible, leſt they deſert. One head man will have the charge and direction of them, and you will give your orders through him.

You will write to me from the New Wells, Moilah and Legaitte, mentioning any inconveniences or impediments you may have met with, and whether you halt, that the ſucceeding diviſions may be guided by it. You will find freſh meat at Moilah and Legaitte, which you will iſſue to your men, alſo ſpirits, as your wine muſt be uſed only on marching days, at the rate of one pint per man.

You will endeavour to diſſuade your men from drinking a great quantity of water, which has been found very hurtful and weakening; and when you are at thoſe ſtations where water can be had, your men ſhould be marched to the wells to fill their canteens morning and evening, and no more ſhould be allowed. At thoſe places where they cannot cook their victuals, they muſt be perſuaded to eat what was cooked the day before, as they will not otherwiſe be able to perform the ſucceeding march through faintneſs and weakneſs.

Route from Coffire to Ghinna.

Coffire to the New Wells	11 miles,	water may be had.
Half way to Moilah	17	no water.
Moilah	17	water and provisions.
Advanced wells	9 miles,	water may be had.
Half way to Legaitte	19	no water.
Legaitte	19	water and provisions.
Baromba	18	water.
Ghinna	10	the Nile.
	120	

J. MONTRESOR, *Lieut. Col.*

The troops had surmounted a great variety of difficulties, and manifested a very extraordinary spirit of perseverance in passing the desert. It was not till the latter end of July that this army had assembled, and even then some detachments were missing.

On the 26th of August they reached Grand Cairo; and on the 29th the whole of the Coffire army, after having left some troops in Girzah, embarked on the Nile; part of it, consisting of the 86th regiment and some sepoys, being ordered to Damietta, and the rest to Rosetta.

Previous to their departure from Cairo, Major-general Baird issued the following address to the army under his command;

MORNING GENERAL ORDERS.

Camp, Rhoda Island, Aug. 28, 1801.

"In communicating his majesty's most gracious approval of the services of the army in Egypt, Major-general Baird has the satisfaction to know, that the troops under his command participate in his feelings; that they rejoice in the honour that their brothers in arms have so deservedly gained; that they regret the loss of that great and good man the late commander in chief; that they lament the unavoidable circumstances which prevented their joining in the glorious conflict; and that they feel, with the fullest force, the advantages which must ever result from order, discipline, and military system.

"It becomes not troops from India, who, in every situation, have supported the national character of determined and disciplined valour, to envy the reputation which has followed the footsteps of the army of England, from the shores to the capital of Egypt; but the major-general is persuaded that they desire to emulate it.

"The war is not yet terminated; the enemy possess the only harbour and the strongest fortress in the country. Their services in the field are required in the execution of their duty. He has no hesitation in declaring, that, under the guidance of that able officer the commander in chief, he has the fullest reliance on their supporting the character of British soldiers, by their gallantry, discipline, and strict attention to uniformity of system in all formation of field movements."

This brave army, which, by its persevering spirit, had surmounted every difficulty that interrupted its progress, whose courage was ready to encounter any dangers that might present themselves, and whose discipline would have insured them victory, arrived too late in Egypt to prove the more active part of its character. The battle of the twenty

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twenty-first of March had been fought, while they were yet on their voyage from India.

In the evening of the 1st of September general Baird and colonel Achmuty arrived at general Hutchinson's tent. The 89th had suffered most severely during its stay at Gizah, from the dysentery and opthalmia, nearly the whole of the officers and men being affected with the latter malady. Several officers had also died suddenly, after entering a room, locked up by the French, in Murad Bey's house.

The Indian army, in very fine order, disembarked and encamped near Aboumandour. Whilst at Rhoda this army had attracted much surprise and admiration.—The Turks were astonished at the novel spectacle of men of colour being so well disciplined and trained: indeed, the general magnificence of the establishment of the Indian army was so different from what they had been accustomed to see in general Hutchinson's, that the contrast could not fail of being striking. But general Baird proved to them also, that his troops were not enfeebled, or himself rendered inactive, by these superior comforts. Every morning at day-light he manœuvred his army for several hours, and in the evening again formed his parade. Never were finer men seen than those which composed this force, and no soldiers could possibly be in higher order.

The collected force, including the troops from the Cape (about 1200) amounted to 5226 rank and file, and was composed of the following regiments and corps;

Royal artillery,	Captain Beaver.
Bengal horse artillery,	Captain Browne.
Bengal foot ditto,	Captain Fleming.
Madras — ditto,	Major Bell.
Bombay — ditto,	Captain Powell.

Royal engineers.—Bengal ditto.—Madras ditto.—Bombay ditto.—Madras pioneers.

His Majesty's 8th light dragoons,	Captain Hawkers.
——— 10th foot,	Lieutenant-colonel Quarrel.
——— 61st ditto,	Lieutenant-colonel Carruthers.
——— 80th ditto,	Colonel Ramsay.
——— 86th ditto,	Lieutenant-colonel Lloyd.
——— 88th ditto,	Colonel Beresford.
Bengal volunteers, native infantry,	Captain Michie.
1st Bombay regiment ditto,	Major Holmes.
7th ditto ——— ditto,	Major Laureston.

The respective quota furnished by the different establishments to which these corps belonged, is thus to be divided:

	Men.
East India Company's artillery, &c.	448
Ditto native troops,	1940
King's troops,	2838
	5226

To which must be added 271 officers, of which 58 were natives.
1601 sergeants.
195 drummers.
440 infants.
876 servants, not soldiers.
572 public followers.
605 private ditto.

8940

Which makes a general total of 7546 persons, including sick, &c.

GENERAL STAFF.

Major-general Baird	54th foot, ...	Commander in chief.
Colonel Ashmuty	10th ditto, ...	Adjutant-general.
Colonel Murray	84th ditto, ...	Quarter-master-general.
Major Macquarie	77th ditto, ...	Deputy adjutant-general.
Captain Falconer	71st ditto, ...	Deputy quarter-master-general.
Captain Mollé	Scotch brigade, ...	Private sec. and aid-de-camp.
Captain Tucker	22d foot, ...	Maj. of brigade to gen. Baird.
Lieutenant Budgen	84th ditto, ...	Additional aid-de-camp and muster-master.
Major Harris	Bombay infantry, ..	Auditor of Bombay accounts,
Captain Michie	Bengal volunteers, ..	Ditto of Beng. and Mad. do.
Captain Scott	Madras artillery, ...	Commissary of stores.
Lieut. Warden	Bombay ditto, ...	Deputy ditto.
Captain Burr	Ditto infantry, ..	Commissary of cattle.
Lieut. Fagan	Bengal ditto, ...	Boat-master.

T. White, esq. paymaster to the troops.
T. Shubrick, esq. commissary of provisions to ditto.
Mr. Secluno, deputy ditto.

BRIGADE STAFF.

Right Brigade.

Colonel Beresford	89th foot, ...	Commanding.
Captain Trotter	Ditto, ...	Brigade-major.
Capt. Cox, (assist. Q. M. G.)	68th ditto, ...	Acting quarter-master.

Left Brigade.

Lieutenant-colonel Montresor	80th foot, ...	Commanding.
Lieut. White (assist. Q. M. G.)	18th dragoons,	Acting brigade-major.
Ditto ditto	Ditto, ...	Acting quarter-master.

GARRISON STAFF.

Colonel Ramsay		Commandant of Gizah.
Lieutenant Harvey	80th foot,	Brigade-major.
Lieutenant Macdonald	61st ditto,	Town adjutant.
Lieutenant Denoe	10th ditto,	Garrison quarter-master.

Lieutenant-colonel Barlow ..... 61st foot, Commandant of Rosetta.

MAJOR

Major General Baird's Reception by the Pacha of Cairo.

Extract of a Letter from an Officer of Major-General Baird's Army, to his Friend at Bombay, dated Gizah, opposite Grand Cairo, May 18, 1802.

"On the 15th inst. major-general Baird, preparatory to the march of the army across the Desert to Suez, paid a visit of ceremony to his highness the pacha of Egypt in Grand Cairo.

"The general, attended by his staff and other officers, with an escort of the 8th light dragoons, crossed the river to the Cairo side in the morning, where a Turkish guard of honour, consisting of horse and foot, were drawn up to receive him. On landing, the general was met by the pacha's chief secretary and interpreter.

"After the usual compliments and honours being paid, the guards moved off in front at a slow pace toward his highness's palace, the kettle drums and other music of the Turkish horse playing during the procession, while the heralds proclaimed the approach of the English general.

"On coming near the palace, (formerly general Kleber's, and in which he was assassinated,) we found the streets lined with the Albanian guards up to the steps of the great staircase. The appearance of the soldiers was more sanguinary than martial, every man, besides his musket and bayonet, being armed with a brace of pistols, a dagger, and a sword.—Having arrived at the palace, the general dismounted, when he was received by the officers of state and conducted to the chamber of audience.—Here the pacha met the general at the door, and received him in the most flattering and distinguished manner. After being served with coffee, sherbet, &c. and the compliments customary on such occasions had passed, as well as a conversation of some length relative to the march of the army across the Desert, in the forwarding of which his highness offered, in the most unreserved manner, every assistance in his power, the general rose to take leave; when the pacha requested the acceptance of a war horse fully caparisoned, and a sword,—adding, they were the gifts of esteem and friendship.—The staff and other officers of the general's suite also received each a sword.

"The general was requested by the pacha, as a particular honour, to mount the horse on leaving the palace, which he accordingly did, and was saluted with nineteen guns on passing through the great square.

"We then turned home in the same manner we came, amidst an immense concourse of people; and, as is usual in most Mussulman countries, were importuned for *Buckshees* (money) on all sides.

"The saddle and furniture presented to general Baird must be of great value, the former being solid silver gilt, and the latter crimson velvet studded with stars and crescents of the like metal. The horse was one of the most beautiful animals I ever beheld, and of the finest breed in Turkey. The general's sword was no less costly, the scabbord and mounting being of entire gold, and the blade one of the true Damascus. We afterwards learnt that the whole had been sent by the grand signior to the pacha, on raising him to his present high situation in the empire.

"Two days afterwards the pacha returned the general's visit. His highness came to the Gizah side of the river in his state barge, attended

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by a great number of others full of grandees, janiſſaries, attendants, &c. &c. The morning being remarkably fine, heightened the intereſt of the ſcene. The effect of the Turkiſh muſic on the water, with the gay appearance of the various flags and pendants, was truly ſtriking. Add to the reflection, ariſing from a conſcious proper pride, on a Britiſh, and a Britiſh Aſiatic army from "Further Ind," drawn up on the banks of Old Father Nile to do honour to the Ottoman creſcent, and you will, I think, envy us,—as well as regret, in no common degree, your abſence on ſuch an occaſion.

"The pacha on landing was received by two of the general's ſtaff. A ſalute of cannon immediately commenced, the troops formed in a ſtreet, preſented arms, and the bands began to play. His highneſs ſeemed highly pleaſed, bowed to the officers as he paſſed with much urbanity, and frequently remarked to the pacha of the Albanians, and the other great officers of his ſuite, the fine and martial appearance of the ſoldiery; the ſepoys attracted much attention. A few yards from head-quarters, (formerly the country houſe of Murad Bey,) the general, accompanied by the principal officers of the army, met the pacha; and after welcoming him to the garriſon, and the uſual compliments having paſſed, the whole proceſſion entered the grand ſaloon, which had been previouſly ornamented in the Turkiſh ſtyle, with divans, carpets, &c. Here the officers formed a circle, and coffee, ſherbet, &c. were ſerved up to his highneſs and ſuite in the eaſtern ſtyle; the band of the 86th regiment playing all the time. With the muſic the pacha ſeemed particularly delighted. We remarked that the tambourine and triangle, being nearly Turkiſh, afforded him much pleaſure, eſpecially in the Battle of Prague, in which Kotzwarrow has introduced one of their national airs as the quick ſtep. The eyes of the janiſſaries kindled at hearing their favourite call to battle.

"After being entertained for a conſiderable time in this manner, and much civilities exchanged on both ſides, the pacha roſe to take leave. The general then requeſted his highneſs, and his principal officers, to accept of ſome arms of Engliſh workmanſhip, conſiſting of fuſees, piſtols, &c. He alſo preſented the pacha with ſome jewels ſet in the eaſtern mode.

"On his highneſs leaving the gateway, the general having ordered two of the fineſt Mocha bulls to be there, begged his acceptance of them. This laſt preſent the pacha ſeemed highly pleaſed with, as the breed is unknown in Turkey. The humps on their ſhoulders occaſioned many obſervations from the attendants.

"The general having accompanied the pacha a few yards towards the river, his highneſs requeſted he might go no farther; he expreſſed himſelf highly gratified with his reception, and again repeated his profeſſions of friendſhip, and anxious with to aſſiſt the army in their march acroſs the deſert; he then embarked under the former honours and ſalute.

"The general, on this particular occaſion, and in compliment to the pacha, wore the order of the creſcent and diamond aigrette preſented him by the grand ſignior. The officers of the army alſo wore their medals.

"Having thus detailed to you this ceremony, I ſhall not intrude longer on your patience; and only add, that, from the cordial and friendly diſpoſition of the pacha, I think we ſhall

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full accomplish this arduous march across the desert of Saez without loss or difficulty: and unattended by those fatigues and hardships so severely felt, yet so nobly surmounted, by our brave fellows, in the former ordeal from the shores of the Red Sea across the arid and burning desert of the Thebaid.'"

GENERAL ORDERS.

Fort William, July 31, 1802.

"Major-general Baird, commanding the forces employed in the late expedition from India to Egypt, arrived this day at the presidency, attended by the governor-general's state-boats, and was received, on his landing at Chaundpaul Ghaut, by the officers of his excellency's staff.

"The governor-general, in council, derived sincere satisfaction from the highly honourable testimony borne by major-general the earl of Cavan, to the services of major-general Baird, and of the troops from the establishment of India, lately employed in Egypt.

"Under a grateful impression of the important aid derived to the common cause of our country, by the able and successful conduct of the expedition from India to Egypt, his excellency is pleased to order, that honorary medals be conferred on all the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, troopers, and sepoys, golandauze and gun lascars, who have been employed on service in Egypt."

Extract of the Earl of Cavan's Letter to his Excellency the Governor-General, alluded to in the above Orders; dated Alexandria, May 6, 1802.

"I am sensible no opinion of mine can increase the very high and deserved estimation that the professional abilities of major-general Baird have acquired. But it is a justice I owe to him, and the troops he brought under his command from India, to testify to your excellency the very full satisfaction they have given me on every occasion since I had the honour of having them under my command.

"Their excellent discipline and obedience, and their patience (under great fatigues and hardships), have been equalled by their highly exemplary conduct in the correct and regular discharge of every duty of soldiers; and though they may lament that circumstances rendered it impossible for them to have taken a part in the brilliant actions in this country during the last campaign, it must be a satisfaction for them to know, that their services in Egypt have been as important and essential to their country as those of their brother soldiers, that gained such distinguished victories in it.

"I have requested of them to accept of my humble approbation, and very best thanks, and I beg leave to recommend general Baird and them strongly to your excellency's notice."

Entertainment given by the Governor-General to the Officers of the Indian Army, &c.

On the 9th August, his excellency the most noble the governor-general entertained at breakfast, in the new government-house, major-general Baird and the officers of the army returned from Egypt, together with all the principal inhabitants of the Danish settlement of Serampore.

At eight o'clock *a. m.* the same day, the flag was hoisted in Fort William, and a royal salute was fired in honour of the return of the army from Egypt.

MASSACRE

MASSACRE *of the* TURKS, *By the French Troops, under the command of General Bonaparte;*

(Extracted from Lieut.-Col. Sir ROBERT THOMAS WILSON'S *History of the British Expedition to Egypt.*)

General Hutchinson was very angry with the Turks for still continuing the practice of mangling and cutting off the heads of the prisoners; and the Captain Pacha, at his remonstrance, issued again very severe orders against it; but the Turks justified themselves for the massacre of the French by the massacre at Jaffa. As this act, and the poisoning of the sick, have never been credited, because of such enormities being so incredibly attrocious, a digression to authenticate them may not be deemed intrusively tedious: and had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accusation would have been preferred in a more solemn manner, and the damning proofs produced by penitent agents of these murders: but neither menaces, recompense, nor promises can altogether stifle the cries of outraged humanity, and the day for retribution of justice is only delayed.

Bonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greatest part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives; and let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army, in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian army, this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you!

Three days afterwards, Bonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of 3800 prisoners, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Vollies of musquetry and grape instantly played against them. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officers of the etat major who commanded (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction: but Bonaparte was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings

* Bonaparte had in person inspected, previously, the whole body, amounting to near 5000 men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janissary attracted his observation, and he asked him sharply, "Old man, what do you do here?" The Janissary, undaunted, replied, "I must answer that question by asking you the same: your answer will be, that you came to serve your Sultaun: so did I mine." The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Bonaparte even smiled, "He is saved," whispered one of his aids-du-camp. "You know not Bonaparte," observed one who had served with him in Italy; "that smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence; remember what I say." The opinion was too true. The Janissary was left in the ranks doomed to death, and suffered.

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strings of the wounded; but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and probably many languished days in agony. Several French officers, by whom partly these details are furnished, declared, that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty.

These were the prisoners whom Assalini, in his very able work on the plague, alludes to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which produced the pestilential malady, which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army.

Their bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

Such a fact should not, however, be alledged without some proof, or leading circumstance stronger than assertion, being produced to support it; but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy, for obeying a command when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution; therefore to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was *Bon*'s division which fired; and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying themselves respecting the truth, by inquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

Massacre *of the* Beys.

[We received this Translation from a Gentleman in Egypt, who from a desire to make his version literal, has thought it necessary to preserve the Oriental idiom.]

Translation of a Letter from Muhammed Bey Chircavous, Hamed Bey Kesargi, and Osman Bey Berdici, dated the 18th of the Moon Giamed Achar, Year of the Hejirah 1216.

To our Royal and Illustrious Master and Protector in Egypt, Brahim Bey, *whom God keep in his holy Care.*

After the great pleasure of seeing and saluting you, we make known what you probably have already heard in France, that we came to the camp of the Captain Bashaw, by his orders, where we received many marks of honour, which, alas! is now no more the case.

We shall make known to you this sad reverse: on Thursday, the 14th day of the above month, the Captain Bashaw gave us and the other beys and officers a feast of much splendor and magnificence; after the conclusion of this, he asked us to make a little excursion by sea to Alexandria; we answered that we were under his orders, and embarked in humility in the boats with him: there were present Osman Bey Girgawoni, Osman Bey Leschar, Mahommed Bey Elmenfour, Brahim Codhorda Suman, and the jukadar of Osman Bey Girgawoni, besides ourselves and two followers in the boat with Captain Bashaw. All these beys and officers, and also Hamed Bey Keraigi, Murad Bey Sogir, and Mahommed Bey Chircavoni, Osman Aga, Hali Aga, and Soliman Aga, in various boats, went off with due courage and confidence of mind, having no suspicion of treachery or evil—but those expressions

preſſions of eſteem flowed only from the lips of fallacy; for when we were at a little diſtance, there came a ſmall boat to the one in which we were, with a Gio Reden in it, informing the Captain Baſhaw that a man called Mahommed el Lego, of Conſtantinople, had arrived with a firmaun from the great Emperor: this was known to be falſe; for there was a good underſtanding between all the traitorous actors: a large boat full of ſoldiers was near, and that moment the Captain Baſhaw ordered us to remain near this one, until he ſhould go to ſee the contents of the firmaun, and return. He then went into the meſſenger's boat, and we approached the one which contained concealed ſoldiers. As ſoon as the Baſhaw had diſappeared, the ſoldiers ſhewed themſelves, armed with carabines, muſquets, piſtols, &c.; they ſeized the boat, laſhed it to their own, jumped into our's, and began to murder and deſtroy us, and the numbers of our ſlain were ſix; the ſon and probable ſucceſſor to the rank of his father, Murad Bey, lately deceaſed, Oſman Bey Girgawoni, Oſman Leſchar, Mahommed Bey Elmenfour, Murad Bey Sagir, Braham Codhorda Suman, and jukadar of Oſman Girgawoni; thoſe were the dead. As to ourſelves (Oſman Bey Berdici), we have been wounded in ſeveral parts, and God has ſaved us. The remainder of our chiefs, Hamed Bey Keraigi, Mahommed Bey Chircaveni, Oſman Aga, Ally Aga, and Soliman Aga, were alſo ſaved from death, and were all put into the large boat, plundered and bound. There came afterwards, on the part of the Great Pacha, the named Mahommed Pacha, governor of Cairo, who divided us by two, and ſent us on board the ſhips of war—but as the Engliſh, towards four in the evening, got tidings of what had paſſed, they went immediately to the Baſhaw's camp, and liberated the remaining Mamelukes, with all their baggage, tents, and effects; the chiefs of the Engliſh were alſo ſent to the Baſhaw to tell him:—"Is this the treatment that men merit come here under our word, and under our protection? However, our orders are, that you bring immediately to us the bodies of the ſlain, and of the living, and if you do not obey, we will wage againſt you a terrible war." That ſame night the dead bodies were given up, and next day we arrived alſo in the tent of Mahommed Kaia Kurrba; in that time came alſo the Engliſh with horſemen, foot ſoldiers, cannon, all according to the military art, and formed in battle array, at a muſquet ſhot from the tent of the Baſhaw. The Engliſh general ſent one of his great men with his dragoman to demand us; the Baſhaw ſaid, "they are in the tent of Mahommed Kaia." The general then again ſent one of his chiefs to call us, to the great tent of the Baſhaw: In that moment the Baſhaw ſaid, to conſole us, "Death is by the will of God and royal order." This was his conſolation. The Engliſh took us immediately, forced us to mount upon horſes belonging to the ſame Baſhaw, conducted us to their camp with many marks of honor, and ordered us to give a liſt of our loſt effects; which we ſigned, ſealed, and gave to the mighty chief; and we have received multiplied remuneration, great honors and true tokens of friendſhip, without ſuſpicion of its being falſe: they have alſo communicated to us, with all goodneſs, "you ſhall be better of than before;" and the

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great general-in-chief of you, and of all the force of the Mamelukes (which means making his beſt compliments.) This is what has happened unto us, and may God be on our ſides and our protector.—I pray that your excellency may be of good vigilance, well regulated, and that the Mamelukes may be collected. Go to old Cairo or Gizah, for the Engliſh are there, and they are the friends of the Mamelukes: be of good courage, be comforted by our ſentiments of conſolation, beware of the Turks, however ſtrong the external ſhew of their friendſhip may be, all is a ſnare, put no belief in them; remember their oath to us, the great oath upon the *holy book*, and upon the *ſword of many deeds*; ſuch is their treachery—aſſemble therefore, immediately, and join the Engliſh; never act againſt their orders; put faith in them; let that be your only maxim, I pray you.

Our chiefs and brothers ſalute you. "May the day of our union ſoon take place, and may God take you and us all under his holy and mighty protection."

CIVIL

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS, &c.

BENGAL.

APRIL 1801.

Mr. James Hare, surgeon to the hospital at the presidency for the reception of insane persons.

Mr. John Thornhill, deputy collector of the government customs at Calcutta.

Mr. William Watts, assistant to the commercial resident at Commercolly.

MAY.

Mr. Burrish Cosip, second judge of the provincial court of appeal and court of circuit for the division of Dacca.

Mr. Henry Ramus, second judge of the provincial court of appeal and court of circuit for the division of Calcutta.

Mr. T. N. L. Sturt, judge and magistrate of the city of Murshedabad.

Mr. J. B. Smith, commercial resident at Hurripaul.

Mr. Francis Gladwin, collector of government customs and of the city duties at Patna.

Mr. J. Ratray, collector of the government customs at Hoogly.

Mr. James Irwin, superintendant of the eastern chokies in the salt department.

Mr. William Cunningham, superintendant of the western chokies in the salt department.

Mr. John Kinloch, assistant to the salt agent for the division of Bullooah and Chittagong.

Mr. James King, assistant to the salt department for the division of Tumlook.

Mr. G. R. Foley, collector of Bogleporc.

Sir Frederick Hamilton, deputy paymaster at Chunar, and commissary of bazars.

Mr. Robert Richardson, head assistant to the export warehouse.

Mr. H. T. Travers, assistant to the import warehouse keeper.

Mr. Edward Scott Waring, assistant to the secretary to the residency at the court of Poonah.

Mr. W. J. Monah, second assistant to the secretary to the government in the revenue and judicial department.

JUNE.

Mr. William Blunt, assistant in the collector of Kishnagur.

Mr. Richard Becher, collector of the government customs and of the city duties at Murshedabad.

Mr. Joshua John Brownlow, deputy collector of the government customs and city duties at Dacca.

Mr. Joseph Sherburne, collector of Midnapore, in the room of Mr. [illegible] deceased.

Mr. John Batye, deputy postmaster-general.

Mr. Edward Cuthbert, register to the zillah court of Murshedabad.

Mr. Charles Patton, assistant to the register of the city court of Patna.

Mr. J. D. Erskine, register of the zillah court of Chittagong.

Mr. J. B. Laing, ditto of Dinagepore.

Mr. George Sutie, ditto of Dinagepore.

Mr. G. C. Master, assistant to the register of the zillah court of Beerbhoom.

Mr. W. E. Wynch, register of the zillah court of Mirzapoor.

Mr. H. Parry, ditto of Tipperah.

Mr. W. Fauquier, assistant to the collector of Beerbhoom.

Mr. J. H. T. Roberdeau, assistant to the collector of Momenpling.

Mr. B. Turner, assistant to the collector of Rajeshahye.

Mr. James Patton, assistant to the register of Murshedabad.

Mr. Charles Elliot, second assistant to the secretary to the government in the judicial department.

Mr. John Patterson, first assistant to the commercial resident at Dacca.

Mr. J. Forsyth, first assistant to the commercial resident at Luckipore.

Mr. George Chetter, first assistant to the commercial resident at Silhet.

Mr. J. O. Oldham, first assistant to the commercial resident at Colliaghat.

Mr. R. Brooke, first assistant to the commercial resident at Ringpore.

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Mr. H. Mundy, second assistant to the commercial resident at Chittagong.
Mr. H. Stone, first assistant to the secretary in the salt department.
Mr. T. Powney, second ditto.
Mr. G. Monckton, assistant to the salt agent for the division of Hidjelle.
Mr. James Bell, assistant to the salt agent for the division of the 24 Pergunnahs.

JULY.

Mr. Claude Russell, sen. assistant to the secretary to government.
Mr. John Monckton, second ditto.
Mr. John Adam, senior assistant in the governor-general's office.
Mr. John Monckton, second ditto.
Mr. Edward Golding, third ditto.
Mr. Benjamin Dean Wyatt, keeper of records.
Mr. Charles D'Oyley, fourth assistant to ditto.
Mr. Charles Pattenson, fifth ditto.
Mr. Thomas Fortescue, sixth ditto.
Mr. John Forbes, seventh ditto.

AUGUST.

Mr. J. D. Erskine, register of the zillah court of Moorshedabad.
Mr. W. Wynch, register of the zillah court of Chittagong.
Mr. Ed. Wakefield Blunt, assistant in the office of the military paymaster general.
Rev. Paul Limerick, chaplain to the college of Fort William.

OCTOBER.

Colin Barlow, esq. to be a member of the supreme council of Fort William.
Ditto, to be ditto.
G. H. Barlow, esq. to be vice president and deputy governor of Fort William.
Mr. W. P. Elton, assistant to the envoy to the Arab states.

DECEMBER.

Mr. J. E. Colebrooke, second judge of the provincial court of appeal and court of circuit, for the division of Patna.
Mr. J. Rattray, collector of Tirhoot.
Mr. G. P. Ricketts, collector of Behar.
Mr. J. Barton, collector of Benares.
Mr. T. Twining collector of Shahabad.
Mr. John Thornhill, deputy customs-maller, for the collection of the town duties of Calcutta.
Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, assistant to the resident with Dowlut Row Scindiah.
Mr. H. Douglas, third judge of the provincial court of appeal and court of circuit for the division of Patna.
Mr. Y. Y. Burges, judge and magistrate of the zillah of Mirzapore.

Mr. Richard William Pattle, judge and magistrate of the Zillah of Dinagepore.
Mr. James Wintle, judge and magistrate of Boglepore.
Mr. Andrew Gardner, judge and magistrate of the Zillah of Backergunge.
Mr. Archibald Montgomerie, register of the provincial court of appeal and court of circuit for the division of Patna.
Mr. William Parker, collector of Burdwan.
Mr. Robert Keith Dick, collector of Purnea.
Mr. A. P. Johnstone, head assistant to the secretary, and Bengal and Persian translator to the board of revenue.
Mr. Thomas Powney, removed from the office of the secretary in the salt department, and appointed to the office of assistant to the superintendant of the western chokies.

JANUARY 1806.

Mr. Edward Strettell, to the office of advocate general to the honourable company.
The hon. G. H. Barlow, esq. to be acting visitor of the college of Fort William during the absence of the Governor-general from the presidency.
H. T. Colebrooke, esq. and J. H. Harington, esq. to be members of the council of the college of Fort William.
H. T. Colebrooke, esq. to be professor of the Hindu law and of the Sanscrit language.
J. H. Harington, esq. to be professor of the laws and regulations of the British government in India.

FEBRUARY.

George Hilaro Barlow, esq. to be chief judge of the courts of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and Nizamut Adawlut, and president of the board of revenue.
George Udny, esq. to be president of the board of trade.

MARCH.

Mr. A. Welland, collector of Cawnpore.
Mr. G. Webb, register to the court of justice established under the collector of Rehr.
Mr. N. R. Shubrick, register to the court of justice established under the collector of Etahwah.
Mr. R. Graham, register to the court of justice under the collector of Cawnpore.

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Mr. Hubert Cornish, regiſter to the court of juſtice under the collector of Illahabad.
Mr. Oſton Salmon, regiſter to the court of juſtice under the collector of Gurruckpore.
Mr. C. Dumbleton, regiſter to the court of juſtice under the collector of Barrelly.
Mr. J. W. Laing, ſub-ſecretary to the board of revenue.
Mr. J. W. Grant, aſſiſtant to the regiſter, and ſecond aſſiſtant to the magiſtrate of the Zillah of Mirzapore.
Mr. A. Roſs, aſſiſtant to the collector of Gurruckpore.
Mr. W. Scott, aſſiſtant to the collector of the government cuſtoms at Calcutta.
Mr. G. D. Guthrie, regiſter to the court of appeal and circuit at Barrelly.
Mr. J. Wemyſs, aſſiſtant to the collector of Etahwah.
Mr. M. Law, aſſiſtant to the ſuperintendent of eaſtern Salt Chokies.
Mr. J. W. Sands, aſſiſtant to the regiſter of the court of appeal and circuit for the diviſion of Benares.
Mr. C. Lloyd, ſecretary to the embaſſy to Nepaul.
Mr. R. O. Wynne, aſſiſtant to the regiſter, and to the magiſtrate of the city of Benares.
Mr. F. Morgan, aſſiſtant to the regiſter, and ſecond aſſiſtant to the magiſtrate of the city of Dacca.
Mr. R. Vanſittart, aſſiſtant to the collector of the government cuſtoms at Patna.
Mr. R. Thackeray, aſſiſtant to the collector of Dacca.
Mr. David Campbell, aſſiſtant to the ſecretary of the board of revenue.
Mr. H. Hodgſon, regiſter to the court of appeal and circuit for the diviſion of Calcutta.
Mr. W. P. Potts, aſſiſtant to the collector of Cawnpore.

APRIL.

Mr. Robert Graham re-appointed regiſter of the Dewanny Adawlut, and aſſiſtant to the magiſtrate of the city of Patna.
Mr. Henry Douglas, re-appointed to the office of judge and magiſtrate of the city of Patna.

His excellency the nabob Vizier with the conſent and approbation of his excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general, has been pleaſed to appoint Mr. Gore Ouſely to attend his perſon, in the capacity of aid-de-camp.

SUPREME COUNCIL, &c. FOR BENGAL.

Supreme Council.

His excellency the moſt noble Richard Marquis Wellefley, K. P. Governor-general.
Geo. Hilaro Barlow, eſq. vice preſident.
Lieut. General Gerard Lake.
George Udny, eſq.

Principal Secretaries to Government.

John Lumſden, chief ſecretary.
Neil Benjamin Edmonſtone, ſecretary in the ſecret, political, and foreign departments, and Perſian ſecretary to government.
Charles Ruſſel Crommelin, ſecretary in the public department.
Geo. Dowdeſwell, ſecretary in the revenue and judicial departments.
Captain Lionel Hook, ſecretary in the military department.

MADRAS.

JULY 1801.

Mr. F. Richardſon, commercial reſident at Nagore.
Mr. C. Churchill, aſſiſtant under the collector of the 3d diviſion of Maſulipatam.
Mr. Charles Baker, collector of the revenue derived from the ſale of arrack, toddy, and other ſpirituous liquors.
Mr. Peter Bruce, aſſiſtant under the principal collector in the ceded diſtricts.

SEPTEMBER.

Mr. Thomas Anſley, Malabar tranſlator to government.
Mr. George Travers, deputy accountant in the revenue and commercial departments.

Mr.

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Mr. Andrew Scott, collector at Guntoor, to take charge of the province of Palnaad.

Mr. G. Stratton, collector of the Western Poligar, to take charge of the districts of Arcot, north of the river Palar.

Captain J. G. Graham, collector of Kistnagherry, to take charge of the districts of Arcot south of the river Palar.

Mr. E. C. Greenway, collector of the jaghire, to take charge of Pulicat and the district of Setvadoo.

Mr. T. B. Hurdis, collector of Dindigul, to take charge of the districts of Madura and dependant Polygars.

Mr. S. R. Lushington, collector of P. Peishcush, to take charge of the province of Tinnevelly.

Mr. J. B. Travers, collector of the districts of Ongole and Nellore.

Mr. J. Wallace, junior, collector of the districts of Trichinopoly and dependant Poligats.

Mr. George Garrow, secretary to the board of revenue.

Mr. Francis Ellis, deputy secretary ditto ditto.

Mr. P. Kinloch, assistant under the collector of Trichinopoly.

Mr. Thomas Townsend, ditto ditto, of Nellore and Ongole districts.

Mr. T. S. Savory, ditto ditto, in the division of Arcot, south of the river Palar.

Major William Macleod, principal collector of the provinces of Malabar and Coimbatore.

Mr. George Read, of Coimbatore, under Major Macleod.

Mr. John Stracey, subordinate collector in the province of Malabar.

Mr. B. Hodgson, ditto do.

Mr. M. Keate, ditto do.

Mr. J. Hepburn, assistant to the subcollector in the province of Coimbatore.

Mr. D. Cockburn, collector of the Baramahl with the districts of Salem, Kistnagherry, and the conquerable territory lately under the charge of Captain Graham.

Mr. Charles Hyde, assistant to the collector of the Baramahl and Salem.

Mr. A. Wilson, do. do. N. D. of Canara.

Mr. W. Dodwell, do. do. in the jaghire.

OCTOBER.

Mungo Dick, esq. member of council.

John Chanier, esq. chief secretary to government.

DECEMBER.

Josiah Webbe, esq. resident at Mysore.

John Hughes, esq. sheriff of Madras.

JANUARY 1802.

Mr. E. Roebuck, to be master attendant at Coringa.

Mr. Le Chevallier de Courson, to be master attendant at Masulipatam.

Mr. Robert Sherson, reporter of the external commerce of the territories under the presidency of Fort St. George.

Mr. Thomas Robinson, head assistant under the secretary to the board of trade.

Mr. B. R. Lesingham, assistant under the accountant general.

Mr. J. D. Alexander, assistant to the collector of government customs.

Mr. Henry Brown, commercial resident at Ramnaad.

Mr. John Stuart Sullivan, deputy commercial resident at Ramnaad.

Mr. John Nicolson Watts, deputy commercial resident at Tinnevelly.

Mr. Edward Coxe, deputy commercial resident at the presidency, and to take charge of the Madras investment.

Mr. Thomas Wisset, deputy commercial resident at Vizagapatam.

Dr. Berry to be head surgeon, *vice* Ogilvie, on leave to Europe.

Mr. Boiswell, to be medical storekeeper, *vice* Dr. Berry.

Mr. Horseman, to be secretary to the medical board, *vice* Mr. Boiswell.

Commissions appointed for the New Court of Requests.

Walter Grant, esq. appointed 1st commissioner of the new court of commissioners for the recovery of small debts.

Richard Yeldham, esq. 2d ditto.

Luke Hautville Sterling, esq. 3d ditto.

Mr. Richard Clarke, register.

Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, to be garrison surgeon of Fort St. George, *vice* Mr. Boiswell.

Mr. Wm. Cook, to be an assistant under the collector of government customs.

Mr. B. C. Torin, to be an assistant to the manager for the supply of beetle, and the collector of the revenue derived from the sale of arrack, toddy, and other spirituous liquors.

FEBRUARY.

Mr. Cecil Smith, accountant general.

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Mr. Benjamin Randall, assistant to the commercial resident at Nagore,
Mr. Arthur Brooke, appointed head assistant to the commercial resident at Cuddalore.
Mr. Steven Harris, appointed assistant to the military paymaster general.
Thomas Oakes, esq. a member of the board of revenue.
Lionel Place, esq. a member of the board of revenue.
James Taylor, esq. superintendent of quality of the investment.
Edward Cox, esq. deputy.
Alexander Mackenzie, esq. secretary to the board of trade.

MARCH.

Nicol Mein, esq. to be third member of the medical board.
Mr. Assistant Surgeon Wain, to take charge of the dispensary at Fort St. George, *vice* Gordon, deceased.

APRIL.

Cecil Smith, esq. accountant general and civil auditor.
Mr. G. F. Travers, deputy accountant general and commercial.
Mr. M. Forbes, deputy revenue accountant.
Mr. Macartom Simon, Armenian translator and interpreter at the supreme court of judicature.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL, &c. FOR MADRAS.

Right honourable Edward Lord Clive, governor.
Lieut. general James Stuart, commander in chief.
William Petrie, esq.
Mungo Dick, esq.

Principal Secretaries to Government.

John Chamier, esq. chief secretary, and appointed to succeed to the first vacancy in council.
George Buchan, secretary in the military department.
John Hodgson, do. revenue and judicial do.
George Gilbert Ekbie, do. public and commercial do.

BOMBAY.

JULY 1801.

Mr. John Smee, to be senior merchant, *vice* Ramsay returned to Europe.
Mr. G. W. Gillio, to be senior merchant, *vice* Clephane, returned to Europe.
Mr. C. Wren, to be junior merchant, *vice* Smee, promoted.
Mr. T. Day, to be factor, *vice* Gillio, promoted.

AUGUST.

Mr. J. H. Cherry, custom master at Bombay, *vice* Maister, proceeded to England.
Mr. George Brown, commercial resident at Surat, *vice* Cherry, called to the presidency.

SEPTEMBER.

Mr. George Kirkpatrick, to be senior merchant, *vice* Maister, gone to Europe.
Mr. John Hope Oliphant, to be junior merchant, *vice* Kirkpatrick, promoted.
Mr. William Cowper, to be factor, *vice* Oliphant, promoted.
Mr. P. Hall, to be the honourable Company's solicitor.
Mr. Edward Popham, clerk of the peace, *vice* Constable, deceased.
Mr. Cumberlege, conductor of government prosecutions, *vice* Hall, resigned.

DECEMBER.

Mr. George Paterson, to be alderman in the room of Mr. Harding.
Mr. Edward Atkins, to be mayor for the ensuing year.
Mr. James Douglas Richardson, to be sheriff for do.

Mr.

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Mr. George Wood, to be coroner, *vice* Richardson, refigned.
Mr. John Smee, to be paymaster of extraordinaries, *vice* Smith, refigned.
Mr. Peter Pare Travers, to be firft aſſiſtant to the treaſurer, *vice* Smith, refigned.
Mr. John Williams, to be ſecond aſſiſtant to ditto, *vice* Travers, promoted.

MARCH, 1802.

Mr. D. C. Ramſay, promoted to the rank of a ſenior merchant, *vice* Taylor, proceeded to England.
Mr. R. Church, promoted to the rank of a ſenior merchant, *vice* George Patterſon, deceaſed.
Mr. J. V. Drury, to be a junior merchant, *vice* Ramſay, promoted.
Mr. J. Hallett, do. *vice* Smith, proceeded to England.
Mr. H. S. Pearſon, to be a junior merchant, *vice* R. Church, promoted.
Meſſrs. Munro, Flower, Crawford, Williams, Drummond, Richardſon, Lovett, Diggle, Steadman, Baber, and Goodwin, are alſo promoted to the rank of factors.
Mr. John Fell, to the rank of a ſenior merchant, *vice* Bowler, deceaſed.—And Mr. J. Elphinſtone, to the rank of a junior merchant, *vice* Fell, promoted.
John Hector Cherry, eſq. temporary member of council, *vice* William Page, eſq. proceeded to England.
Robert Henſhaw, eſq. acting cuſtom maſter, *vice* Cherry, called into council.

APRIL.

John Spencer, eſq. to be judge and magiſtrate of Sallette, &c. *vice* Lewis Cockran, proceeded to England.
George Waddell, eſq. to be ſenior merchant, *vice* J. H. Cherry, eſq. called into councik.
George Brown, eſq. ditto ditto, *vice* James Hodgſon, gone to Europe.
N. H. Smith, eſq. ditto ditto, *vice* D. Ramſay, ditto ditto.
James Law, eſq. *vice* Lewis Cockran, eſq. ditto ditto.
John Elphinſtone, eſq. to be junior merchant, *vice* Waddell, promoted.
G. L. Pendergraſt, eſq. to be junior merchant, *vice* Brown, promoted.
J. A. Grant, to be junior merchant, *vice* Smith, promoted.
G. Waddell, eſq. is appointed commiſſary of receipt and iſſue of proviſions.
David Deas Inglis, eſq. paymaſter to the detachment ſerving in Guzerat.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL, &c. FOR BOMBAY.

The honourable Jonathan Duncan, preſident and governor.
John Hector Cherry, eſq. temporary member.
Robert Rickards, eſq. *ſec. to government.*

MILITARY PROMOTIONS, &c.

BENGAL.

In His MAJESTY's *Regiments.*

APRIL 1801.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF.

27th Light Dragoons, Cornet F. Clark, to be Lieut. *vice* Whitel, deceaſed, 24th May 1801, Adjutant W. Bellay, to be Cornet, *vice* Clark, promoted, do. Cornet C. Deane, to be Lieut. by purchaſe, *vice* J. M. Partridge, who retires, 25th do. J. H. Barnſley, gent. to be Cornet by purchaſe, *vice* Deane, 1ſt Dec. 1800.

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12th *Foot.* Enſign H. Kater, to be Lieut. *vice* J. Gordon, deceaſed, 3d Nov. 1800. Adjutant Jagger, to be Enſign, *vice* Kater, promoted, do. Enſign J. Fogerty, to be Lieut. *vice* E. Nevill, deceaſed, 5th do. C. Crawford, gent. to be Enſign, *vice* Fogerty, promoted, do. Enſign, F. Campbell, from the 86th *Foot* to be Lieut. *vice* M. Price, caſhiered, 15th Jan. 1801.

33d *Foot.* Capt. Lieut. F. R. Weſt, to be Captain of a company, *vice* C. Euſtace appointed to command the 2d bat. 68th reg. 8th March, 1800. Lieut. A. Euſtace, to be Captain Lieut. *vice* Weſt, promoted, do. Enſign Sir J. Bulkeley, to be Lieut. *vice* Euſtace, promoted, do.

73d *Foot.* Lieut. W. Fraſer, to be Adjutant without purchaſe, *vice* Porr, who retires, 25th Aug. 1798. Serjeant Major D. Roſe, to be Quarter-maſter, without purchaſe, *vice* the hon. G. Turnour, who retires, do. do.

77th *Foot.* G. Briſtow, gentleman, to be Enſign, *vice* S. Huey, deceaſed, 6th Dec. 1800.

78th *Foot.* Enſign J. J. Stephenſon, to be Lieut. by purchaſe, *vice* Humberſton, 7th April 1801. James Douglaſs, gent. to be Enſign by purchaſe, *vice* Stephens, promoted, 11th Dec. 1799. Enſign J. Laſhins, to be Lieut. by purchaſe, *vice* H. G. Rooper, promoted in the 3d Weſt India reg. 8th April 1801. W. Manſell, gent. to be Enſign, without purchaſe, *vice* J. Laſhins, do. do.

86th *Foot.* Enſign M. R. Freeman, to be Lieut. by purchaſe, *vice* Mowbray, promoted, 24th Jan. 1801.

Scotch Brigade. Enſign J. Baſden, to be Lieut. by purchaſe, *vice* Black, 17th March 1801. — Sandrock, gent. to be Enſign by purchaſe, *vice* Tate, 19th Feb. do.

By His MAJESTY.

19th *Light Dragoons.* Brevet Lieut. Col. Patrick Maxwell, to be Lieut. Col. *vice* Major Gen. Floyd, appointed to the command of the 26th Light Dragoons, 18th Sept. 1800. Captain J. Bailey, to be Major, *vice* Maxwell, do.

23d *Light Dragoons.* Lieut. J. Price, to be Captain by purchaſe, *vice* Blaquire, promoted, 10th Oct. 1799. Cornet G. M. Hunt, to be Lieut. by purchaſe, *vice* Price, ditto.

25th *Light Dragoons.* Cornet J. Hayes, to be Lieut. by purchaſe, *vice* Brooks who retires, 1ſt Nov. 1799.

29th *Light Dragoons.* Lieut. G. Piſſinghurſt from the 7th Light Dragoons, to be Captain, *vice* Smith, deceaſed, 16th Oct. 1800. Veterinary Surgeon, S. Newman, from 14th Light Dragoons, to be Veterinary Surgeon, 2d do.

10th *Foot.* Brevet Col. S. Auchmuty from 75th Foot, to be Lieut. Colonel, *vice* Potts, deceaſed, 24th Sep. 1800. E. Morgan, gent. to be aſſiſtant Surgeon, *vice* Gill, who reſigns, 1ſt Nov. 1799.

12th *Foot.* Enſign R. W. Shawe, to be Lieut. by purchaſe, *vice* Euſtace, promoted, 20th Nov. 1799. J. Fogerty, gent. to be Enſign, by purchaſe, *vice* Reſt promoted, 10th Aug. do. M. J. Molloy, gent. to be Enſign by purchaſe, *vice* Grace promoted, 28th do. do. T. Sadlier Cleaveland, gent. to be Enſign without purchaſe, *vice* S. Cleaveland who declines, 1ſt Nov. do. E. P. Page, gent. to be Enſign by purchaſe, *vice* Shawe promoted, 24th do. do.

33d *Foot.* Enſign W. Cooper, to be Lieut. *vice* Tew, deceaſed, 12th do. do.

51ſt *Foot.* Lieut. A. Moore, from 73d Foot, to be Lieut. *vice* Warrington, who exchanges, 1ſt Nov. do. Lieut. F. Hankup, from 45th Foot, to be Lieut. *vice* Johnſon, who exchanges, 16th Oct. 1800.

73d *Foot.* Lieut. J. Harrington, from 51ſt Foot, to be Lieut. *vice* Moore, who exchanges, 1ſt Nov. 1799.

74th *Foot.* J. A. Mein, gent. to be Enſign by purchaſe, *vice* N. A. Mein, promoted in the 12th Foot, 14th do. W. Robertſon, gent. to be Enſign without purchaſe, *vice* J. Armſtrong, promoted, in the 77th Foot, 26th do.

75th *Foot.* Capt. Lieut. C. Hayes, to be Capt. without purchaſe, *vice* Hall, promoted, 5th Oct. do. Lieut. A. Stewart, to be Captain Lieut. *vice* Hayes, do. Enſign J. Fearon from the 80th Foot, to be Lieut. *vice* Stewart, do. Brevet Major C. Gray, from the 77th Foot, to be Major without purchaſe, *vice* Auchmuty, promoted in the 10th Foot, 25th Sept. 1800.

76th *Foot.* R. Coxen, gent. to be Adjutant, *vice* Moreland, who reſigns, 20th Nov. 1799.

77th *Foot.* Enſign J. Armſtrong, from 74th

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74th Foot, to be Lieut. *vice* Kirkwood, deceased, 26th Nov. 1799.

78th Foot. — Stephens, gent. to be Ensign by purchase, *vice* Todd, who retires, 1st Dec. 1799. J. Larkins, gent. to be Ensign by purchase, *vice* Daguilar, who retires, 2d do.

80th Foot, Sir G. Colquhoun, bart. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Fearon, promoted in the 75th Foot, 5th Oct. 1799.

Scotch Brigade. Lieut. J. Allen, to be Captain by purchase, vice Ewing, who retires, 10th Sept. 1799. Ensign W. A. Irwin from 33d Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Allen promoted, 14th Nov. do. Serjeant Major — Kingdom from 33d Foot, to be Adjutant, vice Allen, who resigns, 10th Sept. do.

Staff. A. Bartolacie, gent. to be deputy Commissary of Musters to the King's Troops, serving on the Island of Ceylon, 1st Oct. 1799.

Brevet, Lieut. T. Parkinson, W. Davidson, F. Mapother, F. Peirce, Officers of the hon. the East India Company's forces to take rank by Brevet as Captain in His Majesty's service, in the East Indies only. The Commissions dated 7th Jan. 1796.

MAY.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF.

19th *Light Dragoons*. Capt. Lieut. J. Cathcart, to be Captain of a Troop, vice Bailey, promoted, 1st Apr. 1801. Lieut. R. Lisle, to be Captain Lieut. vice Cathcart; Cornet J. Crooks, to be Lieut. vice Lisle, do.

19th *Foot*. A. Moore, gent. to be Ensign by purchase, vice Kearns, who retires, 27th March, do.

51st *Foot*. Lieut. R. Ouseley, from the Princess of Wales Fencible regiment of Infantry to be Ensign, vice Kyle, promoted, 1st Apr. do. Capt. Lieut. W. Chisholm, to be Captain of a company, vice Flood deceased, 6th do. Lieut. J. Short, to be Captain Lieut. without purchase, vice Chisholm, do. Ensign J. Huskison, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Short, do. J. H. Bloomfield, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Huskison, 6th Apr. 1801.

71st *Foot*. Capt. Lieut. H. M. Murray, to be Capt. of a company, vice Swinton, promoted, 5th do. Lieut. R. Macleod, to be Capt. Lieut. without purchase, vice H. M. Murray, do. Ensign J. A. Mein, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Macleod, do. B. Collins, gent. to be Ensign by purchase, vice Neilson, promoted, 13th Feb. do. Ensign W. Robertson, to be Lieut. vice P. Shank, deceased, 25th Apr. do. Ensign L. Campbell, from the 78th regiment, to be Lieut. vice A. Campbell, deceased, 30th ditto.

76th *Foot*. Ensign J. G. Watson, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Sears, promoted in the 9th Foot, 15th do.

77th *Foot*. Brevet Major L. Macquarie, to be Major without purchase, vice C. Grey, promoted in the 75th reg. 4th do. Capt. Lieut. C. McIntosh, to be Capt. of a company without purchase, vice Macquarie, promoted, do. Lieut. D. Mackenzie, to be Capt. Lieut. without purchase, vice McIntosh, do.

80th *Foot*. A. Adamson, gent. to be Ensign by purchase, vice Mowbray, promoted, 1st do. Captain H. Q. Brownrigg, of His Majesty's 75th regiment, to be Major of Brigade to the King's Troops, serving under the presidency of Bombay, in the room of Brigade Major Macquarie, promoted to the Majority of the 77th regiment.

JUNE.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF.

27th *Light Dragoons*. Assistant Surgeon J. Sharpe, to be Surgeon, vice J. H. Law, deceased, 15th June 1801.

12th *Regiment*. Ensign M. J. Molloy, to be Lieut. vice Parker, deceased, 28th May 1801. G. Mackay, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Molloy, promoted, do.

73d *Regiment*. Lieut. A. G. Gordon, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Gore, promoted in the Caithness Fencibles, 11th Feb. 1801.

74th *Regiment*. J. White, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice J. A. Mein, promoted, 5th Apr. 1801. J. Kennedy, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Robertson, promoted 25th do. Capt. Lieut. R. McLeod, to be Capt. of a company, vice J. Campbell, deceased, 3d May 1801. Lieut. R. Manners, to be Capt. Lieut. vice R. McLeod, promoted, do.

75th *Regiment*. Ensign R. Syme, to be Lieut. vice Bullock, deceased, 22d Apr. 1801. F. Engle, gent. to be Ensign, vice Syme, promoted, 22d Apr. do.

77th *Regiment*. Ensign J. Grant, to be Lieut. vice A. Campbell, deceased,

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retaining his original rank and situation in the 77th reg. to which he was appointed; viz. 21st Dec. 1798.

78th Regiment. T. Cameron, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice L. Campbell, promoted in the 74th reg. 30th Apr. 1801.

84th Regiment. Ensign S. Wright, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice R. Anders, who retires, 24th do.

86th Regiment. P. Jenney, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice F. Campbell, promoted in the 72d Foot, 15th Jan. 1801.

In the Hon. COMPANY'S *Troops.*

APRIL 1801.

By the GOVERNOR GENERAL *in* COUNCIL.

8th Native Infantry. Ensign W. Gother, to be Lieut. vice Morse, deceased; date of commission the 10th of Apr. 1801.

11th Native Infantry. Capt. Lieut. C. W. Lamborne, to be Capt. of a company, vice Dee, deceased. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. H. W. Hicks, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Lamborne promoted. Ensign J. B. Gore, to be Lieut. vice Hicks, promoted.

MAY.

4th Native Infantry. Capt. Lieut. J. S. Blofield, to be Capt. of a company, vice Smith, deceased; date of commission, Apr. 26th 1801. Lieut. A. Molesworth, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Blofield, promoted; date of commission, Apr. 26th 1801. Major W. Davies, to be Lieut. Col. from the 19th May 1801, vice Hutchinson, deceased.

19th Native Infantry. Capt. J. Lawtie, to be Major, from the 19th May 1801, vice Davies, promoted. Capt. Lieut. H. Imlack, to be Capt. of a company, from 19th May 1801, vice Lawtie, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. Dick, to be Capt. Lieut. from the 19th May 1801, vice Imlack, promoted. Ensign J. Harrington, to be Lieut. from the 19th May 1801, vice Dick, promoted.

JUNE.

4th Native Infantry. Capt. Lieut. G. Barclay, to be Capt. of a company, from the 4th June 1801, vice Scott, deceased. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. J. Thomas, to be Capt. Lieut. from the 4th of June do. vice Barclay, promoted. Ensign J. Clarke, to be Lieut. from the 4th of June, do. vice Thornton, promoted. Major J. S. Browne, to be Lieut. Col. from the 13th June, do. vice Clarkson, deceased.

15th Native Infantry. Capt. R. Haldane, to be Major, from the 13th of June 1801. vice Browne, promoted. Capt. Lieut. H. Cheape, to be Capt. of a company, from the 13th of June, do. vice Haldane, promoted. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. T. Hurring, to be Capt. Lieut. from the 13th of June do. vice Cheape, promoted. Ensign N. P. Grant, to be Lieut. from the 13th of June, do. vice Hurring, promoted.

JULY.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF.

1st Bat. 1st Native Reg. S. F. Mahommed, Jemadar, to be Subadar; date of commission, 1st July 1801. S. Sing, Jemadar, to be Subadar; date of commission, 2d July, do. S. Beechoo, Havildar, to be Jemadar, 1st do. do. J. Sing, Havildar, to be Jemadar, 2d do. do. M. Sing, Havildar, to be Jemadar, 2d do. do.

1st Bat. 7th Native Reg. M. R. Alley, Jemadar, to be Subadar, vice C. Rum, invalided; date of commission, 1st July 1801. S. Sing, Havildar, to be Jemadar, vice M. R. Ally, promoted; date of commission, do. do.

2d Bat. 14th Native Reg. L. Sing, Havildar, to be Jemadar; date of commission, 1st July 1801. L. Tewary, Havildar, to be Jemadar; date of commission, 2d July, do.

1st Reg. Native Cav. J. Beg, Jemadar, to be Subadar, vice M. H. Beg, invalided; date of commission, 1st July, do. B. Khan, Havildar, to be Jemadar, vice J. Beg, promoted; date of commission, 1st July 1801. S. Sing, Subadar, in the 2d batt. 13th Native reg. is allowed to resign the hon. Company's service, his name is accordingly to be struck off the rolls of the reg. from the 1st of the ensuing month, and the following promotions to take place in consequence.

2d Batt. 13th Reg. D. Opadeah, Jemadar, to be Subadar; date of commission, 1st Aug. 1801. A. Sing, Havildar,

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Hawldar, to be Jemadar, vice D. Orrieab, promoted; date of commission, 1st Aug. 1801.

1st Batt. 15th Native Reg. A. Sing, a Hawldar, to be Jemadar, in the room of S. Miller, invalided; date of commission, 1st July 1801. Carkoon, 1st Jindal in the Lascar company, attached to the 2d company 2d batt. of Artillery, is promoted to the rank of Syrang, in the room of Dumun, invalided, from the 1st July, do.

AUGUST.

Major Gen. H. Bridge, appointed to the Staff, vice Rawstorne, deceased.

Artillery. Brevet Col. and Lieut. Col. D. Woodburn, to be Col. to rank from the 6th of Aug. 1801, vice Hussey, retired. Brevet Lieut. Col. and Major T. Holland, to be Lieut. Col. to rank from the 6th of Aug. do. vice Woodburn, promoted. Brevet Maj. and Capt. J. Horsford, to be Major, to rank from the 6th of Aug. do. vice Holland, promoted. Brevet Capt. and Capt. Lieut. H. Balfour, to be Capt. to rank from the 6th of Aug. do. vice Horsford, promoted. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. T. Dowell to be Capt. Lieut. to rank from the 6th Aug. do. vice Balfour, promoted. Lieut. Fireworker, L. R. Groves, to be Lieut. to rank from the 6th Aug. do. vice Maynard, retired. Lieut. Fireworker, F. Beagham, to be Lieut. to rank from the 6th Aug. do. vice Dowell, promoted.

4th Native Reg. Infantry. Brevet Capt. and Capt. Lieut. J. Thornton, to be Capt. to rank from the 6th of Aug. 1801, vice Fade, retired. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. J. Macpherson, to be Capt. Lieut. date of rank 6th of Aug. do. vice Thornton, promoted. Ensign H. Wrottesley, to be Lieut. date of rank 6th Aug. do. vice Macpherson, promoted.

5th Native Reg. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. W. G. Maxwell, to be Capt. Lieut. date of rank 6th of Aug. 1801, vice Greig, retired. Ensign No. 36, to be Lieut. date of rank 6th of Aug. do. vice Maxwell, promoted.

Infantry. Major R. Dunkley, to be Lieut. Col. vice Hilliard, deceased; date of commission, 18th Aug.

16th Native Reg. Capt. S. Dubois, to be Major, vice Dunkley, promoted; date of commission, 10th Aug. 1801. Capt. Lieut. P. Grant, to be Capt. of a company, vice Dubois, promoted; date of commission, 10th Aug. 1801. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. Fraser, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Grant, promoted; date of commission, 10th Aug. do. Ensign No. 20, to be Lieut. vice Fraser, promoted; date of commission, 10th Aug. do.

Cavalry. Col. R. Macan, to be Col. commandant of Cavalry, from the 17th July 1801, vice Rawstorne, deceased. Lieut. Col. E. Pennington, to be Col. vice Rawstorne, deceased; date of commission, 17th July, do. Major L. Baillie, to be Lieut. Col. vice Pennington, promoted; date of commission, 17th July, do.

5th Reg. Native Cav. Capt. C. Fraser, to be Major, vice Baillie, promoted; date of commission, 17th July 1801. Capt. Lieut. C. Webber, to be Capt. of a troop, vice Fraser, promoted; date of commission, 17th July, do. Lieut. R. Clarke, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Webber, promoted; date of commission, 17th July, do. Cornet H. T. Roberts, to be Lieut. vice Clarke, promoted; date of commission, 17th July, do.

5th Reg. Native Cav. Capt. Lieut. R. Clarke, to be Capt. of a troop, vice Mercer, deceased; date of commission, 4th Aug. 1801. Lieut. L. R. O'Brien, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Clarke, promoted; date of commission, 4th Aug. do. Cornet J. Jones, to be Lieut. vice O'Brien, promoted; date of commission, 4th of Aug. do. Mr. J. C. Grant, and Mr. T. C. T. Fluker, now in India, have been appointed conditional Cadets on this establishment, by the honourable court of directors.

JANUARY 1802.

By the GOVERNOR GENERAL *in* COUNCIL.

Capt. M. Shawe, to be military Secretary, to his excellency the Governor-general, during the absence of Capt. J. Malcolm, at Fort St. George.

Calcutta European Militia. Capt. F. Mure, to be Major, vice Gladwin, 1st Jan. 1802. Lieut. H. Trail, to be Capt. of a company, vice Mure, promoted, 1st Jan. do. Lieut. A. Colvin, to be Capt. of a company, vice G. H. Barlow, 2d Jan. do. Lieut. G. U. Lawtie, to be Capt. of a company, vice J. Buller, 3d Jan. do. Lieut. J. Palmer, to be Capt. of a company, vice Ebroughs, on furlough, 4th Jan. do. Lieut. J. Gilchrist, supernumerary from the Portuguese

gueze militia, to be Lieut. vice Trail, promoted, 1st Jan. 1801. Lieut. H. P. Forster, supernumerary from the Portugueze militia, to be Lieut. vice Colvin, promoted, 2d Jan. do. Enfign H. C. Plowden, to be Lieut. vice Lawtie, promoted, 3d Jan. do. Enfign J. Caulfield, to be Lieut. vice Palmer, promoted, 4th Jan. do. Enfign R. Fleming, to be Lieut. vice Ball, on furlough, 5th Jan. do. Enfign T. N. Browne, to be Lieut. vice Shaw, on furlough, 6th Jan. do. Enfign C. F. Martyn, to be Lieut. vice Udny, 7th Jan. do.

To be Enfigns. Mr. H. Ramus, 1ft Jan. 1802. Mr. H. Abbot, 2d do. Mr. H. J. Darrell, 3d do. M. J. Moncton, 4th do. Mr. J. Thornhill, 5th do. Mr. W. Logan, 6th do. Mr. A. Stewart, 7th do.

BENGAL GENERAL STAFF.

The moft noble Richard Marquis Wellefley, Captain General.
Lieut. General Gerrard Lake, Commander in Chief.
Major General David Baird, H.M.S.
——The hon. F. St John, H.M.S. commanding at Cawnpore.
——J. H. Fraſer, H.M.S. commanding at Dinapore.
——Horton Briſco, commanding at Berhampore.
——William Popham, commanding at the Preſidency.
——Robert Stoart, commanding at Futty Ghur.
——George Deare, commanding at Chunar.
Lieut. Col. Henry Clinton, 1ft Foot Guards, Adjutant General of the King's troops.
Major William Nicholſon, Acting ditto ditto.
Lieut. Col. Miles Nightingale, 38th Foot, Quar. Maſter Gen. of do.
Capt. G. A. F. Lake, Acting do. do.
Lieut. Col. John Gerard, Adjutant General.
Major William Campbell, Deputy do.
Col. Samuel Dyer, Quarter Maſter General.
Lieut. Col. J. Pringle, Deputy do.
Captain James Salmond, Military Auditor General.
——William S. Greene, Deputy do.
Major Henry Fox Calcraft, Judge Advocate General.
Captain Charles Gladwin, Deputy do. in the field.
——Walter Hawkes, do. do. at Dinapore and Chunar.
Major Robert Colebrooke, Surveyor General.
Captain Robert Macgregor, Secretary to the Commanding Officer in the Field.
Robert Bathurſt, eſq. Military Paymaſter General.
William Edward Phillips, eſq. Commiſſary of Muſters to the King's troops, and Secretary to Lieut. Governor of Prince of Wales' Iſland.
James Grey, eſq. Acting Commiſſary of Muſters, King's troops Preſidency.
Captain John Burnett, Interpreter at Courts-Martial within the Provinces.
——B. L. Gremier, Interpreter at Courts-Martial in the Field.

MADRAS.

In the Hon. COMPANY'S *Troops.*

APRIL 1801.

By the Right Hon. the GOVERNOR *in* COUNCIL.

1ft Reg. Native Inf. Capt. T. Gillum, to be Major, vice Fenn, invalided; date of rank, 22d Apr. 1801. Capt. L. J. Hazlewood, to be Capt. of a company, vice Gillum, promoted; date of commiſſion, 22d Apr. do. Lieut. A. Grant, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Hazlewood, promoted; date of commiſſion, 22d Apr. do.

MAY.

5th Reg. Native Inf. Capt. Lieut. J. S. Blofield, to be Capt. of a company, vice Smith, deceaſed, date of commiſſion, 16th Apr. 1801. Lieut. Motelworth, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Blofield, pro-

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promoted; date of commiſſion, 16th Apr. do. Lieut. Ormſby, to be Quarter Maſter of the 3d Reg. Native Cavalry, vice Bell, deceaſed. Lieut. J. Limond, to be Adjutant to the 1ſt Bat. Artillery, vice Hathway, promoted. Lieut. G. I. Nixon, to be Adjutant of the Madras European Reg. vice Cuſtance, promoted. Lieut. R. W. Davis, to be Adjutant of the 1ſt Bat. 19th Reg. Native Infantry, vice Storey, promoted. Serjeant Roſe, of the Madras European Reg. is appointed a Conductor of Ordnance, vice Willoughby, deceaſed.

JUNE.

In conſequence of the death of Major R. Turing, Capt. T. Wilſon, to be deputy Quarter Maſter General to the Army, with the rank of Major annexed to that ſtation.

17th Reg. Native Inf. Capt. G. Bowneſs, to be Major, vice Turing, deceaſed; date of commiſſion, 6th June, 1801. Capt. Lieut. P. Grant, to be Capt. of a company, vice Bowneſs, promoted; date of commiſſion, 6th June, do. Lieut. T. Ogilby, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Grant, promoted; date of commiſſion, 6th June, do.

The following Cadets to be Lieutenants.

T. O'Riley, C. Elphinſtone, J. Lea, J. B. Clarke, H. Degravers, T. Vincent, L. C. Reynolds, H. Agar, W. Fair, F. Godfrey, J. Wier, W. Harris, T. Hicks, P. Robertſon, J. Hampton, H. J. Waters, C. A. Walker, H. W. Hatherly, and S. Lewis; date of commiſſion in the army, 15th July 1800.

J. Woodhouſe, date of rank to be ſettled hereafter.

6th Reg. Native Inf. Eldeſt Capt. T. Green, to be Major, vice Grey, deceaſed; date of commiſſion, 8th June 1801. Capt. Lieut. W. Chambers, to be Capt. of a company, vice Green, promoted; date of commiſſion, 8th June, do. Eldeſt Lieut. N. Ryan, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Chambers, promoted; date of commiſſion, 8th June, do. Lieut. H. Townſend, is appointed Adjutant to the 1ſt Batt. 6th Reg. Native Inf. vice Ryan, promoted.

AUGUST.

2d Reg. Native Cav. Eldeſt Cornet H. Dalrymple, to be Lieut. vice Keir, deceaſed; date of commiſſion, 11th Aug. 1801.

3d Reg. Native Cav. Eldeſt Cornet, R. Outlaw, to be Lieut. vice Bell, deceaſed; date of commiſſion, Aug. 11, 1801.

6th Reg. Native Cav. Eldeſt Cornet C. W. Bell, to be Lieut. vice Boyle, deceaſed; date of commiſſion, 11th Aug. 1801.

Cadets of Cavalry to be Cornets.

Meſſrs. E. Hindley, G. Tucker, H. Newal, M. Moncrief, W. C. Campbell, A. Scott; date of commiſſion, the 20th July 1801.

Cadets of Artillery to be Lieutenants.

Meſſrs. I. Baſke, E. M. G. Showers, and C. Hopkinſon; date of commiſſion the 7th March 1800.

Lieut. Col. Trapaud, to take charge of the Engineer's department, as ſenior officer of that corps, on the eſtabliſhment of Fort St. George in India: and ſhall accordingly ſit as a Member of the Military Board at the Preſidency until further orders.

Enſign Fraſer, of the corps of Engineers to be head aſſiſtant in the office of the Military Board, without injury to his appointment of Adjutant of Engineers.

Lieut. G. M. Gibſon, to be Adjutant of the 1ſt Batt. 10th Reg. Native Inf. vice Podmore, reſigned.

The hon. Court of Directors having been pleaſed to permit Major Burrowes, and Capt. Hargrave of the Native Cav. and Capt. Lieut. Kenny, of the Native Inf. to return to India without injury to their ranks, theſe officers are admitted on the eſtabliſhment accordingly.

The following Gentlemen having produced certificates of their appointment to be Cadets by the hon. the Court of Directors are admitted accordingly, viz.

Cavalry. Meſſrs. J. W. Morgan, H. Raynsford, and E. Herne.

Infantry. Meſſrs. R. Hunter, C. Wilſon, J. Dalzeil, C. Gordon, P. Henderſon, W. Pitchford, A. Grant, S. Ruſſel, H. Harvey, T. E. Huntley, P. Hunter, C. F. Smith, G. Roſe, J. Skene, R. Seymour, A. Mitchell, G. Maitland, J. S. Chauvel, R. Fenwick, R. L. Evans, J. Beaumont, R. B. Bourne, T. D. Pierce.

By the right hon. the Col.—Capt. G. Lys, to do duty as Major to the corps of the Black-Town Militia, during Major Taſwell's leave of abſence, on account of ill health. Aſſiſtant Surgeon T. Evans of the Governor's Body Guard, to do duty as Surgeon to the Black-Town Militia, vice Thomas, permitted to go to England. Serjeant-Major W. Reily, to be Adjutant to the Black-

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Black-Town Militia, vice Robinson, resigned.

To be Lieutenants of Artillery.

Messrs. J. Ross, W. Morrison, J. Rimmington, and J. Moorhouse.

OCTOBER.

Artillery. Lieut. R. Fowler, to be Capt. Lieut.; date of commission, 8th June 1801. Capt. Lieut. J. Gourlay, to be Capt. of a company, vice Fennel, deceased; date of commission, 9th June, do. Lieut. P. Grant, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Gourlay; date of commission, 9th June, do. Brevet Major, and Capt. T. Clarke, to be Major; date of commission, 14th June, do. Capt. Lieut. J. Crosdill, to be Capt. of a company, vice Clarke; date of commission, 14th June, do. Lieut. J. Limond, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Crosdill; date of commission, 14th June, do. Major R. Bell, to be Lieut. Col.; date of commission, 26th Sept. do. Brevet Major, and Capt. R. Howley, to be Major, vice Bell; date of commission, 26th Sep. do. Capt. Lieut. S. Dalrymple, to be Capt. of a company, vice Howley; date of commission 26th Sep. do. Lieut. P. G. Blair, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Dalrymple; date of commission, 26th Sep. do. Capt. Lieut. J. Taynton, to be Capt. of a company; date of commission, 5th Oct. do. Lieut. J. Noble, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Tayton; date of commission, 5th Oct. do. Lieut. Col. C. Carlisle, to be Col. and to command the 1st Batt. of Artillery, vice Sydenham; date of commission, 16th Oct. do. Major T. Clarke, to be Lieut. Col. vice Carlisle; date of commission, 16th Oct. do. Brevet Major, and Capt. J. Bell, to be Major, vice Clarke; date of commission, 16th Oct. do. Capt. Lieut. J. Hall, to be Capt. of a company, vice Bell; date of commission, 16th Oct. do. Lieut. A. Weldon, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Hall; date of commission, 16th Oct. do. Lieut. R. Hughes, to be Adjutant of the 2d Batt. 1st reg. Native Inf. vice Barker, promoted.

16*th Reg. Native Inf.* Capt. Lieut. D. M'Donnel, to be Capt. of a company, vice Leigh, deceased; date of commission, 18th Oct. 1801. Eldest Lieut. W. Bagster, to be Capt. Lieut. vice M'Donnel; date of commission, 18th Oct. do.

Artillery. Capt. Lieut. M. Beaman, to be Capt. of a company, vice Hall, transferred to the non-effective list; date of commission, 2nd Oct. 1801. Lieut. R. Taylor, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Beaman; date of commission, 2nd Oct. 1801.

Capt. A. Floyer, to be commandant at Pondicherry.

Mr. G. Buchan, to be Secretary in the Military Department of Government.

Lieut. Col. Campbell of His Majesty's 74th Reg. to command the northern division, vice Shaw, with the usual allowance for table money.

JANUARY 1802.

Capt. Lieut. Farquhar, to be deputy commissary of stores at Malacca.

Capt. J. Watson, of the Bombay establishment to be deputy commissary of stores at Cochin, vice Gilford, resigned.

6*th Reg. Native Cav.* Capt. Lieut. H. Muu, to be Capt. of a troop, vice Wilcot, transferred to the non-effective establishment; date of commission, 18th Dec. 1801. Eldest Lieut. W. Dickson, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Munt; date of commission, 18th Dec. do. Eldest Cornet A. Scott, to be Lieut. vice Dickson; date of commission, 18th Dec. do.

4*th Reg. Native Inf.* Capt. Lieut. N. T. Showers, to be Capt. of a company, vice Maitland, deceased; date of commission, 15th Dec. 1801. Eldest Lieut. R. Scott, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Showers; date of commission, 15th Dec. do.

4*th Reg. of Cav.* Eldest Cornet H. J. Close, to be Lieut. vice Dodd, deceased; date of commission, 26th Dec. 1801.

FEBRUARY.

Eldest Major of Infantry, W. Wilson, from the 15th reg. Native Infantry, to be Lieut. Col. vice Graham, deceased; date of commission, 1st Feb. 1802.

15*th Reg. Native Inf.* Eldest Capt. J. Hunt, to be Major, vice Wilson; date of commission, 1st Feb. 1802. Capt. Lieut. J. Stonard, to be Capt. of a company, vice Hunt, date of commission, 1st Feb. do. Eldest Lieut. F. K. Aiskell, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Stonard; date of commission, 1st Feb. 1802.

19*th Reg. Native Inf.* Eldest Capt. J. Malcolm, to be Major, vice Gepp, deceased; date of commission, 27th Jan. 1802.

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1802. Capt. Lieut. D. C. Kenny, to be Capt. of a company, vice Malcolm; date of commission, 27th Jan. do. Eldest Lieut. S. Taylor, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Kenny, date of commission, 27th Jan. do.

The following Gentlemen are admitted Cadets on this establishment:

Cavalry. Messrs. S. Maiten, P. Mathew, C. Turner.

Engineer & Artillery. Messrs. T. Kinley, G. L. Goreham.

Infantry. Messrs. J. F. Gibson, J. Ardach, A. Turner, A. B. Perkins, J. Mathew, H. Swayne, T. Green, T. Thompson, C. Hall, W. Robertson, C. F. Piele, J. Johnston, J. Warburton, T. J. Palmer, D. Kennedy.

The above mentioned Cadets of Cavalry to be Cornets; date of commission, 20th July 1801.

Messrs. Kinley and Goreham, are appointed to the corps of Artillery, and promoted to the rank of Lieut.; date of their commissions to be settled hereafter.

Mr. Surgeon J. Goldie, to the Medical charge of the Lunatic Hospital, and of the 1st and 2d Madras Batt. and to do Medical duty in the Black-Town, vice Fitzgerald.

Capt. P. Bose, to command the company of Cadets at Chingleput, vice Armstrong, resigned. Capt. Armstrong to command the 2d Madras Batt. vice Bose.

7th Reg. Native Cav. Eldest Cornet J. Woodhouse, to be Lieut. vice Skinner, deceased; date of commission, 5th Nov. 1801.

Infantry. Eldest Major W. Orrock, from the 14th Reg. Native Inf. to be Lieut. Col. vice Ure, deceased; date of commission, 23d Jan. 1802.

14th Reg. Native Inf. Eldest Capt. J. Read, to be Major, vice Orrock, date of commission, 23d Jan. 1802. Capt. Lieut. B. Dodd, to be Capt. of a company, vice Read; date of commission, 23d Jan. do. Eldest Lieut. W. Davies, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Dodd, date of commission, 23d Jan. do. Col. J. Stevenson, to succeed Col. Vigors, in the command of the Subsidiary force at Hydrabad.

MARCH.

Col. J. Pater, to command the southern division of the army. Capt. J. Innes, of the 14th Native reg. to be Major of brigade, and Lieut. V. Blacker, of the 1st reg. Native Cav. to be secretary to the officer commanding the southern division. Lieut. Col. Sherriff to command the Cantonment at Arcot, vice Pater.

APRIL.

Ensign E. Blackman, of the 1st reg. Native Inf. to be Lieut. date of rank to be settled hereafter. Major of Cav. T. Pogson, to be Lieut. Col. Eldest Capt. A. Flover, to be Major. Capt. Lieut. H. Mackey, to be Capt. of a troop. Lieut. F. A. Daniel, to be Capt. Lieut. Cornet H. Neeval, to be Lieut.

Infantry 2d Reg. Capt. J. H. Symons, to be Major. Capt. Lieut. A. Macintosh, to be Capt. of a company. Lieut. G. R. A. Kelly, to be Capt. Lieut.

20th Reg. Ensign R. Short, to be Lieut.

12th Reg. Ensign J. J. De Crez, to be Lieut.

13th Reg. R. Evans, to be Lieut. Ens. T. Bulman, to be Lieut. Lieut. A. Jones, to be Adjutant of the 1st Batt. 17th Native reg. Lieut. G. Warburton, of the 1st Batt. 15th Native Reg. to act as head Assistant in the office of the Military Board. Mr. Assistant Surgeon T. Stephen, to do medical duty with the 1st Batt. 7th Reg. Native Inf. Mr. Surgeon Wise, of the 17th Native reg. to join his corps at the Presidency.

8th Reg. Native Inf. Ensign J. Denton, to be Lieut.

MADRAS GENERAL STAFF.

Lieut. General James Stuart, Commander in Chief.

Donald Campbell, Major General.

Benjamin Roebuck, esq. Military Paymaster General.

Lieut. Col. Patrick A. Agnew, Adjutant General.

Major Frederick Pierce, deputy do.

Capt. William Shaw, Assistant do.

Lieut. Col. John Richardson, Quartermaster General.

Major Alexander Orr, deputy do.

Lieut. Col. James Brunton, Military Auditor General.

Major

Major Patrick Bruce, Deputy Military Auditor General.
Lieut. J. Prendergaſt, Head Aſſiſt. do.
George Buchan, eſq. Secretary to Government in the Military Department.
Lieut. Col. James Robertſon, Deputy Adjutant General to the King's troops.
——— Burton G. Barbutt, Deputy Quarter-maſter to do.
Major Keith Young, Acting Pay-maſter to do.
Capt. James Leith, Judge Advocate General, and Perſian Tranſlator to Head Quarters.
Capt. John Campbell, Aid-de-camp to the Commander in Chief.
——— William Shaw, ditto.
——— John Munro, Secretary to the Commander in Chief.
Major Alexander Orr, Military Secretary to the Governor.
Capt. Mark Wilks, Private Secretary to do.
Major Kieth Young, Aid-de-camp to do.
Lieut. James Grant, do.

BOMBAY.

In the Hon. COMPANY'S *Troops.*

APRIL 1801.

By the Right Hon. the GOVERNOR *in* COUNCIL.

5th Native Reg. Lieut. J. Martin, to be Adjutant and Quarter-maſter, vice Elliot, reſigned. Enſign J. Stuart, to be Lieut. vice Tait, deceaſed; date of rank, 23d Feb. 1801.

MAY.

2d Native Reg. Capt. A. Howden, to be Major, vice Brown, retired, 22d May 1801. Capt. Lieut. E. C. S. Waddington to be Capt. of a company, vice Howden, promoted, do. do. Lieut. F. Warden, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Waddington, do. do.

JUNE.

Capt. Lieut. M'Leod of His Majeſty's 19th regiment to be Aid-de-camp to Major General Nicholſon, vice Dunſmure, gone to Europe.

By the Commanding Officer of the Forces.

Lieut. A. M'Lachlan of His Majeſty's 84th regiment to be Aid-de-camp to Major General Nicholſon, until the arrival of Capt. M'Leod.

JULY.

By the Right Hon. the GOVERNOR *in* COUNCIL.

Mr. J. Auguſtus Grant, to be Lieut. in the Fencible reg. vice Conſtable, promoted. Mr. F. Warden, to be Lieut. in the Fencible reg. vice Gray, permitted to reſign.

By the Commanding Officer of the Forces.

Capt. Lieut. Kennedy, of the 3d Native regt. to act as Adjutant and Quarter-maſter of the 5th Native reg. until the arrival of Lieut. Martin.

MARCH 1802.

In conſequence of the departure from Bombay, of P. Dundas, eſq. late Superintendant of the hon. Company's Marine for Europe, the following promotions have taken place: R. Anderſon, eſq. to be Superintendant, vice Dundas; J. Sutherland, eſq. to be Maſter Attendant, vice Anderſon; and Capt. C. J. Bond, to be Commodor, vice Sutherland.

BOMBAY GENERAL STAFF.

Major General Oliver Nicholls, Commanding Officer of the Forces.
——— Robert Nicholſon, Chief Engineer.
Lieut. Col. Robert Gordon, Adjutant General.
Major T. C. Harris, Deputy Adj. Gen.
Lieut. Col. Joſeph Boden, Quarter-Maſter General.
Major Alexander Walker, Deputy do.
Colonel James Kerr, Military Auditor General.

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Lieutenant Alexander Hay, Deputy, Military Auditor General.
William Broughton, esq. Military Paymaster General.
Mr. John Smee, Deputy do.
Lieutenant Colonel James Dunlop, in Europe, deputy Paymaster to the King's Troops.
Captain Henry O. Brownrigg, 75th Regiment, Major of Brigade, King's Troops.
Mr. James Loughnan, in Europe, Commissary of Musters do.
Lieutenant Colonel Charles Reynolds, Surveyor General.
Lieutenant James R. Drummond, Assistant to the Surveyor General.
——— J. Sutherland, do.
Major Loughnan Macquarie, 86th Regiment, Military Secretary to the Governor.
Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Boden, Aid-de-camp to do.
——— Samuel Wilson, do.
Captain Jasper Nicholls, Aid-de-camp to the Commanding Officer of the Forces.
——— David Price, Judge Advocate.
——— John Skelton, Recruiting Officer.

ESTABLISHMENTS OF CEYLON.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

The Hon. Frederick North, Governor.
Robert Arbuthnot, esq. Secretary.
Sir E. Carrington, knt. Chief Justice.
Mr. Saumarez, President of the Board of Revenue.

Members of the Board of Revenue, and Heads of Departments.

Mr. Scott Hay, Mr. Tolfrey, Mr. Wood, the Hon. Melvill Leslie, Mr. George Arbuthnot, Mr. D. Erskine, Mr. Boyd.

Writers.

Mr. Charles Menage, Mr. Carrington, Mr. Alexander Caddell, Mr. John D'Oyley, Mr. Alexander Johnstone, M. John M'Donald, Mr. Richard Bourne, Mr. John Davidson, Mr. Joseph Wright, Mr. Tolfrey, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Barclay, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Barry, Mr. Gordon, Mr. Lusignan, Mr. Lushington, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Deane, Mr. Plasket, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Layard.
Mr. Gavin Hamilton, Deputy Paymaster General.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Major General Hay M'Dowall, Commanding the Forces.
Captain J. Wright Aid-de-camp and Secretary.
Captain W. M'Pherson, Brigade Major to the General.
Captain J. Wilson, Major of Brigade to the King's Troops.
Lieutenant J. W. Kerr, Deputy Paymaster General.
Captain D. Blair, 1st Aid-de-camp to the Governor. Lieutenant Cotgrave, 2d do.
Captain W. M'Pherson, Military Secretary to the Governor.
Lieutenant Colonel D. Robertson, Deputy Adjutant General.
Lieutenant Colonel A. Lindsey, Military Auditor General.
Lieutenant A. Fair, Assistant Military Auditor General.
G. Hamilton, Acting Military Paymaster General.
Captain J. Willson, Fort Major at Columbo. Lieutenant A. Fair, Fort Adjutant at do.
The Rev. J. Cordiner, Garrison Chaplain at Columbo. Mr. J. Orr, Garrison Surgeon at do. Mr. M. Reynolds, Garrison Medical Store-keeper at do. J. N. Witsilius, Apothecary at do. J. J. Silva, Assistant ditto at ditto.
Captain P. Joyes, Fort Major at Trincomallee.

BIRTHS,

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BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

MAY 1801.—At Calcutta, Mrs. W. D. S. Smith, of a daughter.—At Murshedabad, the Lady of Capt. Parlby, of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of B. Turner, Esq. of a son.—At Gooty, the Lady of Capt. Freese of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. Howard, of a daughter.—At Bombay, the Lady of W. Page, Esq. of a son.—At Mahé, the Lady of R. Torin, Esq. of a son—At Madras, the Lady of J. Chinnery, Esq. of a daughter.

JUNE.—At Calcutta, Mrs. W. B. Greenway, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Grieff, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of W. Armstrong, Esq. of a daughter.—At Madras, Mrs. M. Sherman, of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Major G. Prole, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of F. Horsley, Esq. of a daughter.—At Serampore, Mrs. Miranda, of a daughter.—At Ellore, the Lady of Lieut. Col. Durand, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Major Johnstone, of a son.—At Bombay, the Lady of Capt. Green, of a daughter.—At Surat, the Lady of the Rev. N. Wade, of a daughter.—At Bombay, the Lady of Sir William Syer, Knt. of a daughter.—At Cuddalore, the Lady of John Duncan, Esq. of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of Lieut. Col. Dallas, of a son.—At Bombay, the Lady of Capt. M'Innes, of the ship *Asia*, of a son.—At St. Helena, the Lady of C. Robertson, Esq. of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of Major Clarke, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Lieut. Col. Agnew, of a daughter.—At Cannanore, the Lady of Capt. R. Lewis, of two sons.—At Mahé, the Lady of James Stevens, Esq. of a daughter.

JULY.—At Gyah, the Lady of J. Patell, Esq. of a daughter.—At Calcutta, Mrs. Talbot, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Lloyd, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Horne, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of Capt. J. B. Hudson, of a son.—At Benares, the Lady of John Neave, Esq. of a son.—At Bombay, the Lady of Col. Kerr, of two sons.—Same place, the Lady of C. Wren, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of Peter [illegible] Esq. of a son.—At Goa, the Lady of Col. Sir W. Clarke, of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. R. Charlton, of a son.—At Cawnpore, the Lady of Brigade Major Burton, of a son.—At Combaconum, in the Tanjore country, the Lady of J. Wallace, Esq. of a son.—At Chingapore, the Lady of Lieut. R. [illegible] of a son.

AUGUST.—At the Mount, Madras, the Lady of Major R. Bell, of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of Major Dick, Esq. of a daughter.—At Dindigul, the Lady of Capt. Bagshaw, of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of J. Boileau, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. D. Gardner, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Savi, of a son.—At Pallamcottah, the Lady of Major P. C. Everett, of a daughter.—At Madras, Mrs. Harrington, of a son.—At Bombay, the Lady of Lewis Chapman, Esq. of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Lieut. Col. J. Collins, of a daughter.

SEPTEMBER.—At Masulipatam, the Lady of Lieut. Yarde, of a daughter.—At Pondicherry, the Lady of Col. Kejean, of a son.—At Madras, the Lady of G. Lys, Esq. of a son.—Same place, the Lady of J. Lautier, Esq. of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. W. Sandys, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of Capt. W. S. Greene, of a daughter.—At Dryhottah, the Lady of A. H. Bainbridge, Esq. of a daughter.—At Calcutta, Mrs. Peters, of a son.—At Patna, the Lady of [illegible] Esq. of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of W. Farquharson, Esq. of a son.—Same place, the Lady of A. Hay, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of George Udny, Esq. of a son.—Same place, the Lady of [illegible] Esq. of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Col. Dyer, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of [illegible] of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. [illegible] Clerc, of a daughter.—At Pondicherry, the

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the Lady of Capt. Cumberledge, of a daughter.—At Malda, the Lady of H. Cockburn, Esq. of a son.—At Dinapore, the Lady of Dalrymple, Esq. of a daughter.—At Tannah, the Lady of Capt. M. Kennedy, of a son.—At Futtyghur, the Lady of Capt. Staunton, of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of the Rev. Mr. Kerr, of a daughter.—At Seltaunpore, the Lady of Lieut. John Gibbs, of a daughter. At Chunargurry, the Lady of Capt. —— Gibbings, of a daughter.—At Futtyghur, the Lady of Lieut. Col. R. Blair, of a daughter.

At Bombay, the Lady of —— M. Hartley, of his majesty's 88th regiment of foot.—Same place, the Lady of Capt. Lieut. Stokes, Esq. of the Bombay Marines, of a son.—At Surat, the Lady of James Mackellar, Esq. of the Bombay medical service, of a son.—At Bombay, the Lady of Capt. Bates, of the marine, of a son.—At Surat, the Lady of Lieut. Colonel Frederick, Esq. resident at Baroach, of a son.—At Bombay, the Lady of Joseph Levi Philips, Esq. of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Captain W. Handley, Esq. of a son.—At Mirzapore, the Lady of Capt. Beatson, of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of J. R. Lane, Esq. of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. Perry, Esq. of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of James Taylor, Esq. of a daughter.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. James Gray, of a daughter.—At Ghazepore, the Lady of Lieut. Col. O. Gordon, of a daughter.—At Seltaunpore, the Lady of Capt. J. Delamain, of a daughter.—At Bombay, the Lady of Lieut. Charles John Bond, of a daughter.

NOVEMBER.—At Calcutta, the Lady of William Farlie, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of Allan Maclean, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of Capt. D. Rose, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of Capt. Montgomery, of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of Mr. Commissary Bishop, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of G. G. Richardson, Esq. of a son.—At Palamcottah, the Lady of J. N. Watts, Esq. of a son.—At Hyderabad, the Lady of Capt. Ahier, of a daughter.—At Poonamalie, the Lady of Capt. Crewe, of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of John de Fries, Esq. of a son.—At Bombay, the Lady of Capt. Edward Moore, of a son.—At Ryacottah, the Lady of Colonel Leighton, of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Samuel Swinton, Esq. of a daughter.—At Seringapore, the Lady of J. C. Pringle, Esq. Danish Commercial Chief, of a daughter.

DECEMBER.—At Calcutta, the Lady of the Honourable the Vice President, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of L. Mackintosh, Esq. of a daughter.—At Poonamalie, the Lady of Capt. Kinder Crewe, of a daughter.—At Vizagapatam, the Lady of Lieut. Sheridan, of a daughter.—At Bombay, the Lady of Robert Henshaw, Esq. of a daughter.—At Calcutta, the Lady of R. F. Anster, Esq. of a daughter.—At Bombay, the Lady of Major Samuel Wilson, of a son.—At Surat, the Lady of Major General Richard Jones, commandant of that garrison, of a son.—At Bombay, the Lady of C. Forbes, Esq. of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. Montgomery, of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of Henry Brown, Esq. of a son.—At Jaffnapatam, the Hon. Mrs. J. Turnour, of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of J. Goldingham, Esq. of a daughter.—At Bombay, the Lady of Charles Forbes, Esq. of a son.—Same place, the Lady of J. Douglas, Esq. of a daughter.—At Mangalore, the Lady of Lieut. J. Robertson, of a daughter.

JANUARY 1802.—At Calcutta, the Lady of R. C. Birch, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. M. Hall, of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. Sandford, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Charles Bayley, Esq. of a son.—At Beerbhoom, the Lady of T. F. Bevan, Esq. of a son.—At Kidderpore, Mrs. Burney, of a daughter.—At Frederickinagore, Mrs. O. L. Bie, of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. W. Scott, of a son.—At Futtyghur, Mrs. Coales, of a son.—At Guntoor, the Lady of Colonel Geo. Wahab, of a son.—At Rampour, the Lady of Francis Laurence, Esq. of a daughter.—At Bombay, the Lady of John Hungerford, Esq. of the court of the recorder, of a son.—In Canara, the Lady of Frederick Reeves, Esq. of a daughter.

FEBRUARY.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. Thomas Hawkins, of a daughter.—At Carricul, the Lady of R. Campbell, Esq. of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Major Colebrooke, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of W. Dring, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. A. Thompson, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of W. Rox-

burgh, M. D. of a son.—At Bombay, the Lady of the Hon. James Rivett Carnack, of a daughter.—At Poonamallie, the Hon. Mrs. St. John, of a son.

MARCH.—At Madras, the Lady of James Connel, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of D. Neale, Esq. of a daughter.—At Hyderabad, the Lady of Capt. Hamilton Hall, of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. Gilson Rowe, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Johnson, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Archibald Thompson, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of the Rev. Dr. Stacy, of a daughter.—At Pulta, the Lady of J. J. Ullman, Esq. of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of Alexander Falconar, Esq. of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Johannes Sarkies, Esq. of two daughters.—At Monghеer, the Lady of Doctor Moore, of a daughter.—At Calcutta, Mrs. Masters, of a daughter.—At Madras, the wife of Francis Armstrong, private soldier, was delivered of three fine boys, who with their mother are likely to do well.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Alexander Binny, Esq. of a son.

APRIL.—At Calcutta, the Lady of C. Rothman, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. Major Gists, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Capt. O'Halloran, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Capt. Dowell, of a daughter.—At Beerbhoom, the Lady of George Julius, Esq. of a daughter.—At Secrole, the Lady of Sir Frederick Hamilton, Bart. of a son.—At Calcutta, Mrs. Cooke, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of Capt. Joseph Hodges, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Stark, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Gunn, of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. Pointz, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of W. T. Keene, Esq. of a son.—At Serampore, the Lady of Charles Deverrine, Esq. of a son.—At Madras, the Lady of Lieut. Col. Sherrill, of a daughter.—At Sooraw, the Lady of Lieut. Henry Sibley, of a son.—At Cawnpore, the Lady of Capt. James Robertson, of a son.—At Bogrool, the Lady of John Cheap, Esq. of a daughter.—At Ruggpore, the Lady of Alex. Wright, Esq. of a son.—At Madras, the Lady of Peter Cherry, Esq. collector of Chicacole, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of Thomas Ainsley, Esq. of a son.—At Tinnevelly, the Lady of Stephen Rumbold Lushington, Esq. of a son.—In the province of Canara, the Lady of Major Richard Coke, of a son.—At Seringapatam, the Lady of Major Pitchaud, of a son.—At Arnee, the Lady of Lieut. Torriano, of a son.—At Negapatam, Lady Elizabeth Richardson, of a daughter.—At Bombay, the Lady of Captain Pavin, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Major Grey, of the 75th regt. of a daughter.—At Seringapatam, the Lady of Col. Carlisle, of the artillery, of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of John Underwood, Esq. of a daughter.

MAY.—At Calcutta, the 5th inst. the Lady of C. R. Crommelin, Esq. of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

MAY 1801.—At Jaunpore, Lieut. E. P. Wilson, to Miss Jane Dubois.—At Bombay, Lieut. Thomas Anderson, of the native infantry, to Miss Elizabeth Hill.—Same time and place, Mr. T. Toole, to Miss Elizabeth Bowles.—At Calcutta, Mr. A. Blackmore, of the firm of Gillet, Blackmore, and Co. to Miss Barkley.—At Mangalore, Major Richard Cooke, barrack master in the province of Canara, to Miss May, niece to Lieut. Col. George William Mignan, commanding the troops in that district.—At Madras, Mr. Fretz, formerly commandant of Galle, to Miss G. H. Barth.—At Bombay, Mr. Nicolao de Lima e Souza, to Miss Quiteria e Souza, niece to Miguel de Lima e Souza, Esq. and daughter of the late Antonia e Souza, Esq. of Madras.—Same place, Mr. Rozaria de Quadros, to Miss Amelia e Souza, daughter of Miguel de Lima e Souza, Esq.

JUNE.—At Bombay, Capt. J. W. Morris, commandant of the Benkoot independent native infantry, to Miss Stevenson.—At Madras, Mr. William Urquhart, printer of the Madras Gazette, to Harriet Bewley.—At Chicacole, Peter Cherry, Esq. to Miss Robson.—At Bimlipatam, on the 6th inst. Richard Keeting, Esq. to Miss Matilda Brown.—At the residency, at Hyder-

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Rydenham, on the 18th, Capt. Samuel Dalrymple, commissary of ordnance, with the subsidiary force, to Miss Hall.—At Calcutta, Mr. William Gardiner, to Miss Ann Sykes.—Same place, Mr. T. Hickay, of the engineer department, to Miss Sarah Beadle.—At Jaunpore, Lieut. E. P. Wilson, of the 26th native regt. to Miss Jane Dubois.—At Calcutta, Mr. F. Nicholson, to Miss Rose.—Same place, Mr. James Moffat, to Miss Watham.—Same place, Lieut. William Bentley Walker, to Miss Charlotte Dickson.—At Bombay, the Right Hon. Lord George Stuart, to Miss Jane Stuart.

JUNE.—At Surat, Lieut. George Wilson, of the late 6th regt. native infantry, to Miss Aplaner.—At Bombay, Colonel Richard Gore, commanding the 8th regt. of native infantry, to Miss Elmira Page.—At Madras, Mr. C. W. Young, master attendant of Malacca, to Miss Anderson, daughter of James Anderson, Esq. physician general.—At Soory, William Wickham Cowell, Esq. collector of Beerbhoom, to Miss Amelia Ramsay Campbell.—At Madras, Mr. James Cox, to Miss Elizabeth Biddell.—At Calcutta, Mr. J. Jones, head master of the lower orphan school, to Miss Shipway.—At Bombay, Alex. Nash, Esq. commander of the Hon. Company's ship, *Airly Castle*, to Miss Mabella Mackenzie.—At Calcutta, Mr. Gunn, to Miss A. Pottinger.

AUGUST.—At Bombay, Lieut. Thomas Moore, to Miss Torriano.—At Calcutta, Capt. Robert Morrell, of the 5th regt. native infantry, to Miss Frances Hogan.—Same place, Robert Auriol Balmanno, Esq. lately arrived from Europe, to Miss Stedman.—At Allahabad, Lieut. John Pudner, deputy commissary, to Miss Eliz. Birch, daughter of G. Birch, Esq. of Shaikfarai.—At Calcutta, W. Andrew Nesbitt, Esq. to Miss Mary Gilchrist.—At Bombay, Lieut. Dominie Stephen Fallen, to Miss Charlotte Bowler.—At Madras, Thomas Bower Hurdis, Esq. to Miss Thomas.—At Bombay, Col. R. Gore, to Miss Elmira Page.—At Tannah, Ensign Thomas Garden, to Miss Graham.—At Bombay, Captain Samuel Grubb, to Miss Caroline Anderson.—At Calcutta, Mr. James Wade, to Miss Elizabeth Roach.—At Kidderpore, Mr. Francis Purchase, to Miss Alice Downes.

SEPTEMBER.—At Madras, W. B. Wye, esq. chief officer of the hon. company's ship *Prince Charlotte*, to Miss Clarke.—At Azinghur, Lieut. Charles Galley, 19th regt. native infantry, to Miss Catherine Young.—At Tranquebar, the 11th ult. H. Myer, esq. aged 64, to Miss Celina Coupereus, a very accomplished young lady, aged 16, after a courtship of five years.—At Barrackpore, Lieut. James Scott, 3d regt. native infantry, to Miss Elizabeth White.—At Calcutta, Captain E. Bacon, to Miss Elizabeth Bacon.—At Tannah, Ensign T. Garden, Bombay establishment, to Miss Graham.—At Cochin, Lieutenant Thomas White, Bombay European regt. to Miss C. J. Grumbard.—At Bombay, Lieutenant David Prother, of the native infantry, to Mrs. Emilia Powney, widow of the late Captain William Powney.

OCTOBER.—At Calcutta, Mr. Charles M. Hollingberry, to Miss Harriet Bridtzeke.—Same place, Mr. John Lathrop, to Miss Jane Thompson.—At Trichinopoly, James Dalton, esq. to Miss Catherine Augusta Ristó.—At Bombay, Lieutenant Samuel Snook, of marines, to Mrs. E. Foster.

NOVEMBER.—At Calcutta, George Tyler, esq. to Mrs. Mostrop.—Same place, R. W. Pattle, esq. collector of Purneah, to Miss Lydia Penneck Read.—Same place, John Shoolbred, esq. to Miss Rand.—Same place, Mr. Wm. Dolby, to Miss Elizabeth Murray.—At Mrs. Scott's seminary, Calcutta, Mr. Falconar, to Miss Ann Frances Bevien.—At Calcutta, Mr. George Hornett, to Miss Sarah Chollet.—At Dacca, Watkin Williams Mastey, esq. to Miss Mackenzie.—At Penang, Capt. Bierce, of the *Taunton Castle*, to Miss Fearon. Same place, Lieutenant W. B. Macvetie, to Miss Jolliffe.—At Benares, Lieut. William Baxter, to Miss Charlotte Wilford.—Same place, Lieut. George Warden, to Miss Matilda Wilford.—At Dinapore, Christopher Sheels Maling, esq. to Miss Henrietta Maria More.—At Columbo, Captain Forrest, of the coast engineers, to Miss Louisa Atkins.

DECEMBER.—At Calcutta, John De Cruz, esq. to Miss Elizabeth Adams.—Same place, Captain Ebenezer Chapman Kemp, to Miss Rice.—Same place, Captain Hunt, to Mrs. Moroney.—At the house of the Hon. Sir John Royds, knt. Robert Cunyngham, esq. collector of Burdwan, to Miss Grier.—At Calcutta, Mr. John Foster, to Miss Jane Macdonald.—Same place, E. D. Paris, esq. surgeon of the honourable company's ship *Swallow*, to Miss So-

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phia Crahley.—At Ghazeepore, Lieut. H. R. Howarth, of native cavalry, to Miſs Stewart.—At Surat, Captain William Selby, of the company's marines, to Miſs Prendergaſt.—On the coaſt, Major Wallace, to Miſs Winſley.—At Cochin, Captain H. M. Fitzgerald, to Miſs Sellerius.—At Rungpore, Archibald Montgomery, eſq. to Miſs Rauſh.—At Malacca, Mr. Vanſkilling, to Miſs Wordth.—At Jeſſore, Major Baynes, 76th regt. to Miſs Cator.—At Madras, Richard Arthur Maitland, eſq. to Miſs Weſtcott.—Same place, John Rowley, eſq. to Miſs Maria Weſtcot.—At Surat, Lieutenant S. B. Bell, to Miſs Fanny Brodie.—At Moorſhedabad, Henry Parry, eſq. regiſter of the zillah court of Tipperah, to Miſs Rocke, daughter of R. Rocke, eſq. 2d judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit for the diviſion of Moorſhedabad.

JANUARY 1802.—At Calcutta, the Hon. C. A. Bruce, officiating as 3d judge of the Calcutta court of appeal, to Miſs Daſhwood.—Same place, Mr. R. Hopkins, to Miſs Howard.—At Bombay, William Crauford, eſq. of the civil ſervice, to Miſs Dorothy Elizabeth Rees.—At Calcutta, Robert Campbell, eſq. to Miſs Jennings.—Same place, Mr. W. C. Finch, to Miſs Jane Wray.—Same place, Mr. Ralph Campbell, commander of the ſhip *Shrewſbury*, to Miſs Amelia Blythe.—Same place, Mr. John Da Coſta, to Miſs Feliciana Vrignon, ſecond daughter of G. Vrignon, eſq.

FEBRUARY.—At the houſe of the Hon. Sir John Anſtruther, bart. Calcutta, William Parker, eſq. collector of Burdwan, to Miſs Catherine Seton, daughter of Daniel Seton, eſq. lieutenant-governor of Surat.—At Calcutta, Mr. Thomas Swain, to Miſs Mary Auſtin.—Same place, Mr. Lewis Grant, to Miſs Elizabeth Leal.—Same place, Robert Abbot, eſq. to Miſs Gaſcoigne.—Same place, Mr. Lawrence Picachy, aged 65, to Miſs Martinelli, aged 16.—At Futtyghur, A. Duncan, adjutant 2d battalion 2d regiment, to Miſs Lanigan.—At Berhampore, Lieutenant James Murray, 19th regiment of native infantry, to Miſs Elizabeth Wedderburne.—At Dacca, James Irwin, eſq. to Miſs Eliza Bird.—At Buxar, Henry Boutflour, aſſiſtant ſurgeon, to Miſs Arabella Cardin.—At Madras, Captain Robert Taylor, of artillery, to Miſs Williams.—At Bombay, Captain John Lee, of the ſhip *Daniel*, to Miſs Jeſſy M'Innes.

MARCH.—At Calcutta, Francis Bilbie, eſq. purſer of *La Sybelle*, to Miſs Charlotte Warren.—At Chinſurah, Mr. John Savage, to Miſs Charlotte Louiſa Dolle.—At Calcutta, Mr. D. Doughty, to Miſs Jane Mackenzie.—Same place, Robert Richardſon, eſq. to Miſs Romney.—At Mrs. Duncan's ſeminary at Chowringhe, Patrick Thompſon, eſq. to Miſs Louiſa Meon.—At Patna, Robert Graham, eſq. to Miſs Sarah Paul.—At Cuddalore, Richard Kinchant, eſq. commercial reſident of that factory, to Miſs Wilkinſon, daughter of the late J. Wilkinſon, eſq. maſter in chancery of the court of the recorder at Bombay.—At Bombay, Benjamin Phillips, ſurgeon, to Miſs Charlotte Page.—Same place, George Jolliffe, commander of the ſhip *Bombay Merchant*, to Miſs Frances Simpſon.—Same place, Captain Joſeph Watſon, to Miſs Ann King.

APRIL.—At Calcutta, Mr. Wm. Brown, mate in the pilot ſervice, to Mrs. Elizabeth Abbey.—Same place, the Rev. John Dacoſta, to Miſs H. Honeycomb.—At Jeſſore, David Bagley, of Dowlutpore, eſq. to Miſs Anderſon, daughter of Robert Anderſon, eſq. ſurgeon at Jeſſore.—At Calcutta, Mr. John Gaſh, to Mrs. Ann Maclean.—Same place, Lieutenant John Laughlin, 78th regt. to Mrs. Mary Mackay.—Same place, Mr. John Godfrey, ſenior major of the body guard, to Miſs Mary Graham.—Same place, Captain Mathews, to Miſs Helen Berrie, 2d daughter of William Berrie, eſq.—Same place, James Thompſon, of the marine, to Miſs Elizabeth Phillips.—Same place, James Colwin, eſq. to Miſs Jackſon.—Same place, Mr. Thomas Ball, to Miſs M. Dacoſta.—At Midnapore, Mr. John Everett, apothecary, to Miſs M. Rozario.—At Caricul, William Robert Irving, eſq. of the civil ſervice, to Mademoiſelle Eugenie Du Perron, daughter of the late Colonel Du Perron, of the regt. of Pondicherry.—At Patna, Robert Graham, eſq. to Miſs Sarah Paul.—At Calcutta, Mr. Henry Paul, to Miſs Iſabella Benado.—Same place, Charles Pattenſon, eſq. of the civil ſervice, to Miſs Eliza Harris.

DEATHS.

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DEATHS.

MAY 1801.—At Calcutta, G. R. Foley, esq.—Same place, suddenly, Mr. C. Child, jun.—Same place, Edward Burges, esq. of the civil establishment.—At Bhaugulpore, Lieut. Col. J. Hutchinson, regulating officer of the invalid jaghiredar, institution.—At Bombay, the 29th ult. Mr. Smith, late 2d officer of the ship *Maria Louisa*.—At Palamcottah, of the wounds he received in the late attack of Panjalumcourchy, Capt. Patrick Campbell, of his majesty's 74th regt. a gallant and much esteemed officer.—Same place, Mrs. Elizabeth Gibson.—At Calcutta, Mr. Alex. Sannel, much regretted.—At Madras, Adam Scott, esq. assistant surgeon.—At Dindigul, Capt. J. D. Gordon, of infantry, Madras establishment.—At Calcutta, Miss Harriet Smith, second daughter of J. B. Smith, esq.—At Chunar, Mr. P. Leary, conductor of ordnance.—Lately at Vellore, Capt. King, of the Madras European regt.—At Surat, Miss Ann Powney, daughter of the late Capt. W. Powney.—At Gooty, in the ceded districts, Lieut. Thomas Boyle, adjutant and agent of supplies, to the 6th regt. cav.—At Musulipatam, Lieut. George Collier, 2d batt. 8th regt.—At Chunar, Lieut. Gilmore Alves.—On his way from Chunar to Cawnpore, Mr. T. Quartermain, conductor of ordnance.—On the road from Musulipatam to Condapille, Lieut. Alexander Grant.

JUNE.—At Madras, on the 5th instant, Major Robert Turing, secretary to the government in the military department.—A numerous assemblage of all that is respectable in the settlement, attended to pay the last tribute of affectionate regret to his remains: and at the head of the select friends, who supported the pall, we distinguished the governor, and the officer commanding the army in chief. In an active service of twenty-three years in India, this officer had been present at every siege and action of importance, and had shared largely in the honours of the British arms, during that eventful period. Frank, ardent, brave, and generous, he united every quality that inspires animation in the hour of difficulty: professional distinction, and a happy prominence of character, made him universally known, and every acquaintance was his friend. In the walk of private life, no human heart was ever so uncorrupted by its intercourse with the world. In chearfulness and simplicity, the very child of nature. Of a spirit proud and erect, but open and benevolent, the influence of an interested motive had never sullied the purity of his mind.—Same place, the 7th instant, Major William Bassnt Ifacke, captain in the 2d battalion of artillery, after a period of twenty-two years active service, in the cause of his king, country, and honourable employers. The death of this active and zealous officer must be sincerely regretted by those who knew him, and who have the happiness to feel, as well as the courage to avow, the genuine impulse of the heart; and who, over-looking the tinsel ornaments of refined education, admire the native energy of a vigorous mind, glowing with public spirit.—Same place, Mrs. Westcott, lady of George Westcott, esq. senior member of the board of trade.—Lately, with the army to the southward, Lieut. D. W. Gilchrist, of his majesty's 74th regt. who had not quite attained his one and twentieth year. He was killed in the breach of the fort of Panjalumcourchy, in the moment of victory. In the early death of this brave and gallant youth, his majesty's service has lost an officer of great enterprise and talent; and society a beloved and most valuable member.—Same place, universally lamented, Major-general William Sydenham, commandant of artillery. In the various stations in which he was employed, he was distinguished for integrity, zeal and ability; in all, he received the most honourable testimonies of public approbation. Though his heart was replete with benevolence, he was judiciously strict in command; merit was ever sure of his favour and protection; demerit observed with a discerning eye, and punished with an impartial hand. To the domestic duties of husband and father, he did the most ample justice, and by an affectionate wife, and dutiful children, his loss will be long deplored. A residence of nearly 33 years in India, during which period, the social virtues ever appeared in the fullest lustre, gained him the love and esteem of the community at large.—After a long and painful illness, on Saturday last, Mrs. Bong, relict of the

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late Captain Bong, of the engineers.—Lately, to the southward, Major T. G. Gray, of the hon. company's native infantry. Major Gray, whose loss is highly regretted, fell in action with a party of the rebel poligars.—At Bombay, Captain David Mitchell, late owner and commander of the ship *Clarissa*.—Same place, Benjamin Geraud, esq. an attorney in the hon. the recorder's court.—Killed in a duel, at Bombay, on the 4th ult. at the age of 22, Arthur Forbes Mitchell, esq. of the civil service on that establishment, and a partner in the house of Messrs. Smith, Forbes and Co. Mr. Mitchell was a young gentleman of great promise in every point that distinguishes and fixes the character. He had already given strong proofs of his talents for public business; having, at the age of 19, filled a very difficult, responsible, and laborious office in the province of Malabar, with equal zeal and integrity, highly to his own credit, and, in an eminent degree, to the satisfaction of his superiors. In private life, his punctuality were equally conspicuous, and would, in due time, have entitled him to great consideration in the commercial world. He had a mind stored with maxims for his conduct in society, which would have done honour to a much more mature age; and his discretion in the practice of them, was attested by the love and esteem of a wide circle of friends who will long deplore the catastrophe by which he has been cut off from them in the flower of his youth!—At Calcutta, John Wilson, esq. of the house of Messrs. Davidson, Wilson and company; a man of the strictest honour and integrity, and possessing a mind no less independent than intelligent, with a heart warm and sincere, which, with his many other amiable qualities, rendered him while living, esteemed and respected, and will long endear his memory to his friends and acquaintances, by whom he is sincerely and very deservedly regretted.—At the house of Captain Downie, Allipore, Captain George Scott, of the 4th native regt.—At Calcutta, Mrs. Frances Smith, daughter of the late Bryan Scottney, esq. formerly in the service of the hon. company.—Same place, Mrs. James Robertson.—Same place, Captain Ingledew.—At Monghier, Mr. William Stokes, pensioner on the ordnance department.—At Serampore, Mrs. Miranda, daughter of the late Captain N. Bacon.

JULY 16.—At his palace of Chepauk, his highness Omdut ul Omrah Behaudur, nabob of the Carnatic. His highness's remains were removed on Thursday morning, attended by an escort of his highness's troops, for interment at Trichinopoly.—At Calcutta, Mr. Wm. Stewart.—At Berhampore, on the 17th instant, Major-general Edward Rawstorne, commanding at that station, and commandant of the Bengal native cavalry.—At Velore, Lieut. Thomas Kier, of the 2d regt. native cavalry.—At Calcutta, on the 25th ult. Mr. Robert Paterson, the hon. company's master carpenter, in which capacity he served eighteen years with unblemished reputation and highly esteemed by all who knew him.—At Seringapatam, Lieutenant Donald Fraser, of the first regt. native infantry.—At Hydrabad, Miss Sarah Goldsworthy, youngest daughter of Captain J. Goldsworthy.—Lately, with Lieutenant-colonel Innes's detachment near Paulgautcherry, Mr. Henry Palmer, assistant surgeon.—In the Dindigul province, Lieutenant John Parker, of his majesty's 12th foot.—At Madura, sincerely regretted by his friends, Captain James Campbell, of his majesty's 74th regt. who had been twenty-five years in the service, served in America, in the two wars against Tippoo Sultaun, and had survived both the late gallant assaults on Panjalumcourchy.—At Bombay, Mr. M'Marquis, late second officer of the ship *Experiment*.—At Amboyna, Captain Lieutenant Thomas Ogilby, 2d batt. 17th regt. native infantry.

AUGUST.—At the garden-house of the right hon. Lord Clive, to the sincere and deep regret of all, to whom his great worth and amiable qualities were known, Major Alexander Grant, of the 6th regt. of native cavalry, private military secretary to the right hon. the governor, commandant of the body guard, and town major of Fort St. George.—In the 28th year of his age, Lieut. William Castle, of the engineers.—At Tuticorin, of the wounds he received at Panjalumcourchy, Lieut. Torriano, of the 9th regt. of native infantry.—Lately, at Pondicherry, Lieut. William Robertson, of his majesty's 74th regt.—At Bombay, Lieut. T. Hegginson, of the marine.—Same place, Lieut. E. Reynolds.—Lately, Captain P. Maypother, of the 19th regt. native infantry.

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infantry.—At ſea, Lieut. Chitty, of the 3d regt. native cavalry.—In the Red-Sea, John Blankett, eſq. rear-admiral of the red.—At Calcutta, Lieutenant-colonel Clarkſon, of the Bengal native infantry.—Same place, Captain Catline, of the extra ſhip *Hind*.—At Serampore, M. de Verinne, ſen.—Lately, at Palamcottah, at an intereſting period of life, after a long and ſevere illneſs, which ſhe bore with exemplary patience and reſignation, Miſs Schulerj a young lady of very amiable manners—her premature end is deeply deplored by her afflicted parents.—In the Great Deſert of Arabia, John Rider, eſq. paymaſter to the Bengal detachment ſerving in Egypt.

SEPTEMBER.—At Bombay, the 20th inſt. Harry Forreſter Conſtable, eſq. an attorney in the recorder's court, and ſolicitor to the hon. company. By the the death of Mr. Conſtable, ſociety is bereft of one of its moſt worthy and reſpectable members. In the duties of his profeſſion he was indefatigable, and his extenſive practice was diſtinguiſhed by a friendly zeal in the cauſe of his numerous clients. His frankneſs and good nature ſecured to him the love and eſteem of many, and his good ſenſe the reſpect of all. Theſe qualities ingrafted in a long and familiar acquaintance with local uſages had inſured to him the confidence of the natives from high to low in an eminent degree. He was cut off by an inflammation in the bowels at a time of life which promiſed many more years of his faithful ſervices to the public, and of his endearments to his friends. This much lamented character had not, by the beſt information we have procured, attained the age of 43, of which he had paſſed 28 years in Bombay. His equanimity was at all times remarkable, and no deviation from that happy temper has ever been obſerved by his aſſociates, except to enliven converſation by an occaſional diſplay of real wit and good humour. An unuſually large concourſe of the inhabitants both European and native attended the funeral, and Mr. Conſtable, having been a captain in the Bombay fencibles, his remains were interred with military honours.—With Lieut.-colonel Innes's detachment, in camp at Shulaveram, Lieutenant Wolff, of his majeſty's regiment de Meuron.—At Calcutta, Maſter Henry Compton, only ſon of H. Compton, eſq. barriſter at law.—At Madras, the infant ſon of George Lys, eſq.—At Calcutta, Capt. J. S. Otto.—Same place, George Parry, eſq.—Same place, Mr. James Fagan, of the country ſervice.—Lately, at Chunar, Lieut.-colonel Hilliard.—Lately, on his way to Cawnpore, to join his regt. Lieut. Vere Lumley Ward, of his majeſty's 27th light dragoons.—Near the Mauritius, on his paſſage to England, Lieut.-colonel John Torin, of the hon. company's 1ſt regt. of native cavalry.—The probity and heroic zeal by which this active officer has on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf, will long be regretted as a public loſs.—On his paſſage to Europe, Captain Baker Fennell, of the artillery.—Drowned in Bengal river, Captain Chriſtal, of the *Nutwell* (rice ſhip).—At Futtyghur, Capt. Bernard Roſe, of the 7th regt. native infantry.—On his way to join his regt. at Barraitch, Enſign Thomas Shaw, of the 14th native infantry.—Mr. Charles Rymer, ſurgeon's firſt mate, of his majeſty's ſhip *Romney*.—Lately, at Pondicherry, Lieutenant William Robertſon, of his majeſty's 74th regt.—At Seringapatam, Lieutenant-colonel Grimſtone, of his majeſty's 84th regt.—At Maſulipatam, Mr. Denton.—At Madras, Major Gillum, 1ſt regt. native infantry.—With Colonel Agnew's detachment, R. B. Scott, of the artillery.—On her paſſage to the Cape, Mrs. Stewart, wife of Mr. Alexander Stewart, of Madras.

OCTOBER.—At Berhampore, Major J. W. Hopkins.—At Madras, Mrs. Eleonora Sykes.—At Calcutta, James Logan, eſq.—Same place, Mr. H. Chamberlayne, ſixth officer of the ſhip *Charleton*.—At Obya, Mr. William Sealy.—At Calcutta, Captain Thomas Edie.—Same place, Lieutenant Stevens, of his majeſty's 78th regt.—Same place, aged 84, Captain John Haggey, ſincerely regretted.—At Dinagepore, Mr. John Thomas, formerly ſurgeon on board the *Earl of Oxford* Indiaman, and latterly, a zealous promoter of the knowledge of chriſtianity among the Hindus.—At Calcutta, Captain Iſaac Humphreys, ſecretary to the military board.—On the 27th inſt. at his houſe on the plain, Syed Aſſam Khan, behauder, for ſeveral years confidential miniſter of his highneſs the nabob Wallajah. He died at the advanced age of 63 years.—At Dinagepore, Lieutenant Richard Naſh, of the 12th native regt.—At ſea, the Lady of James Smith, eſq. of the hon. company's civil ſervice; a lady whoſe death will be long and

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ſpecially lamented by all who knew her.—On his voyage to England, Capt. George Thompſon, of the ſhip *Fanny*.—On board the *Arran*, on his paſſage from Bengal to England, Capt. Lindſay, commander of that veſſel.

NOVEMBER.—At Calcutta, Mr. D. Macintyre, aged 36, a worthy and upright honeſt man. His death was occaſioned by a fall from his horſe.—At Chandernagore, the Lady of John Erſkine, eſq. and the following day her infant child. At Secrole, Brevet Captain Andrew Doull, adjutant of the 2d batt. 16th regt.—At Bombay, Mr. Joſeph Burne, printer of the Bombay Courier.—On the evening of Tueſday laſt, the 10th inſt. of an internal complaint, Michael James, eſq. late an attorney at law of the hon. the recorder's court. Sympathy with the diſtreſſed, and charity to the poor, were diſtinguiſhing features in his character.—At Trichinopoly, on the 19th inſt. the youngeſt ſon of Captain Preſton.—In the late action, between Scindiah and Holkar, near Oujean, Lieutenant James Urquhart, a nephew of Dr. David Urquhart, of Scotland, and late a head ſurgeon on the Bengal eſtabliſhment.—At Surat, Captain William Selby, of the marine eſtabliſhment. It is merely the tribute of juſtice to the character of this gentleman to ſay, that through the courſe of a long and laborious ſervice, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on every occaſion as a brave, active, and zealous officer; equally attentive to the intereſts of the hon. company, as to thoſe of individuals connected with them in the trade of the country.—At Chandernagherry, Lieutenant Daniel Campbell, 14th native regt.—At Ganjam, Lieutenant W. C. Duffins.—At Palamcottah, Lieutenant Lewis Gordon, of the 5th regt. native infantry.

DECEMBER.—At Calcutta, Captain Geo. Hiram Garden.—At Kedgeree, on the ſhip *Milford*, Captain George Mercer, of the 1ſt batt. 7th native regt.—In the province of Malabar, Colonel John Conrad Sartonius, of the engineers, Bengal eſtabliſhment.—At Calcutta, Lieutenant Thomas Poole, of the grenadier batt.—At Madras, Capt. John Maitland, 4th regt. native infantry.—At Vizagapatam, Major Thomas Fenn, of invalids.—At Arcot, Cornet F. M. Tudor, 1ſt regt. native cavalry.—On board his majeſty's ſhip *Orpheus*, Mr. Hardie, maſter.—At Calcutta, Mr. John Parkinſon, collector of aſſeſſment.

—At Diu, Enſign Robert Alliſon, of his majeſty's 36th regt.—At Gooty, of the wounds he received in action with the Polygars, Lieutenant George Dade, 4th regt. native cavalry.—At Bencoolen, Mr. Henry Fitzgerald, conductor of ordnance.—At Bombay, Captain John Sampſon, 1ſt batt. 4th regt. native infantry.—Same place, Lieutenant M'Lean, of his majeſty's ſhip *Braave*.—At Trichinopoly, Enſign M'Kay.—At Madras, Mr. Chas. Carty, head clerk in the office of the regiſter of the ſupreme court.

JANUARY 1802.—At Bombay, Captain Brice Moncreiff, of the engineer corps.—At Madras, Mrs. White, lady of Mr. White, aſſiſtant ſurgeon.—At Chingleput, Mr. George Gape, cadet.—At Penang, Captain Coates, of the ſnow *Forth*.—Near Rungpore, Mr. James Pidgeon Kennedy.—At Calcutta, Capt. Simpſon, of the *Mornington* packet.—Same place, Mr. R. Beck.—On board the *Cornwallis*, on his paſſage to England, Lieutenant-colonel Richard Walker, Bengal eſtabliſhment.—At Munſoorcottah, in the province of Ganjam, Edward Mark Gepp, eſq. major commanding the 1ſt batt. 19th regt. ſtationed at Burrampoor.—At Bombay, the Lady of Major-general Richard Jones.—At Madras, Mrs. Crimſhore, aged 98 years.—At Sumulcottah, Lieutenant-colonel George Ure, of the 15th regt. native infantry.—In camp, with the ſouthern detachment, Lieutenant James B. Greaves, 3d regt. native infantry, and quarter-maſter of brigade to Colonel Agnew, a young officer of very promiſing abilities.—At Trichinopoly, Lieutenant-colonel James Graham, commandant 1ſt batt. 16th regt. native infantry.—At Bombay, George Patterſon, eſq. of the hon. company's civil ſervice, and proviſional member of council, after a long and painful illneſs, which he ſupported with uncommon fortitude. He was a man, whoſe integrity, virtues and accompliſhments recommended him to the reſpect and eſteem of a widely extended and diverſified acquaintance, whilſt they endeared him in an impreſſive and peculiar manner, to his family and his particular friends. He was gifted with talents, and poſſeſſed of much information from his long reſidence in India, added to which, he had a capacity of intellect and diſcriminating judgement.—He has left behind him the well merited reputation

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of a kind and affectionate husband, a tender parent, and a sincere friend.—At Calcutta, Lieut.-colonel Wharton, of the regt. of cavalry.—At Amboyna, Robert Addison, esq. surgeon, of the Madras establishment.—At Banda, Alexander Craig, esq. deputy commercial resident.

FEBRUARY.—At Madras, after a short illness, William Lewcock, esq.—At Calcutta, Miss Rose Roslan.—At Bombay, Captain Joseph Ferryman, of the country service.—Same place, Lieut. J. Macdonald, Madras establishment.—Same place, after a lingering illness, John Gordon, esq. assistant surgeon on this establishment. A gentleman whose upright principles and rectitude of conduct united with mildness of manners and modesty of deportment, gained him the esteem of an extensive and respectable circle of friends and acquaintances, who sincerely lament his premature fate.—Same place, Francis Godfrey, esq. late pay-master of his majesty's 10th regt.—On board the ship *Cavera*, John Stewart, esq. assistant surgeon of the Bengal establishment.—At Chittagong, Mr. Donald M'Rae.—At Surat, the Lady of John Church, esq. of the civil service.—At sea, Major Thomas Riddell, 1st batt. 2d regt. native infantry.

MARCH.—At Bombay, William Rowler, esq. of the civil service.—At Trichinopoly, Lieutenant Thomas Strange, 2d batt. 16th regt. native infantry.—Same place, Captain W. Preston, 1st batt. 16th regt. native infantry.—On his passage to the Cape, Captain Andrew Moffat, of the ship *Ajax*, much regretted.—On his passage to England, Captain William Clarke, commander of his majesty's ship *Suffolk*.—At Calcutta, Charles Short, esq.—Same place, Lieutenant John Coles.—At Prince of Wales's Island, Mr. John Swaine, Malay interpreter on that island.—At Ryacottah, Captain John Innes, of the 14th regt. native infantry.—On his passage from Surat to Bombay, Ensign J. C. Knight. His promising genius, amiable disposition, attentive application to military duty, and the acquisition of oriental languages, opened to him the fairest prospects of future success.—In consequence of an accident whilst exercising his men, Lieutenant-colonel William Sheriff, of the 7th regt. native cavalry, at the age of 40 years; twenty-eight of which have been spent as an officer of cavalry in the service of the hon. company, to whom he was a most valuable servant: strict in the duty, and benevolent in the society of his regiment, it will long regret him: the number of his friends who assembled to pay the last tribute to him will best shew the universal suffrage he merited and received. As those who knew him best must have loved him most, to his afflicted family his loss is as irreparable, as his conjugal virtues were exemplary.—At Trincomalle, James La Hey, esq. pay-master and quarter-master, of his majesty's 19th regt. of foot. A gentleman possessed of many liberal acquirements, a sound judgement, and amenity of manners, which has caused his loss to be much regretted by every one who knew him.—At Amboor, Captain Thomas Currie, of the 13th regt. native infantry, much regretted both as a man and as an officer. His goodness of heart, conjugal and paternal affection, were eminently conspicuous, and his death is consequently the cause of great grief to his family and the loss of a valuable officer to the service.—At Saint Thomé, Lieutenant and Adjutant Waugh, of the 17th regt. of native infantry.—At Bombay, Lieutenant and Adjutant Edward Holland, of his majesty's 75th regt.—At Surat, the infant son of Guy Lenox Prendergast, esq.

APRIL.—At Calcutta, Mr. Isaac Golledge, deputy assistant to the master attendant, much regretted as a worthy honest man.—Same place, Mrs. Wm. Williams, after a lingering illness which she bore with great fortitude.—Same place, Mr. Wilcocks, late cryer to Messrs. Tulloh and Co.—Same place, after a long illness, Miss Mary Chollet.—Lately, in the service of Holkar, Major William Henry Tone, a gentleman of very distinguished abilities, author of "Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Mahrattas." He was killed in an attack upon a mud fort; during the attack a musquet ball took him in the right temple and put an instantaneous period to his existence.—At Cawnpore, Ensign John Murray, of the 10th regt. of sepoys.—In camp, near Poleveram, Lieutenant W. Pell, 1st batt. 15th regt. native infantry.—Same place, Lieut. Dugald Masterton, 2d batt. 8th regt. native infantry.—At Rajahmundry, Mr. James Peat, assistant surgeon, 2d batt. 19th regt. native infantry.—In the district of Palamcottah, Lieutenant Philip

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Philip Cole, 6th regt. native infantry.—At Columbo, Mr. Peter Juſt.—At Trincomalle, Mr. Nailore, late ſecond lieutenant of the *Senſibles*.—At Mahé, Captain William Taylor, 8th regt. Bombay native infantry.—At Bombay, Lieutenant Bird, of the marines.—At Dindigul, after an illneſs of only five days, Miſs Hurdis, ſiſter of T. B. Hurdis, eſq. a moſt amiable and accompliſhed young lady.—At Cuddalore, Miſs Agnes Duncan, youngeſt daughter of Dr. Duncan.—On his way to Berhampore, when he was unfortunately drowned, Mr. A. Chives

JULY 16.—At Bombay, James Rivett Carnac, eſq. ſecond member of council at that preſidency. He was buried with military honours, and all the principal gentlemen of the ſettlement attended his funeral. His death has occaſioned a very general regret at Bombay, where he had been long reſpected and beloved.

DEATHS IN EUROPE,

OF THOSE PERSONS WHO EITHER RESIDED IN INDIA, OR WERE CONNECTED WITH ITS AFFAIRS.

DECEMBER 21, 1801.—James Findlay, eſq. of Berner-ſtreet, late of the Bombay medical eſtabliſhment.—At Wanſtead, Eſſex, Charles Thomas Coggan, of the Eaſt India-houſe.

JANUARY 1, 1802.—Capt. Samuel Turner, author of "An Embaſſy to the Court of the Teſhoo Lama in Tibet, containing a narrative of a journey through Bootan and part of Tibet." 4to. 1800. He was taken with an apoplectic fit the 21ſt of Dec. in paſſing through Church-yard-alley, Fetter-lane; he was immediately conveyed to the work-houſe, Shoe-lane, where he died.—6, At Blackheath, Mr. Wm. Gillett, late of the Eaſt India Company's ſervice.—9, Nath. Spens, late commander of the Eaſt India Company's ſhip *Neptune*.—24, At Bedgbury, Kent, John Cartier, eſq. formerly governor of Bengal.—31, At Iſlington, Capt. John Winterſgill Piercy, of the hon. Company's ſervice.—Mr. Harry Mitchel, late of the book-office, Eaſt India-houſe.

FEBRUARY 17.—Lady Anſtruther, of Fifeſhire, mother of Sir J. Anſtruther, chief juſtice of Bengal.—18, George Innes, eſq. late of Madras.—20, At Golwell-houſe, Iſlington, the Rev. Joſ. Baines, aged 67, many years reſident in India.

MAY 6.—Mrs. Burling, of Glouceſter-place, Portman-ſquare, widow of C. Burling, eſq. of Bengal.—17, At Bath, Iſaac Maddocks, eſq. aſſiſtant ſecretary to the Eaſt India Company.—William Foord, eſq. on board the *Anna*, from Bengal. He cut his throat as ſoon as he came in ſight of England.

JUNE 11.—George Rous, eſq. counſel to the Eaſt India Company. He was [illegible]. His Eſſay on the Middleſex Election; in which the power of expulſion is particularly conſidered," 8vo. 1769. 2d. "A letter to the Jurors of Great Britain, occaſioned by the opinion of the Court of King's Bench, read by Lord Chief Juſtice Mansfield, in the caſe of the King and Woodfall, and ſaid to have been left by his lordſhip with the clerk of parliament." 8vo. 1771. 3d. "A candid Inveſtigation of the preſent prevailing Topic." 8vo. 1782. 4th. "A Letter to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, in reply to his Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," 8vo. 1791; and ſome pamphlets on Eaſt India Affairs.—13, At Camberwell, Captain Francis William Leigh, late of the *Warren Haſtings*, Eaſt Indiaman.

AUGUST 19.—Jeffery Jackſon, eſq. of Woodford Bridge, aged 73, formerly a commander in the ſervice of the Eaſt India Company.

SEPTEMBER 9.—At Roydon-hall, Mrs. Wynch, relict of Alexander Wynch, eſq. late governor of Madras.—10, In Grafton-ſtreet, Fitzroy-ſquare, Peter Corbett, eſq. late of the Eaſt India-houſe.—17, At Twickenham, in his 86th year, Richard Owen Cambridge, eſq. He was author of "Scribleriad, a mock heroic poem, in ſix books," 4to 1751. "An Account of the War in India, between the Engliſh and French, on the coaſt of Coromandel, from the year 1750 to 1760, &c." 4to. 1761. Some poems in the ſixth volume of Dodſley's collection, and ſome papers in "The World."—As an author Mr. Cambridge was well known to the public by his ſeveral much approved writings, both in proſe and verſe; and his various and extenſive information, his pure and claſſical taſte, his brilliant

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yet harmleſs wit, his uncommon cheerfulneſs and vivacity, were acknowledged, during a long ſeries of years, by all who had the happineſs of enjoying his ſociety, which was ſought for and highly valued by many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſcholars and ſtateſmen of this country. But his talents and his acquirements make the leaſt part of the praiſe belonging to him. It is chiefly for the upright manlineſs and independence of his mind, for his mild and benevolent diſpoſition, his warm and unvaried affection to his family and friends, his kindneſs to his dependents, and for his firm faith and truſt in the chriſtian religion, which were manifeſted through life by the practice of every chriſtian duty, and produced the moſt exemplary patience under the various infirmities of a tedious decline, that thoſe who were near witneſſes of his amiableneſs and worth, will continue to cheriſh the memory of this excellent man, and reflect with pleaſure on his many virtues.

OCTOBER 6.—At Belmont-place, Vauxhall, Mrs. Waters, wife of Mr. Waters, of the hon. Company's ſhip *Britannia*.—7, In Upper Brooke-ſtreet, Colonel Gilbert Ironſide, late of the Eaſt India Company's ſervice.—[*See Characters, p.* 45.]—15, At Ramſgate, James Daniell, eſq. of Wimpole-ſtreet, formerly of the Madras eſtabliſhment.

DECEMBER 16.—At Bath, John Hunter, eſq. This gentleman was a director of the Eaſt India Company, and made a moſt princely fortune by a courſe of induſtry as a merchant at Bombay. Towards the latter period of his life he devoted much of his time to agricultural purſuits at Gubbins, in Hertfordſhire, and but very lately obtained the gold medal for a plantation of oaks. He died at the advanced age of between eighty and ninety.

SUPPLEMENT

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHRONICLE.

His Excellency the Governor and Captain General is pleased to publish in General Orders to the Army, the following Letters and Extracts of Letters:

To the Most Noble MARQUIS CORNWALLIS, *K. G. &c. &c.*

MY LORD,

It having been resolved by the army which achieved the conquest of Mysore, to request your lordship's acceptance of the sword and war turban of the deceased Tippoo Sultaun, and also the sword of the Mahratta chief Mariar Row (who after various contests became prisoner to Hyder Ally); I have now the honour, in the name, and by the desire of that gallant army, to present your lordship with the swords and turban.

In performing this pleasing duty, sensations arise in my mind, which any language I possess can very inadequately convey.

When it is considered, your lordship laid the basis of the system, which the energy and decision of the marquis Wellesley has so firmly secured: that my greatest merit under the part allotted to me, in bringing this undertaking to so happy a conclusion, consisted in following the example which I had the satisfaction to witness, when your lordship having brought your operations to the point at which you thought it right to stop: dictated to the sultaun, terms so distinguished for their moderation towards him, and justice towards the allies; when touching at this kingdom on my return from the scenes of your lordship's former glory, I find you effecting even greater services to your country; and when to these considerations is added, warm personal gratitude for the protection with which your lordship has long honoured me. Your lordship may conceive the satisfaction which I feel, in having been chosen as the medium to present to you a mark of genuine respect from an army long separated from your lordship, with little probability of ever again having the honour to be placed under your command.

I avail myself of the earliest opportunity of forwarding the swords and turban, by colonel Gent, whom I beg leave to mention to your lordship, as an officer, whose conduct in the charge of the engineer department, during the siege of Seringapatam, gave me the highest satisfaction; and I have to regret, that urgent domestic concerns have compelled me to lose the honour of personally waiting upon your lordship on so interesting an occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. HARRIS.

Manship, Indiaman, Cove of Cork, 30th of June, 1800.

To Lieut. Gen. HARRIS, *&c. &c.*

Dublin Castle, June 9, 1800.

SIR,

I have received the favour of your letter, which has been delivered to me by colonel Gent, together

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gether with the ſword and war turban of Tippoo Sultaun, and the ſword of the Mahratta chief Mariar Row, of which the gallant army that achieved the conqueſt of Myſore has ſo obligingly deſired my acceptance.

This diſtinguiſhed mark of the eſteem and regard of thoſe brave officers and ſoldiers who have rendered ſuch important ſervices to their country, is moſt highly gratifying to my feelings, and I requeſt that you will have the goodneſs to aſſure them, that whilſt I live, I ſhall moſt gratefully feel the high honour which they have conferred upon me, by this moſt flattering token of their remembrance and approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS.

Extract of a General Letter to the Hon. the Court of Directors, in the Military Department, dated 27th of February 1800.

Par. 47. On our proceedings of the annexed date are recorded a letter from lieutenant-general Harris to the right hon. the Governor-general, requeſting in the name of the army which achieved the conqueſt of Myſore, his lordſhip's acceptance of a ſtar and badge of the order of St. Patrick. His lordſhip's reply to the letter from lieutenant-general Harris is recorded on the ſame date.

(A true Extract,) L. HOOK.

Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept.

Right Hon. Earl of MORNINGTON, *K. G. &c. &c. &c.*

Madras, Nov. 12, 1799.

MY LORD,

The army which, by your lordſhip's directions, proceeded to the capital of the late Tippoo Sultaun, and achieved the conqueſt of Myſore, reſolved on the plains of Seringapatam, to requeſt your lordſhip's acceptance of a ſtar and badge, of the order of St. Patrick, made from the jewels of the ſultaun, as a mark of their high reſpect.

In the name, and by deſire of that army, I have now the honour to preſent your lordſhip with this ſtar and badge.

In performing this pleaſing duty, I am proud to feel and to acknowledge, that the ſplendid ſucceſs of the late campaign muſt, under Divine Providence, be in juſtice referred to the inſtructive wiſdom and characteriſtic energy of your lordſhip's councils. Thoſe councils have formed a memorable æra in the Hiſtory of India. From their effects, the Company has gained a new ſource of increaſing proſperity; and in their operation, the wide-ſpread intereſts of the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt, being conſolidated and raiſed on a firm and durable baſis, have attained an eminence of elevation and ſecurity hitherto unknown.

The glory of having been made by your lordſhip inſtrumental to the acquirement of ſome of theſe ineſtimable advantages, excites in my mind, feelings of ſatisfaction and gratitude, which no language can adequately convey.

A copy of the letter to me from Major-general Floyd, preſident of the prize committee, I have the honour to encloſe.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) GEO. HARRIS.

Lieut. Gen.

To Lieut. Gen. HARRIS, *Commander in Chief, &c.*

(Encloſed in the foregoing.)

SIR,

The army that, under your command, achieved the conqueſt of the empire

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empire of the late Tippoo Sultaun, in the spring of this year, being anxious to offer the earl of Mornington, K. P. Governor-general, whose wisdom prepared and directed that event, some marks of its high esteem, has caused a star and badge of the order of St. Patrick to be prepared, in which, as many of the jewels as could be found suitable, were taken from the treasury of Tippoo.

I have now the pleasure of sending you the same, in a gold box, and wooden case.

I have the honour to request you will be pleased to present the star and badge to the earl of Mornington, in the name of the army, as a mark of its respect.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. FLOYD, M. G.
President Prize Com.

Choultry Plain, Nov. 9, 1799.

To His Excellency Lieut. General HARRIS, *&c.*

Fort William, Jan. 7, 1800.

SIR,

Any mark of the respect of that gallant army, which achieved the conquest of Mysore, must ever be esteemed by me as a distinguished honour.

The resolution now communicated to me by your excellency, having been adopted by the army, in the hour of victory, and on the field of conquest, affords a most satisfactory testimony of the intention to associate my name with the memory of their unexampled triumph.

Under this impression, the sentiments of public zeal, and the just sense of honourable ambition, concur to render me sincerely desirous of accepting the gift of the army, and of wearing it, as an emblem of their glory, and of their good will towards me.

I am satisfied that it never was in the contemplation of the legislature of Great Britain to prohibit the acceptance of such honorary marks of distinction; but an attentive examination of the laws relating to the government of the British possessions in India, will convince your excellency, that I could not accept the gift, which you present to me in the name of the army, without violating the letter of existing statutes, and without creating a precedent, which might hereafter become the source of injury to the public service.

I must therefore request your excellency, in assuring the army of my high estimation of the honour which they design to confer upon me, to signify, that my acceptance of it is precluded by the positive letter of the law.

I return your excellency my thanks for the obliging expressions of your letter; it is the unfeigned wish of my heart that your excellency may long enjoy the grateful recollection of your eminent public services; and that you and the unrivalled army, employed in the late glorious war, may receive from your King and Country, every public demonstration of the same sentiments of admiration, gratitude, and affectionate respect, which your conduct has excited throughout the British empire in India.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

Extract of a General Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors in the Military Department, dated 10th of June 1801.

Par. 148. We are thoroughly sensible of the propriety and delicacy of the motives which induced our Governor-general to decline

cline the acceptance of this token of respect to his lordship, from the gallant conquerors of Mysore. In order, however, further to testify the very high sense which we entertain of the distinguished services to this Company, of the most noble the marquis Wellesley, by the superior wisdom and energy of whose counsels, the late war in Mysore was brought to so speedy and glorious a termination, we hereby present the star and badge of the order of St. Patrick, formed from the jewels taken at Seringapatam, to his lordship's acceptance, the same having been tendered to, and received by the court of directors for that purpose.

(A true Extract,) L. Hook.

Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept.

To the Hon. the Court of Directors, for the Hon. United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

It has afforded me considerable satisfaction to find by the 148th paragraph of the general letter from your honourable court to the Governor-general in council in the military department, dated the 19th of June 1801, that my conduct with respect to the star and jewels, presented to me by the army, employed in Mysore, had met with your approbation.

The judicious and liberal measures which your honourable court has been pleased to pursue, for giving effect to that honourable testimony of the good opinion of the army, without creating a precedent injurious to the public service in India, demand my most cordial expressions of gratitude and respect. I now have the honour of submitting to your honourable court my respectful acceptance of the additional mark of favour, which you have been pleased to confer upon me, by presenting to me the star and jewels of Tippoo Sultaun, originally tendered to me by the gallant army, which achieved the conquest of Mysore; and I assure your honourable court, that this distinguished honour is greatly enhanced in my estimation, by the grateful reflection, that the favourable sentiments of such an army, on an occasion so glorious to the British name, and so interesting to my public character, should have been sanctioned by the deliberate voice of your honourable court.

I have the honour to inform your honourable court, that in conformity to your orders, Lieut.-general Stuart has transmitted to me the star and jewels from Fort St. George, and I have received the same by the hands of Major Malcolm, together with a letter from Lieut.-general Stuart, of which I have the honour to annex a copy, as well as a copy of my reply to that respectable officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Wellesley.

Camp near Juanpore, March 8, 1802.

COPY.

(Enclosed in the foregoing.)

MY LORD,

I have learnt with peculiar satisfaction, that your excellency's mind has been relieved from the legal impediments which had induced your excellency to decline the acceptance of an honorary mark of public gratitude, and that your excellency has been solicited by the honourable court of directors to receive the star and badge of the order of St. Patrick, presented to your excellency by Lieut.-general Harris, in the name of that army, which under the direction of your lordship's counsels, achieved the conquest of Mysore.

The return to Fort William of your

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your excellency's private secretary, Major Malcolm, who shared in the glory of that memorable campaign, and participates the sentiments of respect which this token is intended to commemorate, has afforded me the most appropriate means of repeating the request of the army, and of transmitting the star and badge to your excellency, in the confident hope that you will do them the honour of accepting this memorial of their esteem and admiration.

The circumstances which have rendered me the ultimate channel of conveying to your excellency, this mark of the high sense entertained of your public services on that most arduous occasion, combine the flattering exercise of a public duty, and the highest gratification of my personal feelings.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. STUART.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, 6th February 1802.

His Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, &c.

To Lieut. General STUART, *&c.*

SIR,

1st. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, under date the 6th of February, which was delivered to me by Major John Malcolm this morning, together with the star and jewels originally tendered to me by the gallant army, which reduced the hostile power of Tippoo Sultaun, and since presented to me by the honourable the court of directors.

2d. In accepting this distinguished mark of honour, I reflect with the highest satisfaction, that it is the united testimony of the deliberate approbation of the honourable the court of directors, and of the kindness and favour of an army, to which I must ever remain attached by the most ardent sentiments of public and private gratitude.

3d. It is peculiarly gratifying to me, that you should have been the ultimate channel of conveying to me a gift, intimately connected with the remembrance of your eminent services in the late glorious war in Mysore. I acknowledge with gratitude the expressions by which you have been pleased to accompany your communication on this interesting occasion; nor could a more agreeable addition have been made to the honour which I have received from the court of directors and from the army, than this public declaration of the favourable opinion of an officer, whose long and honourable career has placed his character among the most distinguished names in the British army.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WELLESLEY.

Juanpore, March 18, 1802.

BOMBAY LAW REPORT,

BEFORE THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF THE RECORDER, APRIL 3, 1802.

P. C. BRUCE, *and Co. versus* HADJEE MAHOMMED, *Commander of the Ship* Futty Islaam.

This was a proceeding in the admiralty court of Bombay, to obtain the restoration of the ship *Futty Islaam* upon the payment of salvage.

Messrs. Bruce, Fawcett and Co. with

with others, were bottomry lenders upon the said ship, to the amount of 35,000 rupees.

The ship sailed from Bombay on the 12th of July 1794, and by stress of weather was deserted; in the month of June 1795, by her crew upon the coast of Persia; she was abandoned by the owner to the underwriters and bottomry lenders, upon intelligence arriving in Bombay of the desertion of the crew. She was taken into the possession of the akim of Sominianey, and afterwards by him transferred to the imaum of Muscat, for a debt.

Upon coming, in November last, into the harbour of Bombay, she was seized under a writ of attachment issuing out of this court.

Mr. Dowdeswell, in support of the libel, stated, that it had been determined by all the judges of England, that if a ship is pursued by enemies, the men for safeguard of their lives forsake her, and the enemies having taken and spoiled her of her goods, desert her, and she be cast upon the land where the first arrive, that the ship was not lost to her owners.

In cases of recapture of the property of allies, the law of England acts upon the principles of reciprocity, is restored upon a reasonable salvage being paid, unless another rule was adopted by the country in alliance.

In the present instance, the right of Bruce, Fawcett and Co. to restoration upon a salvage being paid, had been acknowledged by the akim of Sominianey, in a letter to the governor of Bombay. But what was due when restoration was demanded?—it was refused, unless 20,000 rupees were paid for the vessel, which, in her then state, was only worth 8000, and in the gratification of [illegible] &c.

which no extraordinary exertion had been made, hazard run, or expense incurred. The injustice of this demand was so apparent, that the government of Bombay authorised captains Tucker and Fridge to bring away the vessel by force, if a reasonable compensation were refused. Unfortunately this mission proved abortive, by the setting in of the monsoon. The akim of Sominianey, fearing that he should not be able to detain her much longer, in order to defeat the right of the present claimants, transferred her to the imaum of Muscat. So conscious was the imaum of Muscat that no good title could be derived from the akim, that before the vessel was removed from the Sominianey river, he applied to Bruce, Fawcett and Co. and offered to purchase their interest. This offer was again repeated, upon the vessel proceeding to Bengal, but the terms were not accepted, 8000 rupees, which were offered, being deemed an inadequate consideration. It is stated in the answer, that the imaum is a sovereign prince, and not subject to the jurisdiction of the court, but it was to be remembered, that this was a proceeding *in rem*, in a court whose decisions must be regulated by the law of nations. The vessel was within the jurisdiction, in the harbour of Bombay. She was not a ship of force, she came laden with merchandise. The imaum of Muscat was not merely a prince, but a trader, and if he entered into trade, ought to be dealt with as any other trader. He was not an innocent purchaser for a valuable consideration without notice—his own acts shewed that he was not.

Had any thing been done which could be said to have *divested* the interest of Messrs. Bruce, Fawcett

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and Co. and the other insurers? the extravagant demand of the akim of Sominianey could not be considered as a regular adjudication in a court of justice; it was in the true style of eastern despotism. Mr. Dowdeswell here read the paper, which stated, that the only answer which the akim condescended to give to an application for the ship was,—pay 20,000 rupees, or *jow*. Were British subjects to be deprived of their property by a juggle between this akim and the imaum of Muscat? If they were, the condition of every man engaged in shipping was greatly to be lamented. Nothing more was required, than that justice should be done between the parties.—There was no objection to permit the imaum to receive the compensation due for salvage, and to consider him in the situation of salvor.—This the underwriters were ever willing to do, but the profits which the imaum had made by the ship during the time she was in his possession, ought to be taken into the account.

Mr. Morley, for the impugnant, observed, that the libel was filed in the instance court of the admiralty jurisdiction, and, although the prayer of it was general, and not very intelligible, it appeared that the object of the libel was, to be put into possession of the *Futty Islaam*, on payment of an ascertained salvage. The proponents seemed to rest their right on a defect in the title of Meer Khan, the akim of Sominianey, from whom Sayed Sultaun, the imaum of Muscat, had purchased the ship; and also on a waver of the privileges of sovereignty in Sayed Sultaun, by his acting as a merchant.

Viewing the case, either on the principles relative to the rights of sovereign and independent princes, or on those applicable to contracts between subjects of the same state, or in reference to those that mark the forum for the adjudication of salvage, it would be manifest that the instance court could not award any redress.

The treaty of amity and alliance in evidence between this government and the imaum of Muscat, attested the latter to be a sovereign and independent prince; and it was inconsistent with, and derogatory of, his rights, for a municipal jurisdiction like the instance court to investigate any injury imputed to him; and the only mode of obtaining redress, if the proponents had suffered any, was through the medium of the government. He admitted that the admiralty, in its prize jurisdiction, investigates the claims of neutral subjects. But, in the prize court, although the expounder of the law had a local residence, still the law administered by him was universal; it being the *jus gentium;* and even in that court, no authority was assumed over an independent prince, on claims actually disputed by himself. That court possessed no authority over neutrals, except on matters immediately connected with a state of war; as by preventing the effects of fraudulent combinations between avowed enemies, and the subjects of neutral states, and in which the subject of the neutral ought to be considered as committing a fraud on his own sovereign, and acting contrary to his will. And when the neutral sovereign himself commits an injury, and refuses redress, the only means of obtaining it is, as at Elsinore, by force of arms. The authority therefore of the prize court could not sanction a judgement in the instance court. He could

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could not acquiesce in the doctrine, that, by being a merchant, a sovereign prince renounced his privilege. For even with respect to ambassadors, whose character was by delegation, a municipal court could not exercise a jurisdiction, either over his person or property: for injuries done by him in his engagements, a different medium of reparation was to be resorted to; and even should the individual suffer an injury by a violation of contract, he had partly contributed to it himself, since he must have been aware of the privileges annexed to so high and important a character. While such an incompetency of authority was in favour of a delegate, it would be preposterous to suppose, that the superior was not entitled to it. If the mercantile character were a waver of rights attached to sovereignty, it could only refer to acts as a merchant, but not as in the case before the court, the mere navigation of the ship. The letters from the imaum to the government, that would be laid before the court, would prove that the *Futty Islaam* was the sole and absolute property of the imaum. And he trusted that the court, from a conviction of its incompetence to investigate the claims of the imaum, would dismiss the libel.

Even if the general statement in the libel were true, and the claims had been between subjects, he submitted that the instance court was not the proper jurisdiction. For the contract under which the rights claimed were derived, was under seal, and the obligers were personally responsible under it, and therefore the common law laid down the rules of adjudication.

He would also prove, that the imaum was a purchaser for valuable consideration, and totally ignorant of any claims on her. He said, that the ship had been in the Sotnianey river upwards of three years, and had only her lower fore and main masts in her; she was without rigging, cables or anchors, and her seams open; and, as captain Speake had sworn, was almost a perfect wreck. In that condition she had been purchased by the imaum of the akim of Sominianey for upwards of thirty thousand rupees, and he had laid out in making her sea-worthy, upwards of thirty thousand rupees more. However equitable the doctrine of *caveat emptor* might be, between subjects, where the transmission of property was evidenced according to particular forms, yet it could not have any force in respect to purchases from sovereigns in whose person all local laws were combined, and whose possession was evidence both of the right of property, and of the right of possession.

Whatever might have been the rights of the proponents, they were forfeited by their own acts. The *Futty Islaam* had been abandoned, in tempestuous weather, and extreme distress, on the coast of Sominianey, and in that situation she had been saved from total destruction by the inhabitants of that country. There could be no doubt of a right to liberal salvage. And who had the right of ascertaining the salvage but the akim, who possessed the authorities of government? Whether his adjudication had been moderate or extravagant, was totally immaterial, because in him resided the right to adjudge; to this point a case was cited *. If an injustice had been committed by the akim, the means of repara-

* Raymond, Rep. 437.

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tion were through the government, but the recorder's court was bound to reſpect the judgment of the akim.—The akim, ſo far from having been extravagant in his demand for ſalvage, had been peculiarly moderate.—In the condition of almoſt a perfect wreck, the *Futty Iſlaam* had been abandoned, and even then was valued at between 50 and 60,000 rupees.—In ſaving her the perſons muſt have been expoſed to great danger, and have incurred ſome expenſe: And for ſuch eminent ſervices, the akim directed only the ſum of twenty thouſand rupees to be paid. In the tribunals in Europe, the general average is one half, even where extraordinary merit had not diſtinguiſhed the individuals. This ſalvage the proponents had refuſed to pay, and, from having ſuffered the ſhip to remain for above three years at Sominianey, there was no reaſon to expect that they would obey the orders of the akim.—Mr. Morley ſubmitted that the diſobedience of the proponents to the judgment of the akim ought to operate as a forfeiture of all their rights and pretenſions; and he was confident the court would ſee ample matter to diſmiſs the libel.

The court having taken time to conſider, on the ſucceeding day judgment was given by conſent, in favour of Meſſrs. Bruce, Fawcett, and Co. for 18,000 rupees,

Meſſrs. Hall and Hungerford ſolicitors for the *Proponents.*
Mr. J. Cumberlege *Impugnant.*

BOMBAY QUARTER SESSIONS.

Wedneſday, the 14th April, 1802.

The quarter ſeſſions were opened before Sir WILLIAM SYER, knt. recorder, A. ADAMSON, eſq. and R. KITSON, eſq.

The recorder delivered the following charge to the grand jury:

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

The calendar contains a number of priſoners, accuſed of offences of the moſt heinous and atrocious nature. Out of eleven, who are in cuſtody, all, except one, ſtand charged with murder. In addreſſing the preſent grand jury, it is ſatisfactory to me to be relieved from the neceſſity of any particular direction or inſtructions. You have been in the frequent habits of inveſtigating crimes of different natures, without being ſubject to that fluctuation which occurs in more extended ſocieties.

With reſpect to one of the offences charged, you will find it different in point of locality to thoſe which have formerly occupied your attention, as confined to Bombay. It is a caſe of murder, which is ſtated to have been committed upon the high ſeas; it will in this caſe, therefore, be your firſt duty to inquire whether the offence was committed beyond low water mark, which will aſcertain the admiralty juriſdiction; if otherwiſe, it is cognizable by the county.

In the inveſtigation of every caſe of murder, it is proper to require the moſt ſatisfactory proof that a death has been occaſioned; and it were to be wiſhed in this view, that, in caſes of this kind, the dead body ſhould always be found and identified; for the hiſtory of criminal juriſprudence affords more than one melancholy inſtance of perſons being tried and found guilty, even of murder, who were afterwards proved to be innocent.—But though this is not neceſſary, nor indeed poſſible, in every caſe, it

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is highly proper that your conſcience ſhould be ſatisfied about the death of the party; which, however, where a perſon is thrown overboard at ſea, when no ſhip or chance of eſcape is near, may ſafely be preſumed.

As in moſt caſes of this nature thoſe actually concerned in the crime are only preſent at its commiſſion, it is difficult to obtain ſatisfactory evidence of the fact, it becomes neceſſary to reſort to the teſtimony of ſome one concerned, which he diſcloſes under the tacit condition of himſelf eſcaping proſecution; ſuch evidence ſhould however be received with caution; though the particular inveſtigation of its effect and import is leſs the province of the grand, than of the petit jury.—Your buſineſs is to require only ſuch teſtimony as ſatisfies your minds of the neceſſity of further inquiry by the parties being put upon their trial.

On Thurſday the 16th, came on the trial of *Juggoo*, goldſmith, *Jugonath*, purvoe, *Bhoy*, his brother, *Bhya*, their grandmother, and *Sowlie*, ſlave girl, all Hindus, accuſed of the murder of a boy called Dammoder, on the 16th day of February laſt.

The priſoners being placed at the bar, and the indictment read,

Mr. THREIPLAND addreſſed the jury, at conſiderable length, on the part of the crown. In diſcharge of the duty which on this occaſion he owed the public, he had to unfold a hiſtory of as much horror as ever ſhocked the ear of a court of juſtice, in this or any other country. He was aware, however, that it was his buſineſs, as he was ſure it was his inclination, to abſtain from whatever could rouſe their indignation, or inflame their reſentment, againſt the miſerable beings before them, whom, till their verdict ſaid the contrary, the humanity of Engliſh law preſumed to be innocent of the crime laid to their charge. It was the jury's province, not his, to pronounce upon their guilt; but he had no heſitation in ſaying, that he thought he ſhould lay a caſe before them, which, though it could not make their taſk a pleaſant one, would leave no trace of doubt upon their minds, in what manner that taſk ought to be performed.

Entering then into the circumſtances of the caſe, the deceaſed, he ſaid, as would ſhortly appear from the evidence, was a boy of about 10 or 12 years of age, whoſe parents, like many others in this place, had an excuſeable, though in the preſent inſtance, a moſt fatal pride, in decking him out with all thoſe ornaments of joys and bangles which children of his age, in a certain walk of life, are in uſe to wear. There could be no doubt that it was the temptation which theſe joys held out to perſons, one of whom was of a profeſſion which enabled him readily to convert ſuch articles into other ſhapes, and to diſpoſe of them without ſuſpicion, which had coſt the unhappy Dammoder ſo dear.—On the 16th of February laſt, his parents (whom Mr. Threipland ſaid he ſhould eſteem as long as he lived, were it only for the agony of grief into which their child's fate plunged them,) were ſurpriſed at the unuſual length of his abſence from home, and growing more uneaſy as night came on, diſpatched a meſſenger to Parell, where his grandmother lives, in ſearch of him. Not finding him there, and the whole night paſſing without his appearance, the alarm of theſe poor peo-

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ple became exceſſive. In the morning, accident led ſome of their friends to the houſe of Jaggonath, where Juggoo being met with, who was known to be an acquaintance of Dammoder's, they brought him along with them to the father's houſe. His manner, more than what he uttered, exciting ſuſpicion, Jaggonath was alſo ſent for, and being much preſſed to tell all he knew or ſuſpected with regard to the boy, he recommended ſending to Colabah, in ſearch of him. If to gain time and avoid importunity were not the motives of this advice, there could be little doubt of its being influenced by an anxiety to ſhift the ſcene of ſuſpicion; for as ſoon as the mockery of this ſearch was over, he had recourſe to other arts for the ſame purpoſe; and pretending he could tell by necromancy where the boy was, he went through certain ceremonies, which ended in fixing on Mahim, as the ſpot where he was to be found. His diſtracted parents, credulous from anxiety, would immediately have undertaken this ſecond journey; but their friends and neighbours, who had by this time collected in the houſe, were fully perſuaded that more was to be got by working on the fears of Juggoo, than by roaming over the country at Jaggonath's ſuggeſtion; and accordingly, having taken the former into a ſeparate apartment, it was not long before his diſpoſition to diſcloſe the truth was ſufficiently apparent, if Jaggonath would only unite in the confeſſion. Being brought again together, however, ſomething paſſed between them in a low tone of voice, and in a language known only to themſelves, the conſequence of which was, that Juggoo relapſed immediately into his former pretence of total ignorance. Wearied with ſo many evaſions and delays, the general cry of the people round them now was, that a guard ſhould be ſent for, when Jaggonath, foreſeeing that the next ſtep would probably be to ſearch his houſe, and knowing well what was to be expected from ſuch a meaſure, reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent it, by offering to ſurrender the bangles, &c. which the boy had worn, and even went the length of pointing out the apartment of his houſe in which they would be found; hoping, no doubt, to limit ſearch to the room which he ſpecified.—The bangles were diſcovered where he had deſcribed; and ſome ſea ſand, newly ſtrewn on the back part of the compound, providentially attracting obſervation, it was removed, and beneath the earth, a canvaſs bag, ſewed up at the end, was found buried there, on opening which, the jury would anticipate the ſhocking ſight which met a father's eyes—his boy's mangled corpſe, covered with blood, the wriſts cut almoſt to the bone, and the throat in ſuch a manner as nearly to ſever the head from the body. The inſtrument which had done the deed, a pointed knife, clotted with blood, was found in another part of the houſe, a day or two afterwards, and would be produced in evidence in the courſe of the trial.

If theſe facts were proved ſufficiently, Mr. Threipland thought the evidence, as far as it was neceſſary to affect Juggoo and Jaggonath, would require very little more to render it complete: but there were other priſoners at the bar, who, as yet, had only the general ſuſpicion reſting upon them, which muſt ariſe in every mind, from their being inmates of the houſe,

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houſe, where it was obvious the murder had been committed.

But general ſuſpicion, he knew, was not enough; and he was ſorry to ſay, after every poſſible exertion to get at the truth by other means, it was abſolutely neceſſary to reſort to one of two witneſſes—either to the mother of Jaggonath, one Jewbhoy, who was preſent when the murder was committed, and had been recommended by the ſitting magiſtrate to be admitted as king's evidence, (a recommendation, however, which he conceived he was by no means bound to attend to, if her teſtimony could be diſpenſed with,) or to a very young boy, about ſeven years of age, the ſon of the ſlave girl Sowlie, another of the priſoners. He had reſolved, with the deference which became him to the opinion of the court, to whom it belonged in every caſe to determine what was evidence to go to the jury, to call the latter, who, young as he was, would be found to poſſeſs extraordinary capacity; and he was miſtaken if a clear, diſtinct, and connected narrative from one of his time of life would not carry conviction to the mind, when a relation equally articulate from one of Jewbhoy's years, and in Jewbhoy's ſituation, would fail to do ſo.

Having dwelt on this for ſome time, he admitted it was moſt revolting to bring forward a ſon in expectation that his evidence would take away a mother's life, but ſuch was the nature of the deed which had been committed, a deed of darkneſs as well as blood, that he was reduced to a choice of horrors, and had really fixed on that which was leaſt dreadful; for Jewbhoy, whom it would be abſolutely neceſſary to examine if the boy was not called, was the mother of two of the priſoners, and herſelf the daughter of a third!—a complication of connexion which he owned, anxious as he was that ſuch atrocious guilt might not eſcape by means of falſehood, made him tremble to bring her forward; and from the information he had received, he had every reaſon to believe that the boy's evidence, if admitted by the court, would render the teſtimony of the woman completely ſuperfluous.

A number of witneſſes were now called, of whoſe evidence, it is ſufficient to ſay in general, that it completely ſupported the above ſtatement of the facts which had occurred previous to, and at the time of the body being found. The bangles which the boy had worn, as well as his perſon, were likewiſe identified by ſeveral witneſſes; the former, indeed, chiefly by his father.

The nature of the wounds, and their inevitable effect in producing death, were explained by Dr. Baird.

Still, however, nothing had come out to affect materially the other priſoners; and though the preſumption againſt Juggoo and Jaggonath was almoſt concluſive, ſomething farther ſeemed to be wanting to convict them of the actual deed.

It was at this ſtage of the trial that Rutney, Sowlie's ſon, the boy of ſeven, was propoſed to be adduced, when Mr. DOWDESWELL, on the part of the priſoners, objected to his evidence, contending that, by the law of England, no witneſs could be heard whoſe years precluded the poſſibility of his being ſufficiently acquainted with the nature and obligations of an oath, and who, if he perjured himſelf, could not be brought to trial for that offence. In confirmation of

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this doctrine he cited the case of Powell, in Leach's Reports, p. 128. He likewise referred to a dictum of Hindu law, in the work of Mr. Colebrook, which he maintained the court were bound by the charter to pay attention to, and which laid it down that under the age of eight, a child was to be viewed as little better than a fœtus or an embryo.

Mr. THREIPLAND in reply said, it was sufficiently obvious, from his friend's anxiety to prevent the boy from being put upon oath, that he was perfectly aware of his capacity to give a clear, distinct, and connected testimony; for if he failed to do this, it was plain his examination could not prejudice the prisoners. With respect to the strange fancies of the Hindu law, he had no inclination to enter the lists on that subject, nor did he think it necessary to do so; it was the law of England to which the natives of this country were amenable, and according to that law, there could not be a doubt that children of any age might be examined upon oath, provided they appeared to the court to be endowed with sufficient capacity and understanding to know the distinction between right and wrong, and were duly apprized of the guilt of falsehood. To this effect he quoted Blackstone, Buller, and Strange, and particularly referred to Brazier's case in Leach's Crown Law, where the twelve judges held that an infant of 5 years of age might be a competent witness. The case of Powell, cited by Mr. Dowdeswell, was not in point; there the court had permitted the child to be examined without being put upon oath, and it was on this ground solely, and not on account of the years of the witness, that judgment was respited. He denied that any age exempted a child from being tried for an offence, if it appeared to have been committed by the infant, *sciens et prudens*. A different doctrine indeed had prevailed in the time of Lord Hale, but ever since the case of Yorke, (a boy of 10, who was tried and executed for murder, in the time of Lord Chief Justice Willis,) the maxim of law was *malitia supplet ætatem*. If this was the rule of the law of England when administered at home, every circumstance connected with this country gave the doctrine additional reason to be adopted here, where every day afforded lamentable proof, that grey hairs were no preservative from the guilt of perjury.

Such indeed was the shameful laxity which universally prevailed, on this subject, among the natives of India, that it were to be wished a person of tender years could always be found to give evidence, in cases of doubt and difficulty; one not hitherto corrupted by the contagion around him; who had whatever good the God of nature gave him, as yet pure in his breast; and who, though he might not have made as many *salaams* to sun and moon, as his brothers or his parents, was not the less likely, on that account, to give a faithful narrative of events which had passed before his eyes.

The court admitted that the law of England was clearly as the counsel for the crown had stated it; and did not think themselves bound by any maxim of Hindu law upon the subject of evidence; which, if attended to at all, must be complied with throughout; and that would lead, if Mr. Halhed's book is of authority, to the rejection of every witness who has not reached the age of 15.

The boy was then examined by the

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the court previous to his being ſworn, and returned ſuch anſwers, to the ſeveral queſtions put to him, as aſtoniſhed every one who obſerved his appearance. When aſked if he had received any inſtruction, he ſaid he had not; but it appeared from his anſwer to the next queſtion, that he ſuppoſed the inſtruction alluded to was inſtruction what to ſay when examined. He ſeemed completely aware of the guilt of telling a lie; and diſtinguiſhed the puniſhment due to ſimple falſehood, and to falſehood upon oath, by ſaying that a perſon guilty of the one deſerved to be flogged, but that thoſe who were guilty of the other ought to be hanged. His general notions of right and wrong were equally correct, and all his anſwers were given in the moſt firm and undaunted manner.

Having gone through this preliminary probation, he was ſworn in the uſual manner; but it very ſoon appeared that not one word of truth was to be expected from any part of his narrative. Fortunately the ſtory which he told was, in itſelf, ſo inconceivable, as to carry its own refutation along with it—For it was found equally impoſſible to get him to depart from the account he had evidently come prepared to give, as to involve him in contradictions, from which its falſehood might be apparent. According to him, Juggoo was the ſole perpetrator of the murder: a hole in the wall of the room (the ſame room which Jaggonath had pointed out) enabled him to ſee the whole tranſaction. Juggoo ſtruck the blow: the knife was Juggoo's: Juggoo brought the bag, put in the body, ſewed it up, dug the hole and buried it; and all this in Jaggonath's houſe, without his knowing any thing of the matter, though he was at home at the time! When preſſed by queſtions, if he himſelf was not ſo much alarmed at what he ſaw, as to inform the family, he evidently perceived the neceſſity of admitting that he was, and accordingly acknowledged that he did once leave the chink at which he ſtood, to make Jaggonath acquainted with what Juggoo was about, and that the only remark of the former was, "If this is as you ſay, I'll quarrel with the goldſmith," or words to that effect: with reſpect to his mother, Sowlie, ſhe was all the time aſleep in the verandah!

Mr. Threipland now ſaid he would be happy to call the very reſpectable gentleman, who ſat by him, (Mr. Halliday,) to prove the very different account the boy had given when examined at his office, but he was aware it was not competent for him to do ſo, and he muſt therefore, after all, have recourſe to the woman Jewbhoy, truſting the diſcernment of the jury would prevent their being miſled, by any inclination ſhe might teſtify to ſcreen her own relations.

This woman, who appeared about 50, was then ſworn; and after being ſolemnly admoniſhed by the court, and informed that her being called to give evidence was only an indemnity to her, if ſhe ſpoke the truth, ſhe related the circumſtances of the murder, which Juggoo, ſhe ſaid, had perpetrated, with the aſſiſtance, ſolely, of the ſlave girl Sowlie: that ſhe herſelf was preſent in the room, and her ſon Jaggonath likewiſe, but that neither of them had any hand in the buſineſs. Her other ſon, the priſoner Bhow, was not in the houſe: and as to Bhya, her mother, ſhe at firſt ſaid ſhe was aſleep in another

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another room, and knew nothing of the matter; but, on farther examination, it came out, that ſhe alſo was preſent; and the witneſs being aſked, abruptly, which of the boy's legs the old woman had hold of, when Juggoo had him down, ſhe ſaid ſhe did not recollect. "She had hold of one of them, however!" Her anſwer, which was given with evident reluctance, was in the affirmative. Her ſon Bhow arrived after the body was buried, and whether he was informed of what had happened, or not, ſhe could not ſay; ſhe did not acquaint him. His brother Jaggonath and he went that ſame evening to a Tomaſha (a play or entertainment), and did not return till 12 at night.

Here the evidence for the proſecution cloſed, and Mr. Dowdeſwell proceeded to call ſeveral witneſſes, on the part of Juggoo, chiefly with a view to prove an *alibi;* but no part of their ſtory was at all inconſiſtent with his being at Jaggonath's houſe at the time the murder was committed.

The RECORDER then addreſſed the jury, and having with great accuracy recapitulated the whole of the evidence, remarked, there could be no doubt, that what was deemed a murder in the eye of the law had here been committed; and the only queſtion for the jury to determine was, to whom the guilt of that atrocious deed belonged. In conſidering this he would adviſe them, firſt, to pay no regard to any thing the boy Rutney had ſaid, who had evidently been taught a tale to ſave thoſe with whom he was connected, and, unfortunately, a more apt and able ſcholar of his years had never come before a court. The ſtory he had told to-day was full of improbabilities, poſitively contradicted by the woman Jewbhoy, and unſupported by any other witneſs or circumſtance in the caſe. But though it appeared to him entitled to no credit, the jury were the proper judges of the credit of the witneſſes. One thing was certain, if they believed the boy, they muſt reject the evidence of the witneſs Jewbhoy, who directly contradicted him.

With reſpect to Jewbhoy's teſtimony, it certainly came forward in very ſuſpicious circumſtances; for having confeſſedly been preſent at the deed, it was difficult to give her credit for having been an innocent ſpectator; and her diſpoſition to acquit her own family, by accuſing others, was ſo natural a feeling, that its influence upon her evidence could not be wondered at; but, on this very account, whatever proceeded from her, to the prejudice of ſuch near relations, was the more entitled to credit.

Of the priſoners, it would probably appear to the jury, there was leſs to affect Bhow than any of the others. His mother, indeed, ſwears poſitively he was not in the houſe at the time the murder was committed, and if it was only made known to him afterwards, his crime would not amount to that which the indictment charges againſt him.

With reſpect to Bhya, the grandmother of Bhow and Jaggonath, the only evidence which affects her is that of her daughter, who ſaid, at firſt, that ſhe was aſleep at the time, and in another apartment; but afterwards expreſsly admitted the contrary, and even went the length of acknowledging that ſhe held one of the legs of the deceaſed while Juggoo was cutting his throat. It was for the jury to determine which of theſe contradic-

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tory averments they would believe, or whether it was poſſible to attach credit to either of them, when the one was ſo inconſiſtent with the other.

As to Sowlie, ſhe alſo is ſolely affected by the evidence of Jewbhoy; and her teſtimony with reſpect to this priſoner is to be regarded with very great ſuſpicion; for ſhe had an intereſt to fix as much guilt as poſſible on her and Juggoo, with a view to extenuate the crime of her own family.

With reſpect to Juggoo and Jagoonath, he would firſt of all inform the jury, that any acknowledgement made by either of them, ſuppoſing it to have been extorted by promiſes or threats, ought to be diſmiſſed from their conſideration. A diſtinction indeed had been drawn by Mr. Threipland between promiſes held out by an individual extrajudiciouſly, and by a magiſtrate in the exerciſe of his authority. But though there was weight in the obſervation, he was clearly of opinion that, had the priſoners been required to convict themſelves, in return for the money and rewards which were offered to them, thoſe offers would have deſtroyed the effect of the acknowledgement ſo far, as to have excluded it from being evidence in a court of juſtice. But the word "confeſs," it would be remarked, had never been made uſe of, in any of the converſations which had been held with either of them; and he had heard one of the greateſt judges that ever ſat on the Bench (Mr. Juſtice Buller) decide, that there is the moſt material difference between a perſon being merely required to tell the truth, and being offered a reward to confeſs a particular fact. And, in truth, the acknowledgements made by theſe priſoners do, none of them, amount to a confeſſion of the murder; they only ſhew that both of them were apprized, the very morning after it happened, not only where the bangles were to be found, but likewiſe where the body was ſecreted; from which early intelligence of ſuch important particulars in the hiſtory of the fact, it was impoſſible not to draw the moſt unfavourable concluſions againſt them.

The boy's having been ſeen in company with Juggoo, at a late hour of the evening when he was firſt miſſing, was alſo a circumſtance, from which ſtrong ſuſpicion could not fail to ariſe, againſt him individually: but if he had been the only perſon concerned in the murder, it was highly improbable he would have taken the boy to Jaggonath's houſe for the purpoſe of deſtroying him; and it is ſtill more inconſiſtent with Jaggonath's innocence, that the room in which the deed was done appears to have been a retired apartment, not in general uſe, but opened, as would ſeem, for this diabolical cataſtrophe. Another circumſtance wholly irreconcileable with Jaggonath's acquittal is, that though his mother admits he was preſent at the murder, and, as ſhe pretends, averſe to it, he not only makes no diſcovery of the fact when firſt required to do ſo, but is at pains to miſlead inquiry, and to raiſe expectations, which, if he ſaw the wounds which Juggoo inflicted on the boy, even ſuppoſing he did not hold the knife himſelf, he muſt have known could never be realized.

It was for the jury, however, to take the whole of the evidence into their conſideration, and he made no doubt they would return a verdict ſatisfactory to themſelves and to their country.

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About two in the morning of Friday the 16th, the jury were enclosed, and in less than half an hour returned a verdict of *guilty* against Juggoo and Jaggonath, but acquitted Bhow, Bhya, and Sowlie.

The two former were then ordered to be brought up for judgment the day following, on which occasion the Recorder addressed them to the following effect:

Prisoners,

You have both been found guilty of the crime of murder, a crime which in all countries is punished with death. By a divine precept, delivered to the common ancestor of all nations, it is solemnly promulgated, that "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Of the justice of the verdict against you, no man, who heard your trial, can entertain a particle of doubt. As to you, Juggoo, the unfortunate boy was seen in your company about an hour before the inhuman deed was committed, and there is the positive evidence of Jewbhoy, that your hand struck the blow. The defence which you set up, of being in another place at the time, has totally failed you, and your acquaintance with so many circumstances attending the commission of the deed, early the next day, is another proof that it could not have been perpetrated without your knowledge and participation.

With respect to you, Jaggonath, there is the positive evidence of your mother herself, that you were in the room when the boy was murdered, a fact which you, like Juggoo, have not attempted to disprove. One cannot be much surprised that a mother, actuated by the feelings of nature, at the time she admits you were present, endeavours to palliate your guilt, by denying your assent to the crime committed before you. But even, according to her, your expostulation with Juggoo was the slightest imaginable, and she does not pretend you opposed the smallest resistance to his acts, which you alone were able to have done, and much more with the assistance of your family, whom you might have called to your aid on such an occasion.—All the circumstances of the case considered, the boy being brought to your house by the goldsmith, being murdered in your private apartment, his property found there, and his body buried in your premises, these facts are so inconsistent with your innocence, that they tend strongly to shew that you were the original promoter of this inhuman act, and impress the mind with a conviction of the truth of the accusation made against you by the prisoner Juggoo, "that you had brought him into this disgrace."—That you participated in it was indeed not denied by yourself; for when Juggoo was accused of having acted a butcher's part, and said, "I have not done this, but the purvoe," what was your answer? not that you did not do it, but "that Juggoo was your companion in it."

With respect to the crime itself, foul as the guilt of murder always is, it was attended, in this case, with circumstances of peculiar atrocity and aggravation. The unfortunate boy had given you no provocation, been guilty of no offence. You have not to plead any sudden transport of passion; I am sorry to say, the deed appears to have been as deliberately planned, as it was most cruelly executed; the temptation, a few, paltry, insignificant bangles, the offer of which, and of all that the deceased had in the world, could not restrain your hands from

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from ſpilling the blood of innocence.

In a caſe of ſuch a nature, ſo proved, you muſt not expect the court will interpoſe, or recommend any mitigation of puniſhment. In ſuch caſes indeed pardon and forgiveneſs are even divinely prohibited. We are told, "we muſt take no ſatisfaction for the life of a murderer, but he ſhall ſurely die; for the land can only be cleanſed of the blood which has been ſhed, by his blood who ſhed it."

I muſt apprize you therefore that you have but a very ſhort time to live; and I ſincerely hope you will employ the period in imploring the forgiveneſs of that great God, before whom you will ſoon be ſummoned to appear, and who has reſerved everlaſting torture for impenitent offenders.

Let me adviſe you then to apply to the prieſts and brahmins of your caſt, to prepare you for another world; and by ſincere contrition and repentance, may you eſcape that vengeance, the dreadful effects of which you will, otherwiſe, ſo ſoon and ſo painfully experience.

Nothing remains for me, but the moſt diſtreſſing part of my duty, which is to paſs upon you the ſentence of the law: that ſentence is, that you be carried to the place from whence you came, and from thence, on Monday next, to the place of execution, there to be hanged by the necks until you be dead, and may the Lord have mercy on your ſouls!

On Saturday the 19th of April, the court met at 10 o'clock, when four priſoners, (Hindus,) called *Erriah Sonwar Tharia*, *Ruggah Auſtria*, *Raggoo Rowjee*, and *Bhika Bhuma*, mariners, were placed at the bar.

The indictment in this caſe, which was laid on the admiralty ſide of the court, contained two counts; the firſt charging the priſoners with having, on the 20th of February laſt, [*ſee Chronicle, p.* 62.] upon the high ſeas, about 15 leagues from Bancoote, on the coaſt of Concan, made an aſſault on one Jannoo Sadaſew, Gopaul Catowker, and five other perſons unknown, by ſtriking, beating, and kicking, of which ſtriking, &c. they, then and there, inſtantly died: the ſecond count charged them with having thrown the ſaid perſons out of the boat into the ſea, with the waters whereof they were, then and there, ſuffocated and drowned.

The priſoners having ſeverally pleaded not guilty,

Mr. THREIPLAND roſe, and addreſſed the jury.—In this caſe, as well as that which was tried on Thurſday, he had the honour to addreſs them on the part of the crown, and if the recollection of the ſhocking circumſtance which it was then his duty to detail, ſtill made the blood of all who were preſent freeze within them, heaven knew the facts he was now called upon to ſtate were not of a nature to thaw the current. In the former caſe, cruel and atrocious as it was, there was but a ſingle ſufferer; in the preſent, there were no leſs than ſeven; two of them helpleſs women, and three young children, incapable of harm, all of them untimely deprived of their exiſtence, and that by a mode of death, of all others perhaps the moſt dreadful.

The jury probably did not require to be informed, that there were many perſons in this iſland, who earned a ſcanty ſubſiſtence by hawking the goods of others through the

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the country. With theſe they are entruſted in the morning, and it is their practice to return at night, to give an account of their ſales, and depoſit the articles they have not diſpoſed of. Of this caſt or claſs of men were the wretched Gopaul and Janoo, whoſe fate the jury was ſummoned to inveſtigate. They were in the employment of one Purſhotum Rowjee, who, from the regularity of their returns each evening to give an account of the preceding day's traffic, was a good deal ſurpriſed at their not making their appearance as uſual, on a certain night of the month of February laſt. After many fruitleſs inquiries, both that night and for ſeveral days afterwards, Purſhotum gave up his goods for loſt, but little thought of the dreadful atonement the miſerable men had made, by whom they were abſtracted. At length, in conſequence of ſome information which ſeemed likely to lead to a diſcovery, he went over to Old Woman's Iſland, where having fallen in with two of the priſoners, Ruggah and Bhikia, one of whom was wearing a turban, and the other a ſaſh, which he immediately recognized as part of the property which was miſſing, he carried them, together with Erriah and the other priſoner Raggoo, to the office of the police.

It might appear extraordinary, Mr. Threipland ſaid, that perſons conſcious of poſſeſſing goods which did not belong to them, ſhould venture to appear ſo openly with them about their perſons; but the truth he believed to be, the priſoners were ignorant of the ſort of trade which Gopaul and Janoo carried on, and imagined when they had ſent them to their account, there was no one left on earth who had any right to queſtion the property. Thus wonderfully did the providence of Almighty God defeat the beſt laid ſchemes of guilt, and ſo vain was it for the murderer, in particular, to expect to eſcape that vengeance, with which the law of every country purſues the moſt atrocious of crimes!

Still, however, had the caſe ſtopped here, whatever ſuſpicion the priſoners might have laboured under, of having made away with the ſeveral perſons mentioned in the indictment, there would not, certainly, have been evidence ſufficient to convict them of the fact; nor would he, on the part of the crown, have preſumed to aſk for ſuch a verdict, but have ſhaped his charge in a very different manner. But ſhortly after Purſhotum Rowjee had taken thoſe ſteps which he had mentioned, a perſon called Govind Ram Thacoor, who had ſerved as a mariner on board the ſame boat with the priſoners, was brought before Mr. Halliday; and in his preſence, freely and voluntarily, without any certain aſſurance of favour, or the moſt diſtant hint of a reward, made a declaration, in which he explained the whole proceedings of himſelf and his companions, in relation to the deceaſed. If this man had been to be viewed as an accomplice in the crime, Mr. Threipland knew well with what extreme ſuſpicion an intelligent jury would have liſtened to his teſtimony. But he begged to ſay, and he gave the priſoners whatever advantage they could derive from the obſervation, that it by no means followed from a perſon being preſent when a murder was committed, that he was of neceſſity to be held guilty of that offence: force might compel him to witneſs proceedings, in which he took no part, the neceſſity of the ſituation

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in which he was placed might prevent his withdrawing from the ſcene. Not that Govind's own aſſertion of having been an innocent ſpectator, was ſufficient to exculpate him; but if the jury found every one elſe who was preſent concurring in his acquittal, all agreeing that he was otherwiſe employed at the time, and not aiding or aſſiſting in the fact; if the jury found the priſoners paying this tribute to his innocence, not with any view to diſprove or negative the whole of the charge, but at the very moment they were confeſſing Govind's narrative to be true, except in ſo far as each individual denied its truth with reſpect to himſelf, and that too, at a time when from having heard the charge made by Govind againſt themſelves, it was much more likely that he ſhould have been accuſed by all, than acquitted by any: If the jury took all theſe circumſtances into their conſideration, he had no doubt the degree of credit they would attach to this man's evidence would be that to which a witneſs, *omni exceptione major*, whoſe veracity was wholly unimpeached, was entitled.

Having thus diſpoſed the jury to lend a favourable ear to Govind's teſtimony, Mr. Threipland ſaid, it would appear from his narrative that the boat in which the ſeven paſſengers (whoſe appearance, ſex, and age the witneſs would deſcribe) embarked, was the joint property of the priſoner Erriah, and of one Baya, who, unfortunately for the cauſe of public juſtice, had effected his eſcape. That beſides theſe two perſons, there were on board, as mariners, the three other priſoners, the witneſs, and two men called Maddoo and Wittul, neither of whom had yet been diſcovered. That they all ſailed from Bombay on a certain evening of February laſt, and after making very little progreſs during the firſt night they were at ſea, continued their voyage towards Bancoote the following day. It was about nightfall of this day that a propoſal was made by Baya to take poſſeſſion of the paſſengers effects, and to ſilence future inquiry into the theft, by committing murder on all the ſeven! Mr. Threipland ſaid, he ſaw and participated in the horror which the jury felt at this relation; but dreadful as it was, the fact would ſoon appear unqueſtionable, that this monſtrous reſolution was carried into effect, about nine o'clock of the ſame evening, when darkneſs had covered the face of the deep, and the diſtance of land was ſuch, that even in broad day it could ſcarcely have been diſcernible. By Govind's account, Baya, having ſeated himſelf cloſeſt to the ſtouteſt of the two male paſſengers, watched his opportunity, and ſent him headlong into the ſea; and inſtantly, as if a ſignal had been given, the other boatmen ſprung upon the remaining ſix, two of them, as he had already mentioned, helpleſs women, and three young children, one an infant not above two years of age, and conſigned them all, without remorſe or pity, to the ſame grave. It was now that Govind, who had been ſent to ſteer the veſſel, took advantage of his ſituation to put up the helm, in hopes of giving ſome one or other of thoſe wretched victims a chance to eſcape, and he believed he would inform the jury that he called them ſeveral times by name, but not one voice of all the ſeven replied! Concluding the whole had inevitably periſhed, he obeyed the orders he received, and made directly for the ſhore,

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ſhore, where the crew landed, and having diſpoſed of part of the goods of which they had, at ſuch wanton expenſe of human life, poſſeſſed themſelves, brought back the remainder to Bombay.

The laſt piece of evidence he would lay before the jury was not the leaſt important; he meant the declarations of the ſeveral priſoners, all of whom admit the fact of ſeven perſons having been thrown overboard on the night, and in the way mentioned by Govind; though each of them, as was to be expected, denies his own acceſſion to the deed. The credit due to theſe denials it was for the jury to eſtimate; but if they believed Govind, he was afraid it was utterly impoſſible for them to acquit any one of the priſoners, however much they might be ſatisfied that there were others equally guilty who had hitherto eſcaped that juſtice, which he did not doubt would, one day, overtake them.

Mr. Threipland then explained the meaning of the two counts which the indictment, by his direction, had been made to contain; and anticipated the effect of his not being able to identify the perſons of Gopaul and Janoo, which might poſſibly turn out to be the caſe.

He then proceeded to examine the witneſſes for the proſecution, of whoſe evidence it is only neceſſary to ſay, that that given by Govind Ram Thacoor, the ſuppoſed accomplice, was extremely collected and diſtinct; and was ſo much in uniſon with what he had declared before Mr. Halliday, that Mr. Threipland, with the view of ſtill farther ſtrengthening his credit, called that gentleman to prove the fact of the conformity. This was oppoſed by Mr. Dowdeſwell, counſel for the priſoner Erriah; but, after ſome diſcuſſion, the court held ſuch evidence perfectly competent, and he was examined accordingly.

About half paſt eight o'clock, the evidence being cloſed (the priſoners having called no witneſſes), the RECORDER began his charge to the jury.

Having gone over the whole of the evidence from his notes, his firſt remark upon it was, that it certainly did not ſeem very ſatisfactorily made out, that Gopaul and Janoo were the perſons received on board the boat, chiefly from the diſcordancy in the teſtimony which two witneſſes had given with reſpect to their ſize, which the jury, however, might poſſibly be able to reconcile. But be the paſſengers on board the boat who they might, there could be little doubt that one and all of them had been thrown into the ſea. This, indeed, the priſoners themſelves, reſpectively, admit, though each of them endeavours to ſhift the blame from himſelf, and to faſten it on his companions. Their mutual accuſations, however, ought not to be received to criminate each other; on the contrary, the jury were bound to diſmiſs them from their conſideration. What a priſoner has ſaid with reſpect to himſelf, is evidence, no doubt, on which he may himſelf be convicted; but he who accuſes another, muſt do ſo upon oath, to have any claim to be believed in a court of juſtice. The principal point, therefore, which the proſecution gains by theſe declarations is, the increaſe of credit which they lend to the witneſs Govind, whom certainly none of the priſoners attempt to accuſe, and two of them expreſsly acquit, confirming the relation given by himſelf that he was at the helm, engaged in ſteering the veſſel, when the

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the paſſengers were thrown out of it, in the manner which had been deſcribed.

Having been thus caſt into the ſea, the next queſtion for the jury to conſider was, whether they had periſhed there. In all caſes of murder it was doubtleſs extremely deſirable that the court ſhould have evidence laid before them that the body of the deceaſed had been found and identified; but this was matter of ſatisfaction to their minds, rather than of neceſſity in making out the caſe, and the rule, if it was one, applied chiefly to murders committed upon ſhore; for where a perſon is caſt into the ſea, in the midſt of the ocean, and is there ſeen to ſink, there is no chance of his body being ever afterwards diſcovered; but no jury would heſitate, on that account, to pronounce a perſon committing ſuch an act, in ſuch a ſituation, guilty of the crime of murder.

Having made theſe obſervations on the mode and manner in which the deed was committed, the jury would next inquire whether the guilt of that deed had been brought home to all or any of the priſoners. There could be no queſtion, if Govind was at all to be believed, that the perſon principally guilty was Baya, who had not yet been found. He it was who firſt made the horrid propoſal, which Govind ſays was adopted by the crew without one diſſenting voice, except his own. Erriah, indeed, was ſteering when this propoſal was made and aſſented to, and the witneſs ſays, he did not hear it; but when Govind was ſent to relieve him at the helm, he ſays he informed him of what Baya and the reſt had juſt reſolved on, to which his only anſwer was, that it was a bad buſineſs, and that he would go and ſmoke his cheroot. It was for the jury to conſider whether that was not a pretence to deceive the witneſs; for, when he reſumed his poſt at the helm, which he ſeems to have done immediately after the bodies were diſpatched, as if he had left it for no other purpoſe but to aſſiſt in their deſtruction, he had no cheroot, and, as the witneſs ſwears, did not appear to have been ſmoking. If this is a circumſtance to be taken into conſideration, as far as relates to Erriah, they would conſider how far the evidence which had been ſubmitted to them, of the manner in which the deed itſelf was committed, entitled them to pronounce that perſon and the other priſoners guilty of the crime ſeverally imputed to them in the indictment. Now Govind ſtates, that he ſaw Baya throw one of the paſſengers over board, and only one, and that the reſt were all thrown over by the other part of the crew; and though he does not pretend to ſpecify by which of the priſoners in particular, all or any of the reſt loſt their lives, he ſwears poſitively the whole of the crew were aiding and aſſiſting in the general deſign, and that none of them oppoſed the ſlighteſt reſiſtance to its being carried into effect.

This, which itſelf was almoſt concluſive againſt them, toe jury would probably think was a circumſtance which made more ſtrongly againſt Erriah than any of the other priſoners. For Erriah being joint owner of the boat with Baya, and of courſe a perſon of authority on board, would certainly, if he had really diſſented from the deed, as he now pretends, have teſtified that diſſent in a manner by no means ſo equivocal as to have entirely eſcaped the obſervation of the witneſs, who was on the watch at the time, and

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in a small vessel where nothing could well pass unnoticed, which was not intended to do so.

With respect to the proceedings on shore, it is not immaterial, as it respects Erriah, that he with Baya is found disposing of the goods which had belonged to the passengers —sharing the fruits of the crime, instead of divulging, as became him, by whom it was committed.

After a variety of other observations, which we lament our inability to do justice to, his lordship said he had only farther to observe, that as there were two counts in the indictment, stating different modes of death, it would be necessary for the jury to make up their minds in which of those modes all or any of the passengers lost their lives, and to specify the same in their verdict; and he conceived they would have little difficulty in that, as the evidence all seemed to apply to one count, exclusively of the other.

The jury now retired, and, after an absence of about half an hour, returned a verdict of guilt, upon the second count, against all the prisoners.

The recorder, after consulting a short time with the court, addressed them to the following effect:

Prisoners!

After a very long and impartial trial, you have been found guilty, by a most respectable and attentive jury, of the crime of murder, a crime revolting to human nature, and for which, by the laws of your country, your lives are, severally, most justly forfeited.

That there were others concerned in the perpetrations of this inhuman deed, who have, as yet, found means to elude the pursuit of justice, cannot be doubted; but that you all shared in their guilt, no one who heard your trial can hesitate to believe. The witness who gave evidence against you expressly said, that only one of the seven passengers was thrown over board by Baya. Six, therefore, must have perished by your means; for none of you dissented from the barbarous proposition made by Baya, but all seem to have been animated by one spirit, and to have mutually concurred in the accomplishment of *his* fatal purpose.

With respect to you, Erriah, the court considers your guilt as of a deeper dye, if possible, than that of your associates. As an owner of the boat, the unhappy passengers had a right to expect every protection it was in your power to afford them. Instead of fulfilling this duty towards them, it is plain, even from your own account, that you were a supine spectator of their sufferings at the time, and afterwards, as was proved by the clearest evidence, an avowed and open sharer in their spoils. Had you exerted that authority which your situation gave you, it is extremely probable that Baya's brutal proposition might never have been carried into effect; but when no opposition of any kind was seen to come from you, the other boatmen could not but conclude—it was a deed you had mutually resolved on, and might falsely imagine they were bound to aid you in its commission. Viewing your case in this aggravated light, the sentence of the court is, that you be taken to the place from which you came, and from thence, on Monday next, to the place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck until you be dead, and that your body be afterwards publicly dissected. And may the Lord have mercy on your soul!

With respect to you, the other three prisoners, the court is anxious

to believe that you were influenced, in some degree, by a mistaken notion of your duty to your superiors: but the servant ought to know, that they are his master's lawful commands alone which he is bound to obey, and that resistance, not obedience, is his duty when that which is contrary to law is proposed to him. Willing, however, to found a distinction in your favour, and hoping they are not mistaken in supposing you to have been merely deluded instruments in the hands of your masters; the court are inclined to spare your lives, imposing on you, at the same time, the severest sentence which, short of death, the law can impose. The sentence of the court on you and each of you is, that you be severally transported to Prince of Wales's Island for the term of your respective lives; and may your conduct in a state of exile and disgrace atone, in some degree, for that guilt which, nothing but sincere repentance and amendment, can ever wash away.

The unhappy wretches were executed on Monday last, amidst an immense concourse of spectators. They met their fate with that calous indifference which only hardened guilt could inspire.

Death of UNY MOOTAH, *the Freebooter of Malabar.*

We have pleasure in announcing the destruction of Uny Mootah and six of his gang, a well known robber who has, for many years, pervaded the province of Malabar in defiance of all authority, and to the terror of its peaceable inhabitants—it has fallen to the lot of capt. Watson of the Bombay establishment, who has the command of the armed police in Malabar, finally to extirpate this notorious freebooter; and the address and gallantry with which he accomplished the object stand highly conspicuous.

Captain Watson, receiving information on or about the 19th of April last, of a banditti having arrived from Mangery at Uny Mootah's fortified post in the hills, near to Mount Gilboe, proceeded with a party of armed peons at five in the morning to the place of rendezvous. This fortified post was surrounded by an impenetrable jungle, and accessible only by a narrow foot path which admitted of no more than one man to proceed at a time; the party fought every inch of their progress to the end of this foot-path, under every disadvantage and difficulty, arising principally from the uncommon steepness of its ascent: after having gained this point, they had to carry three very strongly fortified defences; these obstacles they, however, finally overcame, but not without the loss of 3 killed, and 12 badly wounded: the rebels, on finding themselves so closely pushed, took refuge in the syramby (or upper roomed fortified house), which this jungle surrounded, and which they defended for some time with uncommon bravery and constancy. The doors and windows of this lodgement resisting every effort which was made to force them, captain Watson conceived the project of undermining the house, and obtaining the necessary implements for the purpose, immediately commenced the work; the rebels within annoying the working parties all the while with large stones, which had been sus-

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pended by ropes from a projection of the roof: these were cut down to interrupt the progress below, and their rapid fall did much execution among them. In spite, however, of every annoyance, they accomplished their undertaking by noon, when a part of the wall of the upper and lower rooms fell, and brought the banditti down with it, who, in the act of falling, actually levelled their musquets and fired at captain Watson, fortunately without effect. Seven were found to have taken refuge in this syramby: unhurt from the fall, they immediately made for the foot-path; but captain Watson having most judiciously guarded every avenue at the bottom of the hill by which an escape might have been made, they were intercepted in their retreat, and the number completely annihilated. On proceeding to the demolished building, two women were discovered; they eagerly inquired as to the fate of the party, and being informed, one of them exclaimed "then Uny Mootah is killed." Captain Watson, on hearing this acceptable exclamation, collected the bodies, and Uny Mootah's being pointed out by the female in question, it was exposed and recognised by numbers who assembled for the purpose of viewing this late animated corpse, which, only a few hours before, the fears of the inhabitants of Malabar considered unconquerable; some of whom even mocked the party on their march to this fortified post, as in the pursuit of an object which would lead to their certain destruction. Another noted robber named Goorcal, one of the banditti, and distantly related to Uny Mootah, escaped the fate of his comrades; but the vigilance of captain Watson is to be expected will render his career but short. Besides the casualties above enumerated, one native officer was killed, and four wounded.

Ambassador *from the* King *of* Persia *to the* British Government *in* India.

His Reception.

On the 21st of May, a deputation, composed of the secretary to government, Robert Rickards, esq. the adjutant-general, lieutenant-colonel Gordon, the quarter-master general, lieutenant colonel Boden, the governor's aid-de-camp, major Wilson, the acting president's aid-de-camp, captain Spens, with Nicholas Hankey Smith, esq. late resident at Bushire, and a friend of the ambassadors, who was appointed to act as interpreter also on the occasion, proceeded, on Thursday last, at three o'clock in the evening, to congratulate his excellency on the part of the governor of Bombay on his arrival. The deputation, on reaching the *Duncan*, was saluted with fifteen guns, and the compliment was repeated on its quitting the vessel.

The deputation was received and entertained by his excellency with the usual formalities; who, however, expressed his anxiety and hope soon to become personally acquainted with its members; when their meetings, he trusted, would prove frequent and of a less formal nature. His excellency having made known his intention of remaining on board until Saturday morning, at the hour of six, when he would land, and proceed immediately to the house which had been fitted up for him at Byculla; and rest two or three days after the fatigues of his most tempestuous voyage, before he underwent the ceremony of introduction

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duction to the honourable the acting president; the deputation then took leave of his excellency.

Saturday Morning 22.

The gentlemen above named, accompanied by the memendar Edward Strachey, esq. at six o'clock this morning proceeded on board the *Duncan*, in the *Baloon*, richly ornamented for the occasion, and their reception was again honoured by a salute from that vessel. A separate boat, with French horns and other musical instruments adapted for the water, attended closely on the *Baloon*, and other bunder boats also followed for the purpose of bringing ashore such of the ambassador's suite as might be appointed to land with him; each boat having a marine officer on board.

At about seven the ambassador quitted the *Duncan*, and being received in a barge belonging to one of his majesty's ships, she rowed off from the *Duncan* under a salute of 17 guns, the other boats following in regular order: in this procession, the whole of the boats taking a circuitous route, passed his majesty's ship *Chiffonne*, the hon. Company's ship *Marquis Cornwallis*, and the hon. Company's frigate *Bombay*; all of which were highly decorated, and displaying a variety of ornamental colours, saluted each in their turn the ambassador's barge as he passed. After which the procession of boats proceeded in the same regular order to the shore, the music playing the whole of the time.

On the ambassador's landing at the Bunder Pier, he was saluted with 17 guns from Hornby's battery, and was received by Robert Hershaw, esq. Henry Fawcett, esq. and major general Bellasis, and lieutenant-colonel Kerr, who were respectively introduced to his excellency by the secretary to government; who, moreover, explained the rank and station of each of the gentlemen who had been appointed to receive him. This ceremony having been gone through, the ambassador was carried in a state palankeen, provided for his accommodation, in slow time, through a street formed of all the troops in garrison from the Bunder towards the church gate; the artillery band playing appropriate tunes, and the troops saluting him as he passed with presented arms; next to the ambassador's palankeen followed those of the gentlemen who had been appointed to receive him; and after these the palankeens of his excellency's own suite.

The procession was also preceded by led horses, trumpets, &c. &c. An immense concourse of people assembled to view the reception of the ambassador, and the number of palankeens moved along as if borne by the multitude; so great was the crowd which thronged around them.

The ambassador proceeded from the church gate to the house prepared for his reception in the country, in his state palankeen, escorted by his own horsemen and other attendants, and by a body of 200 peons dressed for the occasion, who, forming a line on each side of the ambassador's conveyance, accompanied him in that order to his house of residence.

The road was crowded with native spectators, all anxious to view and to offer their humble tribute of respect to this exalted stranger.

We are happy to add, that the ambassador has expressed his highest satisfaction at the honourable attention already shewn to him at this settlement, and with the accommo-

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dation prepared for him during his propoſed ſtay here.

The Ambaſſador's firſt Audience with the acting Governor.

On Monday laſt, his excellency the Perſian ambaſſador, Hadjee Khaleel Khan, obtained his public audience of the honourable the acting governor, James Rivett Carnac, eſq. His excellency made his entry into the fort with a large train of his attendants, and body guards mounted, followed by a vaſt concourſe of the natives. He left his houſe at Byculla at about four o'clock, accompanied by the gentlemen who formed the deputation upon his landing, and who had proceeded to his reſidence for the purpoſe of attending his excellency. The troops in garriſon formed an avenue from the ſecretary's office to the government houſe, through which his excellency proceeded in his ſtate palankeen, and, on paſſing the troops, was ſaluted with preſented arms. On his excellency's entrance at the gates of the government houſe, he was met by the acting preſident at the head of the ſteps, and their introduction was announced by a ſalute from Hornby's battery. His excellency was then conducted to the audience apartment, which was elegantly fitted up for the occaſion: on his entering it, the band, with a moſt happy effect, ſtruck up "God ſave the King!" Having delivered to the acting preſident, with the uſual ceremonies, his credentials, his excellency was introduced to the principal officers of his majeſty's and the honourable Company's ſervice who attended at the government houſe. His excellency manifeſted great ſatisfaction at the attention and urbanity with which he had been received; and at about half after ſix he took his leave, and returned to Byculla, under the ſame military honours with which he entered the garriſon.

The acting Governor's Viſit to the Ambaſſador.

Wedneſday having been fixed upon by the honourable the acting preſident for returning the viſit of his excellency the Perſian ambaſſador, the principal officers of his majeſty's and the honourable Company's ſervice aſſembled at the government houſe, a little before four, to accompany the acting preſident thither. A ſalute from Hornby's battery announced his departure from the houſe, in a coach, accompanied by Sir William Syer, the recorder, John Hector Cherry, eſq. ſecond member of council, and general Nicholſon, the commanding officer of the forces, followed by the gentlemen on attendance in their reſpective carriages; and preceded by muſic and trumpets, and beautiful led horſes moſt richly capariſoned. On the Parell road, a party of 300 of the Bengal volunteers joined and led the proceſſion, through an almoſt impaſſible crowd. The acting preſident's reception by the ambaſſador was announced by another ſalute from Hornby's battery; his introduction was marked by the accuſtomed ceremonials, and his entertainment conducted in the higheſt ſtyle of eaſtern magnificence. At about ſix the acting preſident took his leave, and quitted the ambaſſador's reſidence in a ſtate palankeen, of uncommon and ſingular elegance, eſcorted in the ſame manner as diſtinguiſhed his approach.

Entertainment of the Ambaſſador.

June 4, being the anniverſary of his majeſty's birth day, the honourable the acting preſident, James

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James Rivet Carnac, esq. celebrated it with a magnificent entertainment, to which his excellency the Persian ambassador Hadjee Khaleel Khan, and the principal gentlemen of the settlement were invited. In the evening his excellency paid Edward Strachy, esq. a visit, where a ball was given to the ladies; he was greatly diverted with the dancing, and the fire-works prepared for the occasion engaged his attention much; for they were truly brilliant, and displayed with peculiar felicity of taste and judgement; the darkness of the night, too, in no small degree contributed to heighten the splendor of the scene.

Death of the Ambassador.

CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Wednesday, August 11, 1802.

On the 9th instant, his majesty's frigate *La Chiffonne*, captain Stuart, arrived in the river from Bombay, with dispatches from that presidency to his excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council, containing the afflicting intelligence of the death of his excellency Hadjee Khaleel Khan, ambassador to the British government on the part of his majesty the king of Persia.

In the afternoon of the 20th ult. a dispute unfortunately arose between the Persian servants of the ambassador, and the sepoys of the corps of Bengal volunteers, composing his excellency's honorary guard, at the house assigned for his residence near Massagong. An affray ensued, and both parties resorted to arms.

At the commencement of the disturbance, his excellency the ambassador, with his nephew Aga Hoossain, and his attendants, descended into the court for the purpose of quelling the tumult, and, while his excellency was exerting his endeavours with the utmost degree of humanity and firmness for that purpose, he received a wound from a musket which instantly proved mortal. His excellency's nephew was severely wounded in several places. Four of the ambassador's servants were killed, and five more wounded. Tranquillity, however, was speedily restored, and medical assistance was immediately procured for the relief of the surviving sufferers.

The most active and judicious exertions were successfully employed by the acting president at Bombay, J. H. Cherry, esq. and by the civil and military officers under his authority, for the purpose of restoring order, and of tranquilising the minds of the attendants and followers of the deceased ambassador, as well as of securing the means of bringing to justice the perpetrators of this atrocious act.

A court of inquiry has accordingly been instituted at Bombay, for the purpose of investigating, with due deliberation and solemnity, all the circumstances of the case.

The Governor-general in council has adopted measures for affording to the relations and followers of the late ambassador, all the relief and consolation which can be administered to them under the pressure of this severe calamity.

As a testimony of the public regret for the death of the late ambassador, and of a deep sense of sorrow for the calamitous event which occasioned it, and as a mark of public respect for the high station of the deceased ambassador, and for the sovereign whom he represented, his excellency the Governor-general in council has been pleased to direct, that minute guns be fired on this

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melancholy occaſion, at five o'clock this afternoon, from the ramparts of Fort William.

By command of his excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general in council.

N. B. EDMONSTONE,
Sec. to Govt.

Government Houſe, Aug. 11, 1802.

In conſequence of the afflicting intelligence which his excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general has received of the death of HADJEE KHULEEL KHAN, the ambaſſador to the Britiſh government from his majeſty the king of Perſia, his excellency has been pleaſed to poſtpone the levee, which was appointed to be holden to-morrow, until next Thurſday fe'nnight.

BURGES CAMAL,
Aid-de-Camp.

Fort William, 11th Aug. 1802.

His excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general in council has appointed major JOHN MALCOLM, his excellency's private ſecretary, to conduct all affairs reſpecting the embaſſy from his majeſty the king of Perſia to the Britiſh government in India, and has directed major John Malcolm to proceed to Bombay, for the purpoſe of communicating with the relations of the late HADJEE KHULEEL KHAN.

His excellency has alſo been pleaſed to appoint lieutenant Charles Paiſley to be ſecretary to major Malcolm.

Loſs of the CALCUTTA *Tranſport.*

His excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general in council is pleaſed to direct the publication of the following letter from major-general Baird to his excellency's addreſs, encloſing the copy of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Harneſs, of his majeſty's 80th regiment of foot, to major-general Baird.

Calcutta, Auguſt 7, 1802.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to encloſe, for your excellency's information, a copy of a letter received by me from lieutenant-colonel Harneſs, commanding his majeſty's 80th regiment, reſpecting the loſs of the *Calcutta* tranſport.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) D. BAIRD, M. G.

The Marquis Wellesley, &c.

(COPY.)

SIR, June 15, 1802.

I have much concern in acquainting you, that the *Calcutta* tranſport, with 331 of his majeſty's 80th regiment, including officers (agreeable to the accompanying return), and 79 native Indian followers, was wrecked at 8 o'clock *a. m.* on the 13th inſtant, on the Egyptian ſhore, in latitude 28° 33'.

The diſtance from the ſhore when ſhe firſt ſtruck did not appear more than half a mile; it was blowing freſh, the ſea ran high, and the ſurf beat with ſo much violence againſt her ſtern, that the planks of her cabin were almoſt inſtantaneouſly ſtowed in, her upper maſts were cut away, and, in attempting to get out the boats, one of them was ſwampt.

As her ſituation was deemed critical, I ordered an officer and thirty men into the long-boat, hoping they would make the ſhore; but, with the moſt lively pain, I ſaw her ſwampt from the wreck: a ſerjeant and ſix privates were drowned, the reſt fortunately ſwam aſhore.

We had now no boat remaining; the gale increaſed; ſhe was reported to have made ſix feet water, and

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and her officers were not without apprehenſions of her going to pieces; at ſeven o'clock three ſhips appeared in ſight, but ſo much to the leeward, that with the ſea and wind with which they had to contend, little hope was entertained of their affording any aſſiſtance: however, we ſoon diſcovered one of the veſſels to be his majeſty's ſhip *Romney*, which, about ten o'clock, anchored at about two miles and a half from the *Calcutta*, when ſir Home Popham directed the *Ducheſs of York* to anchor at a middle diſtance from us, and at twelve the *Romney*'s launch came on board: by nine in the evening, every man of the 80th, except the ſeven drowned in the long-boat, was taken on board the *Romney*.

It is to the ſkilful poſition ſir Home Popham took up, ſo as to enable his boats to ſail to and from the wreck, to the excellence of his boats, (for although two tranſports came up in the courſe of the day, not a boat could they venture out,) and it is to the dexterity and perſeverance of his well-trained boat's crew, we are eminently indebted for the ſalvation of ſo many lives.

The humane perſonal attention of ſir Home Popham to the comforts of the troops, many of whom reached the *Romney* in a very weakly ſtate, will long be remembered with the warmeſt gratitude.

On the morning of the 14th, the *Romney* having dragged from her anchorage, ſir Home cut his cable, and ran for this bay, leaving the *Ducheſs of York* to take on board any baggage that might be accidentally ſaved from the wreck: the ſea had reached her main-deck before the laſt diviſion of the detachment left her.

At this place we found ſhelter from the ſun and weather in a few buildings inhabited by fiſhermen; we, therefore, landed the whole of the detachment on the evening of the 14th, waiting the arrival of his majeſty's ſhip *Wilhelmina* from Suez, whither ſir Home Popham has diſpatched directions for her to haſten to this place, to take the detachment to Madras.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) W. HARNESS,
Lieut. Col.

COLLEGE AT CALCUTTA.

The following is an authentic copy of the letter addreſſed by the vice-provoſt of the college to the ſenior ſtudent, for the general information of all the young men attached to that inſtitution:—

"MY DEAR SIR,

"As ſome unforeſeen rumour prevails in college, reſpecting a letter from the court of directors to lord Welleſley on the ſubject of the college, I will thank you to mention, that the letter of the court of directors contains the moſt unqualified approbation of the plan and of the purpoſes of the inſtitution.

"Their only objection has reſpect to the expenſe: they obſerve, "that they have great pleaſure in expreſſing their high approbation of the public ſpirit and conſpicuous talents of marquis Welleſley, in the conception and arrangement of a plan which, under other circumſtances of the Company's finance, they ſhould have thought deſerving the moſt ſerious conſideration." They therefore propoſe that the college ſhould be modelled on a reduced plan of confining it to two or three languages, and cutting off the additional allowances of the ſtudents.

"His excellency being ſenſible that

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that such reduction would not answer the purposes of the present institution, and that the objection as to expense arises from supposing that the college is on a scale of magnitude which does not exist, has resolved to represent these circumstances to the court of directors, in the confidence that they will sanction the existing institution. In the mean time, to prevent the necessity of students coming from the other presidencies before the college be finally established, his excellency has, by an act of council, declared the abolition of the college on the 31st December 1803.

"Till that period, the existing institution shall remain as it now is, subject to the regulations and statutes concerning it; as it is his lordship's determination, that it shall be supported by every degree of energy his government can afford it; that merit, as hitherto, shall be conspicuously rewarded, and that discipline shall be strictly preserved agreeably to the statutes of the institution.

"The Bombay and Madras students of 1799 and 1800, leave college, agreeably to the regulation at the end of 1802, and those of 1801, at the end of 1803.

Your's, &c.

C. BUCHANAN."

June 14, 1802.

EMBASSY *to* AVA.

Intelligence from Calcutta, dated June 8, 1802, mentions that the East India Company's frigate, the *Mornington*, had arrived at Rangoon on the 31st of May, having on board colonel Symes, recently appointed envoy to the court of Ava. The *Mornington* encountered a severe gale of wind in her passage, in which she parted from the *Myrtle* transport, conveying two companies of grenadiers, that composed the escort of the envoy. The *Myrtle*, however, fortunately got in on the 3d of June, after narrowly escaping shipwreck. Colonel Symes was received with every mark of distinction; he landed on the 2d of June, attended by captain Frost, of the *Mornington*, and the gentlemen of his suite, under a salute from the shipping and the battery on shore; he was met on the quay by the lieutenant-governor and the public officers in their dresses of ceremony, and conducted to a house prepared for him, and which is the best in the town.

The following gentlemen principally compose the European suite of the Ava envoy—captain Stewart, commanding the escort; Mr. Campbell, secretary; Dr. Bean; lieutenants Canning and Brownrigg.

CEYLON INTELLIGENCE.

Extract of a Letter from Trincomale, dated May the 9*th.*

The court martial ordered to try the captain and officers of his majesty's ship *Le Sensible*, assembled on Friday morning at eight o'clock, on board the *Intrepid*, the captain of which, Hargood, was president.

The court continued sitting until past six in the evening, when the proceedings were closed, and sentence pronounced.

Captain Sauffe's name is to be put at the bottom of the list of commanders in the royal navy, and the master is dismissed his majesty's service.

Lieutenant Casey, the officer of the watch at the time the ship struck, is honourably acquitted.

The court martial sat again yesterday,

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terday, on the trial of lieut. Hornsey of the *Terpsichore*, for mutiny and disobedience of orders; in arrest by the captain, for refusing to lower a yard, at a time when a number of men were sitting upon it, and which, upon being lowered, occasioned six persons to fall overboard.

The court, however, entertained a different opinion of the prisoner's conduct, and, after due consideration of the case, acquitted him in the fullest and most honourable manner.

Advices from Amboyna mention, that that gallant officer, capt. Hayes, in the honourable Company's cruizer *Swift*, having, on the 1st of August last, after three days close pursuit, brought to action, in sight of Manado, thirty-three large Magindanao pirate proas, and, after a contest of four hours, sunk two, run one down, and drove fourteen on shore, where they were abandoned by the crews, and the vessels destroyed. During this gallant action capt. Hayes had no fewer than sixty of his crew sick, and incapable of rendering their assistance.

The above formed part of a fleet of forty proas, which had landed 1200 men, and several pieces of brass ordnance at Amoorrang, and proceeding in their hostile views, threatened total destruction to all the honourable Company's settlements on the Celebes, which were saved by the above action.

MAHRATTA POLITICS.

The Dismissal of the English Officers employed in the Service of Dowlut Row Scindiah.

We learn by letters from Oujein, of the 20th of June last, that Scindiah had dismissed the whole of the English officers that were in his service, without alleging any motive in justification of a measure so violent to the objects of it, and apparently so hostile to the wishes of the British government. There is no doubt, however, that it is partly to be ascribed to the increasing influence of general Perron at the court of Oujein. That officer, of whom we gave an account in the biographical department of our last volume, has long been jealous of the introduction of Englishmen into Scindiah's army, and has occasionally exerted every artifice of intrigue to frustrate their views, and to impress the prince with a notion, that though these men came into his dominions in the character of independent adventurers, they were, in reality, emissaries of the British government, in whom it was not only highly impolitic, but utterly unsafe to confide. It may be necessary to inform our readers, that this representation was wholly unfounded in truth; for that the persons in question were, in fact, what they professed to be, indigent adventurers, who travelled thither in pursuit of fortune. But nothing could have been better calculated to awaken the jealousy of a Mahratta chief: for as the secret of his politics consists in a peculiarly refined duplicity, he cannot conceive that those of any wise or fortunate nation are conducted on principles of public faith. Scindiah, therefore, listened to the suggestion, and adopted the advice of his insidious counsellor; and dismissed the English adventurers from his service. The time chosen for this measure challenges particular attention. It was a few days after the arrival of the English ambassador, colonel Collins, at Oujein. Whether this circumstance was supposed to arise from accident or design, our correspondent.

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ſpondent does not inform us. We believe that colonel Collins took not the ſmalleſt notice of it.—But by another letter of the 31ſt of July laſt, from Futtyghur, we find that colonel Collins's embaſſy had unexpectedly returned to that place on the 2d of the ſame month.

We underſtand from Bombay, that attempts are making at the Mauritius to raiſe cochineal, as the iſland abounds with the plants on which the inſects lie. The ſmall birds which uſed to deſtroy the inſects have almoſt been annihilated.

A quantity of ſugar cane has been planted at Calitura, in Ceylon, which is employed to procure ſpirits; and it is expected that, in a ſhort time, the neceſſity of having it imported from Bengal will be ſuperſeded. A tree called Kitoul, has been found in Candy to yield a kind of ſago, which is but little inferior to the ſago of the eaſtern iſles.

The right hon. the governor in council of Madras has been pleaſed to declare a dividend of 80,000 pagodas to the creditors of his highneſs the nabob of the Carnatic.

The governor of Madras has aboliſhed the ſeparate command of the province of Canara, and has directed that the troops in that province ſhall, in future, be under the immediate orders of the officer commanding in Malabar.

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HOME INTELLIGENCE.

LONDON, *January* 1803.

The RIGHT HONOURABLE the BOARD of COMMISSIONERS,

FOR

THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

President,—Lord Viſcount Caſtlereagh.

Duke of Portland, K. G.	Lord Glenbervie
Lord Hawkeſbury	Right Hon. William Dundas
Lord Hobart	T. Wallace, Eſq.
Lord Pelham	Lord Arden
Right Hon. Henry Addington	Edward Golding, Eſq.
Duke of Montroſe, K. T.	

Secretary,—Hon. William Brodrick.

Aſſiſtant Secretary and Chief Clerk,—John Meheux, Eſq.

The HONOURABLE the COURT of DIRECTORS,

FOR

THE YEAR 1802—3.

N. B. The Figures after the reſpective Names, denote the Years they have to ſerve in the Direction.

Sir Francis Baring, Bart. M. P. - - - (1)	Sir William Benſley, Bart. - - - - - (3)
Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart. M. P. - - - - (1)	Sir John Smith Burges, Bart. - - - - (3)
Thos. Theophilus Metcalfe, Eſq. M.P. (1)	Hon. William Elphinſtone - - - - - (3)
Paul Le Meſurier, Eſq. & Alderman - (1)	*William Adair Jackſon, Eſq. - - - - (3)
Geo. Woodford Thelluſſon, Eſq. - - - (1)	John Travers, Eſq. - - - - - - - - - (3)
John Manſhip, Eſq. - - - - - - - - (1)	Stephen Williams, Eſq. - - - - - - - (3)
John Roberts, Eſq.—*Chairman* - - - (2)	William Devaynes, Eſq. M. P. - - - (4)
Jacob Boſanquet, Eſq.—*Deputy* - - - (2)	Charles Grant, Eſq. M. P. - - - - - (4)
Robert Thornton, Eſq. M. P. - - - - (2)	Sir Stephen Luſhington, Bart. - - - (4)
Joſeph Cotton, Eſq. - - - - - - - - (2)	George Smith, Eſq. M. P. - - - - - (4)
Sir Lionel Darell, Bart. - - - - - - (2)	William Thornton, Eſq. - - - - - - (4)
Edward Parry, Eſq. - - - - - - - - (2)	Sweny Toone, Eſq. - - - - - - - - - (4)

* Elected in January 1803, in the Room of J. Hunter, Eſq. deceaſed.

Whitehall,

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Whitehall, May 14, 1802.

The king has been pleased to grant unto James Rivett, of Bombay, esq. in the civil service of the honourable the united company of merchants trading to the East Indies upon their establishment of Bombay, his royal license and authority, that he and his issue may assume and take the surname of Carnac, (such arms being first duly exemplified according to the law of arms, and recorded in the Herald's Office,) pursuant to the last will and testament of General John Carnac, late of Bombay aforesaid, deceased: and also to order, that this his majesty's concession and declaration be registered in his college of arms.

Pursuant to the tenor of his majesty's patent which Mr. Carnac has received, that gentleman will in future assume and use the name James Rivett Carnac.

June 22, 1802. William Foord, esq. who came passenger in the *Anna*, from Bengal, cut his throat with a razor, on board that vessel, as soon as she arrived in sight of Brighton. It appeared, that the loss of an amiable wife in India had affected his intellects. He had four children with him, who were landed a few hours after he expired.

June 28.—This day a court of directors was held at the India House, when WILLIAM ADAIR, esq. was sworn in as standing counsel to the company, vacant by the death of George Rous, esq. Same day, the dividend for the half-year ending the 5th of July next, was declared to be 5½ per cent.

Nov. 10.—A court of directors of the India Company was held at the East India House, when GEORGE HILARO BARLOW, esq. was appointed to succeed to the government-general of India, upon the retirement of the most noble the Marquis Wellesley.

Dec. 10.—A court of directors was held at the East India House, when the following arrangements was made in the council at Fort St. George, in consequence of the late appointment of Lord WILLIAM CAVENDISH BENTINCK, as governor.

Lieutenant-general James Stuart, commander in chief, and second in council, William Petrie, esq. third in council, and provisional governor; John Chamier, esq. fourth in council, in the room of Munro Dick, esq. who resumes his station as inspector of the Company's investments.

EAST-INDIA-HOUSE.

Dec. 22, 1803.—A quarterly general court was held at the East India House, when the dividend for the last half year was declared to be 5¼ per cent.

Mr. R. JACKSON asked if the shipping papers ordered to be printed half yearly, were nearly ready for publication?

The Chairman (Mr. ROBERTS) stated, that the extreme pressure of business had alone prevented their completion, but that they would shortly be laid before the proprietors.

Mr. R. JACKSON wished to know if the committee for the inspection of the bye-laws had lately made any report? And on being told by the chair, that none had been made for four or five years, expressed his surprise that a committee formed for a particular purpose, should not think it expedient to report their proceedings. The court adjourned *sine die*.

The troops belonging to his majesty

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jesty which are first to be embarked on the honourable Company's ships of this season; for the purpose of completing some of the king's regiments serving in the East Indies, amount to 1000 men. They will shortly be embarked.—Dec. 31.

SHIP LAUNCH.

On Saturday, January 8, 1803, two fine East India ships were launched in the river, at Messrs. Randall and Brent's yard. One named the *Union*, of 800 tons burden; the other, *Lady Castlereagh*, of 800 tons. The *Union* cannot fail of being considered as a very strong and useful vessel, perfectly adapted to the purposes of mercantile navigation; her bottom is coppered, and she draws 21 feet forward, and 19 abaft. All her knees and riders are of iron, strongly bolted, and she measures near six feet between decks. Her rudder head is formed upon a new construction, and her stern is extremely neat and pretty; principally adorned with carved leaves and scrowls. The figures of her head are a shield, in which is a red rose and a crown. Her sides are pierced for guns, and she is capable of carrying twenty-two twelves, if necessary, in war time.

The *Lady Castlereagh* was laid down by one of the first builders, and is considered a very fine vessel. She is much larger than the *Union*, and has iron knees between decks. The orlop deck and the cable tiers are extremely commodious. Her cabins also are fitted up in a manner that affords much conveniency. She is extremely broad upon the beam, and has great stowage in her hold. Her bottom is coppered, and she is pierced to mount upwards of 40 guns.

On the head is the shield of Britannia, adorned with flags, warlike trophies, scrowls and leaves. Her stern is richly carved and beautifully ornamented with supporting figures, that rest upon the angles of her quarters. Just below the tafril a pelican is seen feeding its young, surrounded with various embellishments, carved with the greatest judgment, and making an extremely handsome appearance.

At half past two, the workmen began to take away the shores that supported the ships in the slips, and shortly after, the *Union* was launched in a most grand and majestic style, amidst the plaudits of an immense concourse of spectators, who covered the banks of the river. She went through the water for the space of about four minutes with the greatest grandeur, when her anchor was let go, and she was brought up abreast the yard.

The other ship, the *Lady Castlereagh*, of 800 tons, was shortly after set in motion, and went off the slip with the same regularity and solemnity as the *Union*; the spectators waving their hats, and rending the air with exclamations of applause; after driving for a short period, she anchored at her moorings. Notwithstanding the multitude of persons who had met upon this occasion, and were seen standing in the most perilous situations, the only accident that happened, was the falling of a person, named William Sawyer, from the stern of the 74-gun ship building in the yard, from a height of about 40 feet. As it happened to be high water, he escaped without any other injury than a severe ducking.

After the launch, a company of upwards of 300 proceeded to dine off a cold collation, to which they were

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were invited by the owners of the veſſels. The room where the tables were ſpread belongs to the dock-yard, and is generally uſed for moulding of the ſhips; it is upwards of 150 feet long, and 30 feet wide; the ſides and ceiling were covered with Britiſh naval colours, ſuch as enſigns and flags. It was lighted up with a great number of chandeliers, and made a moſt brilliant appearance. The collation conſiſted of cold meats, hams, fowls, &c. prepared at the London Tavern, and laid out with taſte and elegance.

At five o'clock the company had done dinner, the cloth was then taken away, the ladies retired to another apartment to tea and coffee, and the gentlemen were ſupplied with the choiceſt wines, in a manner that beſpoke the liberality of the hoſts. Conviviality was the order of the evening, and ſeveral toaſts were drank to the proſperity of the ſhips *Union* and *Lady Caſtlereagh*, and their owners. The tables being removed, the ladies returned, and the ball was opened with country dances; mirth and feſtivity uniformly prevailed until a late hour, when the company retired highly gratified with the liberality they had experienced. Several officers of diſtinction in the honourable Eaſt India Company's ſervice took an active part in promoting the hilarity of the evening.

Loſs of the Ship HINDUSTAN, *Indiaman.*

We are extremely ſorry to announce to our readers the loſs of the ſhip *Hindoſtan*, Eaſt Indiaman, Captain Balſton, near the Wedge Sand, in the Queen's Channel, Margate Roads, on Tueſday the 11th of January, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The *Hindoſtan* ſailed a few weeks ago from Graveſend, and as the weather has been ſo extremely tempeſtuous, conſiderable apprehenſions were entertained for her ſafety. During the whole of the 12th, it was the prevailing opinion that ſhe had put back to the *Hope*; but the ſame night an expreſs reached the India-houſe, with an account of her loſs. We are concerned to ſtate, that three midſhipmen, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Hatchell, and Mr. Kent, were drowned. Mr. Clerk, a cadet, and twenty ſeamen were drowned, killed, or frozen to death. Soon after ſhe got on the bank, ſhe filled with water with the flood; and as the ſea made breaks over her, the remaining part of the crew who were ſaved, were obliged to ſit on the tops. Boats put off from the ſhore, and reſcued them from their perilous ſituation; they were about 120 in number.

The bullion on board was private property, and amounted, we underſtand, to near 45,000 ounces.

The *Hindoſtan* was one of the fineſt ſhips in the ſervice; her meaſurement 1248 tons. She was on her fourth voyage, and deſtined to Coaſt and China. It was the firſt voyage of Captain Balſton.

The unfortunate and melancholy wreck of the above veſſel is entirely to be attributed to a tremendous gale, which baffled every effort that human ſkill could exert. The crew were perfectly ſober, and nothing could be imputed to want of zeal and activity on their part.

Election for a Director.

Wedneſday the 19th of January 1803, a ballot was taken at the Eaſt India Houſe, for the purpoſe of electing a director to ſerve two years,

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years, in the room of John Hunter, Esq. deceased.

At six o'clock the glasses were finally closed and delivered to the scrutineers, who reported the numbers to be;

For Wm. Adair Jackson, Esq. 1158
James Munro, Esq. 114

MONUMENT
Of Sir WILLIAM JONES, *at Oxford.*

A monument has lately been erected in University College chapel, Oxford, to the memory of the late Sir William Jones, by his lady. The design is well conceived, and is simple, grand, and expressive: the whole is finished in statuary marble with great taste. The bas-relief represents Sir William forming the digest and translation of the Hindu Laws, from the sacred books which the Brahmins are reading before him. The bas-relief is supported by two trusses, ornamented with tigers' heads. On the top of the monument is a Hindu lyre; a Grecian lyre, and a Caduceus. Another monument, to the memory of the same personage, has been erected in St. Mary's church, by several members of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Some Account of a HINDU TEMPLE, *&c. erected in* Melchet Park, *Hants, to* WARREN HASTINGS, *Esq. late Governor-general of Bengal.*

The temple has been raised by JOHN OSBORNE, Esq. of Melchet Park, near Romsey, in the county of Hants, in token of the high respect he entertains for the public and private virtues of a patron and a friend. The original design, after the chastest models of Hindu architecture, came, we understand, gratuitously from THOMAS DANIELL, Esq. R. A. It was executed in artificial stone by Mr. Rossi, and the original drawing and engraving are the production of Mr. WILLIAM DANIELL.

The area of the temple, including its portico, is about 22 feet by 15, and its height nearly 20 feet. The pillars and pilaster, besides the usual decorations peculiar to this order of Hindu architecture, are adorned with a number of mythological figures and emblems; particularly the principal incarnations of *Vishnu*, who, according to the belief of the Brahmans, has, from time to time, appeared under various material forms, for the support of religion and virtue, and the reformation of mankind. The figure of *Ganésa*, the genius of wisdom and policy, has its appropriate place over the portal; for he is the *Janus* of the Hindus.

An elegant pedestal, with the bust of WARREN HASTINGS, Esq. rising out of the sacred flower of the Lotus, is placed in the temple, directly opposite to the door, bearing the following inscription:

Sacred
To
The Genii of India,
Who from time to time,
Assume material
Forms to protect its
Nations and its laws,
Particularly
To
The immortal HASTINGS,
Who, in these our days
Has appeared the
Saviour of those Regions
To the British Empire,
This Fane was raised
By John Osborne,
In respect to his
Pre-eminent Virtues
In the Year M,DCCC.

The court of directors of the honourable East India Company has

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unanimouſly received the print of this temple, from the drawing of Mr. William Daniell, as a tribute to the merits of Warren Haſtings, eſq. late governor-general of Bengal, and ordered that it might have a conſpicuous place in the Company's newly erected library. It has likewiſe been diſtinguiſhed by obtaining a ſtation ſtill more exalted, which has given it a luſtre that it could not otherwiſe have derived. Honours alſo highly creditable to Mr. Haſtings, have been paid to it by individuals, poſſeſſing, what alone can make men truly great, magnanimity, liberality, and a love for truth.

Regulations of the Royal Military College.

In conformity to his majeſty's regulations for this inſtitution, no cadet can be admitted who is under thirteen, or above fifteen, years of age; or who has any mental or bodily defect, which may diſqualify him for military ſervice.

Every cadet is to produce a ſufficient certificate of the time of his birth.

He is to be well grounded in a knowledge of grammar and of common arithmetic, and ſhall write a good hand.

Should he be found deficient in any of theſe elementary parts of learning, he will not be qualified for admiſſion.

Cadets admitted in that claſs, by whom the ſum of ninety guineas per annum is to be paid for education, board, and cloathing, are to pay a moiety of that ſum half-yearly, in advance, during their continuance at the college. An army agent in London is to be named by ſuch cadets, from whom the half-yearly payments are to be received by the treaſurer; and ſhould a cadet leave the college before the expiration of any half year, he will be accounted with for the ſix months in advance.

Each cadet is to come provided with ſeven ſhirts, ſeven handkerchiefs, ſeven pair of ſhort ſtockings, five towels, three nightcaps, two black ſtocks, and four pair of drawers; all deficiencies in which are to be made good, at his charge, at the yearly vacation.

No cadet is to join the junior department with a greater ſum of money in his poſſeſſion than one guinea; and this regulation is conſidered to be ſo indiſpenſable, that any deviation therefrom will ſubject the cadet to be ſent away from the college. The parents may, however, if they think proper, make an arrangement for the cadet's receiving an allowance, not exceeding half-a-crown a week, for pocket-money.

All repairs of cloathing, linen, ſhoes, and other articles belonging to the cadets, will be made at the expenſe of the college.

No perquiſites or preſents, of any kind, are allowed to be received by the maſters, or any other perſons, from the cadets.

As a certain number of cadets for the Royal Military College, in that claſs for which the ſum of ninety guineas each per annum is to be paid, are to be nominated by the Eaſt India Company, the court of directors of the ſaid Company have agreed, that one-half of ſuch expenſe, or forty-five guineas per annum for each cadet, and no more, ſhall be paid by the Company, on an engagement, in writing, being entered into by the friends or parents of the cadet, being reſponſible perſons, on his appointment to the college, to refund the amount of

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of the Company's expenſes on his account, provided he ſhall enter into any ſervice or line whatſoever, after his being received into the college, or, if ſhe ſhall not proceed to India, in the Company's military ſervice, on receiving an appointment for that purpoſe.

The above-mentioned annual payment of ninety guineas, to be regulated in the following manner, viz.

The friends or parents of the cadet to advance to the army agent, to be named by him, the firſt half-yearly payment of forty-five guineas, and the Company to advance the ſecond half-yearly payment, in like manner; and the ſubſequent half-yearly payments to be made alternately, by the friends of the cadet and the Company, during the time he ſhall continue at the college.

PRICES OF EAST INDIA STOCK,

From January to December 1802.

☞ The higheſt Price of each Day only is given.

1802.							
Jan.	11—213¾	April	23—226¾	Aug.	10—208	Oct.	14—205¾
	27—214		26—226½		13—206		15—205¼
	28—213½		27—226¼		14—203		20—202
	29—213		30—226		17—207½		21—202
Feb.	3—213¼	May	3—226		20—207		22—202
	11—214½		6—225		28—203		27—206
	12—215		18—220	Sept.	4—203¾		29—203½
	19—214¼		21—219½		30—208		30—203¾
	20—213¾	June	23—212	Oct.	1—208	Nov.	2—203½
	23—213¾		10—211		6—207½		13—202½
	29—214¾		22—216½		7—206½		16—202¾
March	4—213¾	July	6—213		8—208		26—202½
April	17—230		9—215¾		12—206	Dec.	1—901¾
			30—209		13—205½		2—201¾

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LIST OF SHIPS, &c.

Taken up by the Hon. East India Company for the Year 1802.

Voyage.	Ships.	Chartered Tonnage.	Commanders.	Configuments.
2	Ocean -	1200	Andrew Patton	The Cape, Madras, Bombay and China
2	Henry Addington	1200	John Kirkpatrick	
2	Caſtle Eden -	818	Alexander Cumming	The Cape and Bengal
3	Lord Duncan -	830	Anthony Murray	
1	Earl Camden -	1200	Nathaniel Dance	Bombay and China
5	Bombay Caſtle -	1200	Archibald Hamilton	
1	Royal George -	1200	John F. Timins	St. Hel. Benc. & China
1	Cumberland -	1200	Wm. Ward Farrer	Coaſt and China
2	City of London	820	Samuel Landon	St. Helena & Bengal
3	Admiral Gardner	813	Edward Bradford	Madeira, Coaſt & Bay
4	Sir Stephen Luſhington	608	George Gooch	
1	Harriet -	550	William Lynch	
2	Hugh Inglis -	820	William Fairfax	
1	Lord Caſtlereagh	800	George Robertſon	Coaſt and Bay
3	Calcutta -	819	William Maxwell	
4	Earl Howe -	870	Robert Burrowes	
1	Europe -	800	William Gelſton	
1	Elphinſtone -	1200	Milliken Craig	Madeira and Bombay
2	Windham -	820	Thomas Graham	Ceylon and Madras
3	Walpole -	820	James Sandilands	
1	Carmarthen -	550	John Dobree	St. Hel. Beng. & Benc.
1	Experiment -	550	James Carnegie	Bombay
1	Effex -	1200	George Bonham	
3	Charlton -	818	Thomas Welladvice	
1	Lady Caſtlereagh	800	William Edmeades	
1		800	Charles Lennox	Bengal
4	Princeſs Mary -	462	Andrew Grieve	
3	Earl Spencer -	645	Charles Raitt	
3	Preſton -	671	Henry Sturtock	
1	Wexford -	1200	Wm. Stanley Clarke	Coaſt and China
1	Warren Haſtings	1200	Thomas Larkins	
5	Exeter -	1200	Henry Meriton	
2	Dorſetſhire -	1200	Rt. Hunter Brown	
3	Coutts -	1200	Robert Torin	
4	Hope -	1200	James Pendergraſs	China
4	Warley -	1200	Henry Wilſon	
4	Earl of Abergavenny	1200	John Wordſworth	
6	Woodford -	1180	James Martin	
3	Ganges -	1200	William Moffat	
6	Alfred -	1198	James Farquharſon	
1	Huddart -	550	Thomas G. Bayliff	St. Helena & Bombay
1	Union -	550	John Macintoſh	Madras
1	Prince of Wales	820	John Price	Bombay and Madras
1	Ceylon -	800	Thomas Hudſon	

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☞ We received a Copy of the following Declaration too late to insert it in its proper place: we muſt therefore refer our Readers to the *Supplement to the Chronicle*, page 148, for an Account of the other Particulars relative to the Perſian Embaſſy.

From the CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, *August* 23, 1802.

Fort William, Aug. 23, 1802.

The GOVERNOR GENERAL in Council is pleaſed to publiſh the following Declaration, which his Excellency the Moſt Noble the GOVERNOR GENERAL has addreſſed to the ſurviving Relations and Attendants of the deceaſed HADJEE KHULEEL KHAN, Ambaſſador to the Britiſh Government from his Majeſty the KING of PERSIA, and a Tranſlation of which, in the Perſian Language, has been tranſmitted to Bombay, for the purpoſe of being communicated to the Perſians attached to the Embaſſy.

N. B. EDMONSTONE, *Sec. to Govt.*

Declaration of his Excellency the moſt Noble the Governor General, &c. &c. &c. addreſſed to the ſurviving Relations and Attendants of the deceaſed Hadjee Khuleel Khan, late Ambaſſador from his Perſian Majeſty to the Governor General in Council.

"The ſolicitude of the Britiſh government of India to ſtrengthen and improve the relations of amity and honourable alliance with his Majeſty the King of Perſia, has been manifeſted by the moſt ſignal acts of ſyſtematic policy, and has been publicly acknowledged by all the ſtates of Aſia. The peculiar ſplendour of the embaſſy which conveyed the teſtimonies of my reſpect and attachment to his Majeſty's preſence; the extraordinary honours with which his Majeſty's ambaſſador was received, under my expreſs orders, on his excellency's arrival in the Britiſh territories; the zeal and aſſiduity diſplayed by the government of Bombay, and by all ranks of Britiſh ſubjects at that ſettlement, to conciliate the good will of the Perſian ambaſſador; and the public preparations, conducted under my immediate and perſonal direction, for his excellency's reception with the moſt dignified ſolemnity and honour, at the ſeat of the ſupreme Britiſh authority in India, have afforded ſufficient demonſtrations to the world of my high conſideration for the dignity of the Perſian monarch, and of my uniform intention to evince that unalterable ſentiment towards the accredited repreſentative of his royal perſon.

"Reviewing theſe incontrovertible teſtimonies of my anxiety to eſtabliſh a friendly and honourable alliance with the power of Perſia, on the moſt ſolid foundations, his majeſty and all the ſtates of Aſia,

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will anticipate the deep affliction and anguish of mind with which I have witnessed the sudden interruption of our bright and happy prospects by a disaster, which as far eluded the scope of human prudence and foresight, as it surpassed the ordinary extent of human calamity, and the common vicissitudes of fortune. To this awful dispensation of Providence, I submit with resignation, but not without hope.

"In the most painful moments of my disappointment and grief, I have derived considerable consolation from the reflection, that as I have hitherto assiduously employed every possible effort to cultivate a lasting friendship and harmony of interests between his Persian majesty and the British government, my amicable sentiments have been uniformly returned with equal cordiality by the auspicious disposition of that illustrious sovereign.

"A dreadful, unforeseen, and uncontroulable calamity, has intervened to afflict both states with mutual sorrow and consternation, and to retard the completion of their reciprocal wishes; but not to suspend their established friendship by groundless jealousy and unjust suspicion; not to frustrate the natural and propitious result of their united counsels; not to destroy the fruits of their mature wisdom and justice; nor to dissolve those sacred engagements, by which they had cemented the foundations of durable concord, secured the channels of free intercourse and beneficial communication, and enlarged the sources of their common safety, prosperity and glory.

"Entertaining a due sense of the value and importance of those engagements to both states, I shall pursue, with unabated confidence and perseverance, the policy on which the subsisting treaties are founded, and the amicable and earnest exertion by which they were obtained. The pursuit of this course cannot ultimately fail to attain success. The calamity which we have suffered is a just subject of lamentation; but its consequences are not irretrievable. From the reciprocal condolence of the two states may arise new motives of combined interest and additional securities of amity and alliance. A zealous interchange of the offices of humanity, a concurrent sense of common sorrow, and the conscious certainty of mutual sincerity and good faith, may lead to a more intimate union of sentiments and views: and the temporary suspension of this important embassy may tend to ensure and improve the benefits of our actual connection.

"Supported by these hopes, and relying on the justice and integrity of the principles and motives which have actuated the British government, I trust that the progress of our renewed intercourse with your illustrious sovereign will gradually obliterate the remembrance of this fatal and unparalleled disaster, and will amply compensate to my mind for its actual distress by the final accomplishment of the same salutary plans of policy which had rendered a personal interview with your lamented master the object of my most cordial wishes, and of my most anxious expectation.

"To repair the severe loss sustained by his untimely decease; to demonstrate my sincere respect for his memory, and my unfeigned regret that he should have fallen by a violent death, within the British dominions, and in the immediate exercise of functions, which the laws and usages of all civilized nations have rendered sacred, it is my primary

primary duty to administer to his surviving relations and attendants every office of humanity and friendly compassion, every attainable comfort and alleviation of their just griefs, and every possible compensation for the injuries which they have suffered.

"In endeavouring to discharge this duty, I have selected an officer, who was recently vested with the honourable character of envoy from this government to the court of Persia, and who now occupies the most confidential station in my family.

"That officer is directed to proceed immediately to Bombay, and to afford you, in my name, such effectual aid and assistance, and such testimonies of affectionate commiseration, as may tend to mitigate your sufferings, and to console your affliction.

"With the same views, I have provided the most speedy means of offering to your royal sovereign the respectful expressions of my sincere condolence on this disastrous event, and of concerting with his majesty such measures as may conduct the embassy to its original purpose, accelerate the favourable issue of every depending question, and confirm the subsisting relations between the two states, in the conciliatory spirit of the recent negotiations, and on the basis of the treaties already concluded.

(Signed) "WELLESLEY."

Fort William, Aug. 17, 1802.

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STATE PAPER.

MINUTE IN COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM,

Dated the 18th August 1800,

BY

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY, K. P.

CONTAINING

HIS REASONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT

OF

A COLLEGE AT CALCUTTA.

[We are in hopes, in our next Volume, to lay before the Public, all the other Papers on this important Subject.]

I.

1. THE Britiſh Poſſeſſions in India now conſtitute one of the moſt extenſive and populous empires in the world. The immediate adminiſtration of the government of the various provinces and nations compoſing this empire, is principally confided to the European civil ſervants of the Eaſt India Company. Thoſe provinces, namely, Bengal, Behar, Oriſſa, and Benares, the Company's Jaghire in the Carnatic, the Northern Circars, the Baramhal, and other diſtricts ceded by the peace of Seringapatam in 1792, which are under the more immediate and direct adminiſtration of the European civil ſervants of the Company, are acknowledged to form the moſt opulent and flouriſhing part of India, in which property, life, civil order, and religious liberty, are more ſecure, and the people enjoy a larger portion of the benefits of good government, than in any other country in this quarter of the globe. The duty and policy of the Britiſh government in India therefore require, that the ſyſtem of confiding the immediate exerciſe of every branch and department of the government of Europeans

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peans educated in its own ſervice, and ſubject to its own direct control, ſhould be diffuſed as widely as poſſible, as well with a view to the ſtability of our own intereſts, as to the happineſs and welfare of our native ſubjects. This principle formed the baſis of the wiſe and benevolent ſyſtem introduced by Lord Cornwallis, for the improvement of the internal government of the provinces immediately ſubject to the preſidency of Bengal.

2. In proportion to the extenſion of this beneficial ſyſtem, the duties of the European civil ſervants of the Eaſt India Company are become of greater magnitude and importance: the denominations of writer, factor, and merchant, by which the ſeveral claſſes of the civil ſervice are ſtill diſtinguiſhed, are now utterly inapplicable to the nature and extent o the duties diſcharged, and of the occupations purſued by the civil ſervants of the Company.

3. To diſpenſe juſtice to millions of people of various languages, manners, uſages, and religions; to adminiſter a vaſt and complicated ſyſtem of revenue throughout diſtricts, equal in extent to ſome of the moſt conſiderable kingdoms in Europe; to maintain civil order in one of the moſt populous and litigious regions of the world: theſe are now the duties of the larger proportion of the civil ſervants of the Company. The ſenior merchants compoſing the five courts of circuit and appeal, under the preſidency of Bengal, exerciſe in each of thoſe courts, a juriſdiction of greater local extent, applicable to a larger population, and occupied in the determination of cauſes infinitely more intricate and numerous, than that of any of the regularly conſtituted courts of juſtice in any part of Europe. The ſenior or junior merchants employed in the ſeveral magiſtracies and zillah courts, the writers or factors filling the ſtations of regiſters and aſſiſtants to the ſeveral courts, and magiſtrates, exerciſe in different degrees, functions of a nature either purely judicial, or intimately connected with the adminiſtration of the police, and with the maintenance of the peace and good order of their reſpective diſtricts. Commercial and mercantile knowledge is not only unneceſſary throughout every branch of the judicial department, but thoſe civil ſervants who are inveſted with the powers of magiſtracy, or attached to the judicial department in any miniſterial capacity, although bearing the denomination of merchants, factors, or writers, are bound by law, and by the ſolemn obligation of an oath, to abſtain from every commercial and mercantile purſuit. The mercantile title which they bear, not only affords no deſcription of their duty, but is entirely at variance with it.

4. The

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4. The pleadings in the several courts, and all important judicial transactions, are conducted in the native languages. The law which the Company's judges are bound to administer throughout the country, is not the law of England, but that law to which the natives had long been accustomed under their former sovereigns, tempered and mitigated by the voluminous regulations of the Governor-general in council, as well as by the general spirit of the British constitution. These observations are sufficient to prove, that no more arduous or complicated duties of magistracy exist in the world, no qualifications more various or comprehensive can be imagined, than those which are required from every British subject who enters the seat of judgment within the limits of the Company's empire in India.

5. To the administration of the revenue, many of the preceding observations will apply with equal force; the merchants, factors, and writers employed in this department also are bound by law to abjure the mercantile denomination appropriated to their respective classes in the Company's service; nor is it possible for a collector of the revenue, or for any civil servant employed under him, to discharge the duty with common justice, either to the state, or to the people, unless he shall be conversant in the language, manners, and usages of the country, and in the general principles of the law as administered in the several courts of justice. In addition to the ordinary judicial and executive functions of the judges, magistrates, and collectors, the judges and magistrates occasionally act in the capacity of governors of their respective districts, employing the military, and exercising other extensive powers. The judges, magistrates, and collectors, are also respectively required by law, to propose from time to time to the Governors-general in council, such amendments of the existing laws, or such new laws as may appear to them to be necessary to the welfare and good government of their respective districts. In this view the civil servants employed in the departments of judicature and revenue, constitute a species of subordinate legislative council to the Governor-general in council, and also a channel of communication, by which the government ought to be enabled at all times to ascertain the wants and wishes of the people. The remarks applied to these two main branches of the civil service, namely, those of judicature and revenue, are at least equally forcible in their application to those branches which may be described under the general terms of the political and financial departments, comprehending the offices of chief secretary, the various stations in the secretary's office, in the treasury, and in the office of accountant general, together with all the public officers employed in conducting the

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the current buſineſs at the ſeat of government. To theſe muſt be added the diplomatic branch, including the ſeveral reſidencies at the courts of our dependant and tributary princes, or of other native powers of India.

6. It is certainly deſirable that all theſe ſtations ſhould be filled by the civil ſervants of the Company; it is equally evident that qualifications are required in each of theſe ſtations, either wholly foreign to commercial habits, or far exceeding the limits of a commercial education.

7 Even that department of the empire which is denominated exclusively commercial, requires knowledge and habits different in a conſiderable degree from thoſe which form the mercantile character in Europe. Nor can the Company's inveſtment ever be conducted with the greateſt poſſible advantage and honour to themſelves, or with adequate juſtice to their ſubjects, unleſs their commercial agents ſhall poſſeſs many of the qualifications of ſtateſmen, enumerated in the preceding obſervations. The manufacturers and other induſtrious claſſes, whoſe productive labour is the ſource of the inveſtment, bear ſo great a proportion to the total population of the Company's dominions, that the general happineſs and proſperity of the country muſt eſſentially depend on the conduct of the commercial ſervants employed in providing the inveſtment: their conduct cannot be anſwerable to ſuch a charge, unleſs they be converſant in the native languages, and in the cuſtoms and manners of the people, as well as in the laws by which the country is governed. The peace, order, and welfare of whole provinces, may be materially affected by the malverſations, or even by the ignorance and errors of a commercial reſident, whoſe management touches the deareſt and moſt valuable intereſts, and enters into the domeſtic concerns of numerous bodies of people, active and acute from habitual induſtry, and jealous of any act of power injurious to their properties, or contrary to their prejudices and cuſtoms.

8. The civil ſervants of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, therefore, can no longer be conſidered as the agents of a commercial concern; they are in fact the miniſters and officers of a powerful ſovereign; they muſt now be viewed in that capacity with a reference, not to their nominal, but to their real occupations. They are required to diſcharge the functions of magiſtrates, judges, ambaſſadors, and governors of provinces, in all the complicated and extenſive relations of thoſe ſacred truſts and exalted ſtations, and under peculiar circumſtances which greatly enhance the ſolemnity of every public obligation, and aggravate the difficulty of every public charge. Their duties are thoſe of

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ſtateſmen in every other part of the world, with no other characteriſtic differences than the obſtacles oppoſed by an unfavourable climate, a foreign language, the peculiar uſages and laws of India, and the manners of its inhabitants. Their ſtudies, the diſcipline of their education, their habits of life, their manners and morals, ſhould therefore be ſo ordered and regulated as to eſtabliſh a juſt conformity between their perſonal conſideration, and the dignity and importance of their public ſtations, and a ſufficient correſpondence between their qualifications and their duties. Their education ſhould be founded in a general knowledge of thoſe branches of literature and ſcience, which form the baſis of the education of perſons deſtined to ſimilar occupations in Europe. To this foundation ſhould be added an intimate acquaintance with the hiſtory, languages, cuſtoms, and manners of the people of India, with the Mahommedan and Hindu codes of law and religion, and with the political and commercial intereſts and relations of Great Britain in Aſia. They ſhould be regularly inſtructed in the principles and ſyſtem which conſtitute the foundation of that wiſe code of regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-general in Council, for the purpoſe of ſecuring to the people of this empire, the benefit of the ancient and eſtabliſhed laws of the country, adminiſtered in the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution. They ſhould be well informed of the true and ſound principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, and ſufficiently grounded in the general principles of ethics, civil juriſprudence, the laws of nations, and general hiſtory, in order that they may be enabled to diſcriminate the characteriſtic differences of the ſeveral codes of law adminiſtered within the Britiſh empire in India, and practically to combine the ſpirit of each in the diſpenſation of juſtice, and in the maintenance of order and good government. Finally, their early habits ſhould be ſo formed, as to eſtabliſh in their minds ſuch ſolid foundations of induſtry, prudence, integrity, and religion, as ſhould effectually guard them againſt thoſe temptations and corruptions with which the nature of the climate and the peculiar depravity of the people of India, will ſurround and aſſail them in every ſtation, eſpecially upon their firſt arrival in India. The early diſcipline of the ſervice ſhould be calculated to counteract the defects of the climate and the vices of the people, and to form a natural barrier againſt habitual indolence, diſſipation, and licentious indulgence; the ſpirit of emulation in honourable and uſeful purſuits ſhould be kindled and kept alive by the continual proſpect of diſtinction and reward, of profit and honour; nor ſhould any precaution be relaxed in India which is deemed neceſſary in England, to furniſh a ſufficient ſupply of men, qualified to fill the high offices of the ſtate,

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ſtate, with credit to themſelves and with advantage to the public. Without ſuch a conſtant ſucceſſion of men in the ſeveral branches and departments of this government, the wiſdom and benevolence of the law muſt prove vain and inſufficient. Whatever courſe and ſyſtem of diſcipline and ſtudy may be deemed requiſite in England to ſecure an abundant and pure ſource for the efficient ſupply of the public ſervice, the peculiar nature of our eſtabliſhments in the East (ſo far from admitting any relaxation of thoſe wiſe and ſalutary rules and reſtraints) demands that they ſhould be enforced with a degree of additional vigilance and care, proportioned to the aggravated difficulties of the civil ſervice, and to the numerous hazards ſurrounding the entrance of public life in India.

II.

9. It is unneceſſary to enter into any examination of facts, to prove that no ſyſtem of education, ſtudy, or diſcipline, now exiſts either in Europe or in India, founded on the principles, or directed to the objects, deſcribed in the preceding pages; but it may be uſeful in this place to review the courſe through which the junior civil ſervants of the East-India Company now enter upon the important duties of their reſpective ſtations, to conſider to what degree they now poſſeſs, or can attain any means of qualifying themſelves ſufficiently for thoſe ſtations, and to examine whether the great body of the civil ſervants of the East India Company at any of the reſidencies, can now be deemed competent to diſcharge their arduous and comprehenſive truſts, in a manner correſpondent to the intereſts and honour of the Britiſh name in India, or to the proſperity and happineſs of our native ſubjects.

10. The age at which the writers uſually arrive in India, is from ſixteen to eighteen. Their parents or friends in England, from a variety of conſiderations, are naturally deſirous, not only to accelerate the appointment at home, but to diſpatch the young man to India at the earlieſt poſſible period. Some of theſe young men have been educated with an expreſs view to the civil ſervice in India, on principles utterly erroneous and inapplicable to its actual condition; conformably to this error, they have received a limited education, confined principally to commercial knowledge, and in no degree extended to thoſe liberal ſtudies which conſtitute the baſis of education at public ſchools in England. Even this limited courſe of ſtudy is interrupted at the early period of fifteen or ſeventeen years.

11. It would be ſuperfluous to enter into any argument to demonſtrate the

the abſolute inſufficiency of this claſs of young men to execute the duties of any ſtation whatever in the civil ſervice of the Company, beyond the menial, laborious, unwholeſome and unprofitable duty of a mere copying clerk. Thoſe who have received the benefits of a better education, have the misfortune to find the courſe of their ſtudies prematurely interrupted at the critical period when its utility is firſt felt, and before they have been enabled to ſecure the fruits of early application.

12. Both deſcriptions of young men, thoſe whoſe education has been originally erroneous and defective; and thoſe, the early promiſe of whoſe ſtudies has been unſeaſonably broken, when arrived in India, are equally precluded from the means, either of commencing a new and judicious courſe of ſtudy, adapted to their new ſituation, or of proſecuting that courſe which has been unſeaſonably interrupted. Not only no encouragement is offered by the preſent conſtitution and practice of the civil ſervice to any ſuch purſuits, but difficulties and obſtacles are preſented by both, which render it nearly impoſſible for any young man, whatever may be his diſpoſition, to purſue any ſyſtematic plan of ſtudy, either with a view to remedy the defects, or to improve the advantages of his former education.

13. On the arrival of the writers in India, they are either ſtationed in the interior of the country, or employed in ſome office at the preſidency.

14. If ſtationed in the interior of the country, they are placed in ſituations which require a knowledge of the language and cuſtoms of the natives; or of the regulations and laws; or of the general principles of juriſprudence; or of the details of the eſtabliſhed ſyſtems of revenue; or of the nature of the Company's inveſtment, or of many of theſe branches of information combined. In all theſe branches of knowledge, the young writers are totally uninformed, they are conſequently unequal to their preſcribed duties. In ſome caſes, their ſuperior in office, experiencing no benefit from their ſervices, leaves them unemployed: in this ſtate, many devote their time to thoſe luxuries and enjoyments which their ſituation enables them to command, without making any effort to qualify themſelves for the important ſtations to which they are deſtined. They remain ſunk in indolence, until, from their ſtation in the ſervice, they ſucceed to offices of high public truſt.

15. Poſitive incapacity is the neceſſary reſult of theſe pernicious habits of inaction, the principles of public integrity are endangered, and the ſucceſsful adminiſtration of the whole government expoſed to hazard. This has been the unhappy courſe of many who have conceived

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ceived an early diſguſt, in provincial ſtations, againſt buſineſs to which they have found themſelves unequal, and who have been abandoned to the effects of deſpondency and ſloth.

16. Even the young men whoſe diſpoſitions are the moſt promiſing, if ſtationed in the interior of the country, at an early period after their arrival in India, labour under great diſadvantages. They alſo find themſelves unequal to ſuch duties, as require an acquaintance with the languages, or with the branches of knowledge already deſcribed. If entirely employed in the ſubordinate details of office, they are abſolutely precluded from reviving any former acquirements, or from eſtabliſhing thoſe foundations of uſeful knowledge indiſpenſably neceſſary to enable them hereafter to execute the duties of important ſtations with ability and credit. Haraſſed with the ungrateful taſk of tranſcribing papers and accounts, or with other equally fatiguing and fruitleſs labours of a copying clerk or index maker, their purſuit of uſeful knowledge cannot be ſyſtematic; if attempted in any degree, their ſtudies are deſultory and irregular, and their attention to any definite purſuit is ſtill more diſtracted by the uncertainty of the nature of thoſe employments to which they may hereafter be nominated.—No courſe of ſtudy having been pointed out by public inſtitution, no ſelection preſcribed by authority of the branches of knowledge appropriated to each department and claſs of the ſervice, diligence is loſt for want of a guide, and the moſt induſtrious are diſcouraged by the apprehenſion that their ſtudies may prove fruitleſs, and may fruſtrate, inſtead of promoting, their advancement in the public ſervice.

17. When their rank in the ſervice has entitled them to ſucceed to offices of importance, the current duties of theſe offices neceſſarily engroſs their whole attention. It is then too late to revert to any ſyſtematic plan of ſtudy with a view to acquire thoſe qualifications, of which, in the ordinary diſcharge of their official functions, they feel the hourly want; if at this late ſeaſon they ſhould make an effort to acquire knowledge, it muſt be ſought by the interruption of their current buſineſs, to the detriment of the public intereſts, and to the inconvenience or injury of the individuals ſubject to their authority.

18. With reſpect to the young men attached to the offices at the preſidency, their duty conſiſts chiefly in tranſcribing papers. This duty, if purſued with the utmoſt diligence and aſſiduity, affords little knowledge of public affairs, is often prejudicial to health, and would be better performed by any native or Portugueze writer. They obtain no diſtinct knowledge of the public records, becauſe they purſue no regular courſe of reading, examining or comparing the documents which

compoſe

compose those public records; they have indeed scarcely time to understand and digest those papers which they are employed to transcribe; their acquaintance even with the current affairs of the government must be limited and partial, and must rather tend to confuse than to instruct their minds. At the expiration of the period during which they usually remain in these situations at the presidency, their knowledge of public business is necessarily superficial and incorrect; having had little intercourse with the natives, these young men are in general extremely deficient in the knowledge of the language of the country. In the mean time, their close and laborious application to the hourly business of transcribing papers has been an insuperable objection to their advancement in any other branch of knowledge, and at the close of two or three years they have lost the fruits of their European studies, without having gained any useful knowledge of Asiatic literature or business. Those whose dispositions lead them to idleness and dissipation, find greater temptations to indulgence and extravagance at the presidency, than in the provinces. Many instances occur in which they fall into irretrievable courses of gaming, and totally destroy their health and fortunes. Some succeed, in the ordinary progress of the service, to employments, in which their incapacity or misconduct becomes conspicuous to the natives, disgraceful to themselves, and injurious to the state.

19. All these descriptions of young men, upon their first arrival in India, are now exposed to a disadvantage the most perilous that can be encountered at an early period of life. Once landed in India, their studies, manners, morals, expences, or conduct, are no longer subject to any degree of regulation or direction; no system is established for their guidance, improvement, or restraint; no authority has been constituted with either the duty or power of enforcing any such system; and they are abandoned at the age of sixteen or eighteen, with affluent incomes, to pursue their own inclinations, without the superintendance or controul of parent, guardian, or master; often without a friend to advise or admonish, or even to instruct them in the ordinary details and modes of an Indian life.

20. The practice of consigning the young writers to the care of friends resident in India, affords no adequate remedy to this evil. Those friends are often incompetent to the arduous and delicate task imposed upon them; and it frequently happens that they may be so far removed from the spot at which the young man may be stationed by the government, that years may elapse before he may have been able

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even to ſee the perſons appointed by his European friends to ſuperintend his introduction into India.

21. In earlier periods of our eſtabliſhment, when the annual incomes of the civil ſervants were of a more fluctuating nature, and derived from ſources more vague and indefinite, the tables of the ſenior ſervants were usually open to thoſe more recently arrived from Europe; and the young writers, upon their firſt landing in India, were frequently admitted and domiciliated in the families eſtabliſhed at the preſidency or in the provinces.

22. The objections of this looſe and irregular ſyſtem were numerous and obvious: without entering upon that topic, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that the definite and regular ſources of profit eſtabliſhed in the civil ſervice by Lord Cornwallis have occaſioned a material alteration in the economy of every private family among the civil ſervants.

23. Incomes being limited and aſcertained, and no other ſource of emolument now exiſting beyond the annual ſavings from the regulated ſalaries, the tables of the civil ſervants can no longer be open to receive the numerous body of writers annually arriving from Europe; ſtill leſs can theſe young men be generally admitted to reſide habitually in families of which the annual expences are now neceſſarily reſtrained within certain and regular boundaries.

24. Many of the young men, on their firſt arrival, are therefore compelled to ſupport the expence of a table; the reſult of this neceſſarily is obvious, and forms one leading cauſe of expence and diſſipation.

25. Under all theſe early diſadvantages, without rule or ſyſtem to direct their ſtudies, without any preſcribed object of uſeful purſuit connected with future reward, emolument, or diſtinction; without any guide to regulate, or authority to controul their conduct, or to form, improve, or preſerve their morals, it is highly creditable to the individual characters of the civil ſervants of the Eaſt India Company, that ſo many inſtances have occurred, in various branches and departments of the civil ſervice at all the preſidencies, of perſons who have diſcharged their public duties with conſiderable reſpect and honour.

26. It has been juſtly obſerved, that all the merits of the civil ſervants are to be aſcribed to their own character, talents, and exertions, while their defects muſt be imputed to the conſtitution and practice of the ſervice, which have not been accommodated to the progreſſive changes of our ſituation in India, and have not kept pace with the growth of this empire, or with the increaſing extent and importance of the functions and duties of the civil ſervants.

27. The ſtudy and acquiſition of the languages have however been extended

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extended in Bengal; and the general knowledge and qualifications of the civil servants have been improved: the proportion of the civil servants in Bengal, who have made a considerable progress towards the attainment of the qualifications requisite in their several stations, appears great, and even astonishing when viewed with regard to the early disadvantages, embarrassments, and defects of the civil service. But this proportion will appear very different when compared with the exigencies of the state, with the magnitude of these provinces, and with the total number of the civil servants, which must supply the succession to the great offices of the government. It must be admitted that the great body of the civil servants in Bengal, is not at present sufficiently qualified to discharge the duties of the several arduous stations in the administration of this empire; and that it is peculiarly deficient in the judicial, fiscal, financial, and political branches of the government.

28. The state of the civil services of Madras and Bombay is still more defective than that of Bengal. Various causes have concurred to aggravate in an extreme degree, at both those presidencies, all the defects existing in the civil service of Bengal, while many circumstances peculiar to those presidencies have favoured the growth of evils at present unknown in this. The condition of the writers on their first arrival at either of the subordinate presidencies is still more destitute, and more exposed to hazard than at Calcutta.

29. The study and acquisition of the languages, and of other necessary attainments, has not been extended in the civil service at Madras or Bombay to any considerable degree. To this remark eminent and meritorious individual exceptions exist in the civil service at both the subordinate presidencies; but those exceptions are not sufficiently numerous to constitute a general rule. But whatever may be the actual condition of the civil service in its superior classes at any of the presidencies, if the arduous duties of that service have been justly defined in the preceding pages, if the qualifications necessary for their discharge have been truly described, if the neglected and exposed condition of the early stages of the service has not been exaggerated, it must be admitted that those stages of the service require additional safeguards, and a more effectual protection. The extraordinary exertions of individual diligence, the partial success of singular talents, or of peculiar prudence and virtue, constitute no rational foundation of a public institution, which should rest on general and certain principles. If the actual state of the higher classes of the civil service were such as to justify a confidence in the general competency of the civil servants to meet the exigencies of their duties, the necessity of correcting the evil stated in the preceding pages

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would still remain, unless the facts alleged could be disproved. It would still be a duty incumbent on the government to remove any obstacles tending to embarrass or retard the progress of their servants in attaining the qualifications necessary for their respective stations. The government is not released from this duty by the extraordinary or even general exertions of these servants, to surmount the early difficulties of the first stages of the service. If the good government of this empire be the primary duty of its sovereign, it must ever be a leading branch of that duty to facilitate to the public officers and ministers the means of qualifying themselves for their respective functions: the efficiency of the service cannot be wisely or conscientiously left to depend on the success of individual or accidental merit, struggling against the defects of established institutions, operating in a regular and uninterrupted course upon the various characters, talents, and acquirements of individuals. The nature of our establishments should furnish fixed and systematic encouragement to animate, to facilitate, to reward the progress of industry and virtue; and fixed and systematic discipline to repress and correct the excesses of contrary dispositions.

30. From these remarks may be deduced the indispensable necessity of providing some speedy and effectual remedy for the improvement of the education of the young men destined to the civil service in India. The nature of that remedy will afford matter of serious discussion.

31. It may, however, be useful, previous to that discussion, to advert to a general topic of argument, which may possibly be adduced to disprove the necessity of any new institution for the improvement of the civil service of the East India Company. It may be contended, that this service, through a long period of years, and in the course of various changes and chances, has always furnished men equal to the exigency of the occasion; that servants of the Company have never been wanting to conduct to a happy issue the numerous revolutions which have taken place in the affairs of the Company in India; and that these eminent personages have ultimately raised the British empire in India, on the most solid foundations of glory, wealth, and power. Why, therefore, should we apprehend that the source hitherto so fruitful, and furnishing so abundant a stream of virtue and talents, will fail in the present age, and prove insufficient to the actual demands of our interests in this quarter of the globe? The answer to this topic of argument is obvious: Extraordinary combinations of human affairs, wars, revolutions, and all those unusual events which form the marked features and prominent characters of the history of mankind, naturally bring to light talents and exertions adapted to such emergencies. That the

civil

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civil or military service of the East India Company, has supplied persons calculated to meet all the wonderful revolutions of affairs in India, is a circumstance not to be attributed to the original or peculiar constitution of either service at any period of time; that constitution has undergone repeated alterations, at the suggestion, and under the direction of the great characters which it has produced; and it has still been found answerable to every new crisis of an extraordinary nature. But it must never be forgotten that the successive efforts of those eminent personages, and the final result of various revolutions and wars, have imposed upon the East India Company, the arduous and sacred trust of governing an extensive and populous empire. It is true that this empire must be maintained in some of its relations by the same spirit of enterprise and boldness which acquired it. But duty, policy, and honour require that it should not be administered as a temporary and precarious acquisition; as an empire conquered by prosperous adventure, and extended by fortunate accident, of which the tenure is as uncertain as the original conquest and successive extension were extraordinary: it must be considered as a sacred trust, and a permanent succession. In this view its internal government demands a constant, and steady, and regular supply of qualifications in no degree similar to those which distinguished the early periods of our establishment in India, and laid the foundations of our empire. The stability of that empire, whose magnitude is the accumulated result of former enterprise, activity, and resolution, must be secured by the durable principles of internal order; by a pure, upright, and uniform administration of justice; by a prudent and temperate system of revenue; by the encouragement and protection of industry, agriculture, manufacture, and commerce; by a careful and judicious management of every branch of financial resource; and by the maintenance of a just, firm, and moderate policy towards the native powers of India. To maintain and support such a system in all its parts, we shall require a succession of able magistrates, wise and honest judges, and skilful statesmen, properly qualified to conduct the ordinary movements of the great machine of government.

92. The military establishments of this empire, form no part of the subject of this present inquiry. It may be sufficient to observe in this place, that their extent, and the spirit in which they require to be governed, must correspond with the magnitude of the empire, and with the general character of our civil policy. In the civil service we must now seek, not the instruments by which kingdoms are overthrown, revolutions governed, or wars conducted, but an inexhaustible supply of

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useful knowledge, cultivated talents, and well ordered and disciplined morals; these are the necessary instruments of a wise and well regulated government; these are the genuine and unfailing means of cultivating and improving the arts of peace, of diffusing affluence and happiness, willing obedience and grateful attachment over every region and district of the vast empire, and of dispensing to every class and description of our subjects, the permanent benefits of secure property, protected life, undisturbed order, and inviolate religion. It is not the nature of these inestimable blessings to spring from a turbid source, or to flow in a contracted and irregular channel.

33. The early education of the civil servants of the East India Company is the source from which will ultimately be derived the happiness or misery of our native subjects; and the stability of our government will bear a due proportion to its wisdom, liberality and justice.

III.

34. From the preceding discussion, it appears, that the actual state of the Company's civil service in India is far removed from perfection or efficiency, and that the cause of this defect is to be found principally, if not exclusively, in the defective education of the junior civil servants, and in the insufficient discipline of the early stages of the service. The facts which have been reviewed in the course of this discussion, furnish the main principles on which an improved system of education and discipline may be founded, with a view to secure the important ends of such an institution.

35. The defects of the present condition of the civil service may be comprised under the following heads:—

First, An erroneous system of education in Europe, confined to commercial and mercantile studies.

Secondly, The premature interruption of a course of study judiciously commenced in Europe.

Thirdly, The exposed and destitute condition of young men on their first arrival in India, and the want of a systematic guidance and established authority to regulate and controul their moral and religious conduct in the early stages of the service.

Fourthly, The want of a similar system and authority to prescribe and enforce a regular course of study, under which the young men, upon their arrival in India, might be enabled to correct the errors, or to pursue and confirm the advantages of their European education, and to attain a knowledge of the languages, laws, usages and customs of India, together

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gether with such other branches of knowledge as are requisite to qualify them for their several stations.

Fifthly, The want of such regulations as shall establish a necessary and inviolable connection between promotion in the civil service and the possession of those qualifications requisite for the due discharge of the several civil stations.

36. It is obvious that an education exclusively European or Indian, would not afford an adequate remedy for such of these defects as relate to the morals and studies of the East India Company's servants, and would not qualify them for the discharge of duties of a mixed and complicated nature, involving the combined principles of Asiatic and European policy and government. Their education must therefore be of a mixed nature, its foundation must be judiciously laid in England, and the superstructure systematically completed in India.

37. An important question may arise, with respect to the proportion of time to be employed in that part of the education of the junior civil servants, which should be appropriated to England, and accomplished previously to their departure for India. It may be contended, that many of the enumerated evils may be precluded, by not allowing the writers to proceed to India until they shall have attained a more advanced age than that at which they now usually embark, and by requiring them to undergo examinations in England, for the purpose of ascertaining their proficiency in the branches of knowledge necessary to the discharge of their duties in India.

38. To this arrangement, various objections of a private, but most important nature, will arise in the mind of every parent, who may have destined his children for India. To attain any considerable progress in the course of education and study described in this paper, must necessarily require the detention of the student in Europe to the age of twenty or twenty-two years; many parents could not defray the expense of such an education in England, even if the other means of prosecuting it now existed, or could hereafter be provided at any school or college at home.

39. Other objections of a private nature might be stated against this plan; but those which are founded on public considerations appear to be absolutely insurmountable. It is a fundamental principle of policy in the British establishments in the East Indies, that the views of the servants of the Company should terminate in the prospect of returning to England, there to enjoy the emoluments arising from a due course of active and honourable service in India.

40. Were the civil servants, instead of leaving England at the age of

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ſixteen or ſeventeen, to be detained until the age of twenty or twenty-two, a great proportion of them muſt abandon all hope of returning with a moderate competence to their native country.

41. Remaining in England to this advanced age, many would form habits and connexions at home not to be relinquiſhed at that period of life without great reluctance, and few would accommodate themſelves with readineſs and facility, to the habits, regulations, and diſcipline of the ſervice in India.

42. While theſe cauſes would render the civil ſervants untractable inſtruments in the hands of the government of India, the regular progreſs through the ſervice would alſo be retarded: twenty-five years may be taken as the period within which a civil ſervant may regularly acquire, with proper habits of œconomy, an independent fortune in India. Upon this calculation, before the moſt ſucceſsful could hope to be in a ſituation to return to England, they would have attained an age, when many of the powerful affections and inducements, which now attract the ſervants of the Company to return to their native country, would be greatly weakened, if not entirely extinguiſhed.

43. At that age, many from neceſſity, and many probably from choice, would eſtabliſh themſelves permanently in India. It is unneceſſary to detail the evil conſequences which would reſult to the Britiſh intereſts in India, were ſuch an habit to become general in the civil ſervice.

44. Detention in England to the age of twenty or twenty-two years, would certainly afford the writers an opportunity of advancing their knowledge in the neceſſary branches of European ſtudy: but within that period of time, even in thoſe branches, it could ſcarcely be completed; eſpecially in the important ſciences of general ethics and juriſprudence, (for how few underſtandings are equal to ſuch a courſe of ſtudy previouſly to the age of twenty!) and it would be entirely defective in the eſſential point of connecting the principles of thoſe ſciences with the laws of India, and with the manners and uſages of its inhabitants. No eſtabliſhment formed in England would give a correct* practical knowledge of the languages, laws, and cuſtoms of India, of the peculiar habits and genius of the people, of their mode of tranſacting buſineſs, and of the characteriſtic features of their vices or virtues. Thoſe moſt eſſential acquirements would therefore remain to be obtained after the arrival of the ſtudent in India, at an age when the ſtudy of languages is attended with additional difficulties, when any preſcribed courſe of

ſtudy,

* Sir William Jones was not intelligible to the natives of India (when he arrived at Calcutta,) in any of the oriental languages.

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study, when any systematic discipline, or regular restraint, becomes irksome, if not intolerable. As the East India Company's servants would arrive in India at a period of life too far advanced to admit of subjection to any system of public discipline or controul, they must necessarily be left to the dictates of their own discretion, with regard to whatever part of their knowledge had been left incomplete in Europe.

45. The wants and expenses of individuals arriving in India at the age of twenty or twenty-two years, would greatly exceed the scale of the public allowances to the junior servants. At this age no restraint could be applied in India to their moral conduct, for the purpose of protecting them against the peculiar depravities incident to the climate, and to the character of the natives.

46. From the early age at which the writers are now usually sent to India, opportunity is afforded to the government, on the spot, of obtaining a knowledge of the characters of individuals, before they become eligible to stations of trust and importance. Of this advantage the government would be in a great degree deprived, if the East India Company's servants were all detained in England until the age of twenty or twenty-two. This inconvenience would prove nearly an insurmountable impediment to the important and necessary rule of selecting for public office, those best qualified to discharge its duties with propriety and effect.

47. The junior civil servants must therefore continue to embark for India at the age of fifteen or sixteen, that they may be tractable instruments in the hands of the government of the country, that their morals and habits may be formed with proper safeguards against the peculiar nature of the views and characteristic dangers of Indian society; that they may be enabled to pass through the service before the vigour of life has ceased, and to return with a competent fortune to Europe, while the affections and attachments which bind them to their native country continue to operate with full force; and lastly, that they may possess regular, reasonable, and certain means of attaining the peculiar qualifications necessary for their stations.

48. Under all these circumstances the most deliberate and assiduous examination of all the important questions considered in this paper, determined the Governor General to found a collegiate institution at Fort William by the annexed regulations†.

49. This regulation comprises all the fundamental principles of the institution. The detailed statutes for the internal discipline and good government

† See the Regulations, Asiatic Register, Vol. II.

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government of the college will be framed gradually as circumſtances may require.

50. A common table and apartments are to be provided in the college, for all the civil ſervants who may be attached to the eſtabliſhment.

51. The benefits of the eſtabliſhment are extended to the junior civil ſervants of Fort St. George and Bombay, who will be directed to proceed to Fort William, as ſoon as the accommodations requiſite for their reception ſhall have been provided.

52. This arrangement appeared in every reſpect preferable to the eſtabliſhment of colleges, at both or either of thoſe preſidencies. Independent of the conſiderations of expenſe and other objections, and impediments to the foundation of ſuch inſtitutions at Fort St. George and Bombay, it is of eſſential importance that all the civil ſervants of the Company ſhould be uniform, and ſhould be conducted under the immediate ſuperintendance of that authority, which is primarily reſponſible for the government of the whole of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, and which muſt conſequently be moſt competent to judge of the nature and principles of the education which may be moſt expedient for the public intereſts. It may be expected that the operation of this part of the new inſtitution will ultimately extinguiſh all local jealouſies and prejudices among the ſeveral preſidencies; the political, moral, and religious principles of all the Britiſh eſtabliſhments in India, will then be derived directly from one common ſource; the civil ſervice of Bengal is unqueſtionably farther advanced in every uſeful acquiſition, and in every reſpect more regular and correct, than that of either of the ſubordinate preſidencies; no more ſpeedy or efficacious mode can be deviſed, of diffuſing, throughout India, the laudable ſpirit of the ſervice of Bengal, and of extending the benefit of improvements, which, under the new inſtitution, may be expected to make a rapid progreſs at the ſeat of government, than by rendering Fort William the centre of the education and diſcipline of the junior civil ſervants in India.

53. Proviſion is made for admitting to the benefits of the inſtitution, civil ſervants of a longer ſtanding than three years, (on their making application for that purpoſe,) under ſuch regulations as may be deemed adviſeable. The inſtitution may prove highly beneficial to many ſervants of this deſcription, as many of them will be received on the eſtabliſhment, as its funds and other conſiderations may admit.

54. Proviſion is alſo made for extending the benefits of the inſtitution, to as many of the junior military ſervants as it may be found practicable to admit from all the preſidencies; eſſential benefits will reſult

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fult to the British armies in India, from the annual introduction of a number of young men well verſed in the languages, with which every officer, but particularly thoſe belonging to the natives corps, ought to be acquainted: it is alſo of moſt eſſential importance to the army in India, that it ſhould be compoſed of officers attached by regular inſtruction, and diſciplined habits, to the principles of morality, good order, and ſubordination.

55. Further regulations are in the contemplation of the Governor-general, for the education of the cadets deſtined for the army in India, which will be connected intimately with the preſent foundation.

56. It cannot be denied that during the convulſions with which the doctrines of the French revolution have agitated the continent of Europe, erroneous principles of the ſame dangerous tendency had reached the minds of ſome individuals in the civil and military ſervice of the Company in India; and the ſtate, as well of political, as religious opinions, had been in ſome degree unſettled: the progreſs of this miſchief would at all times be aided by the defective and irregular education of the writers and cadets; an inſtitution tending to fix and eſtabliſh ſound and correct principles of religion and government in their minds at an early period of life, is the beſt ſecurity that can be provided for the ſtability of the Britiſh power in India. The letter of the court of Directors, under date the 25th of May 1798, has been conſtantly preſent to the Governor-general's mind; it is ſatisfactory to know, after the fulleſt conſideration, that many apprehenſions ſtated in that letter, appear to have been conceived with more force than is required by the actual ſtate of any of the ſettlements in India.

57. But among other important advantages of the new inſtitution, it will provide the moſt effectual and permanent remedy againſt the evils (as far as they exiſted) which it was the object of the orders of the honourable court, of the 25th of May 1798, to correct.

58. The ſituation of the junior ſervants on their early arrival in India, has been fully deſcribed in that paper; under the new inſtitution they will be immediately received by the provoſt, a clergyman of the church of England; they will be provided with apartments in the college, and with a common table; conſequently they will be removed from the danger of profuſion, extravagance, and exceſs. Every part of their private conduct, their expenſes, their connexions, their manners and morals, will be ſubject to the notice of the provoſt, and principal

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principal officers of the college, and (through the collegiate authorities to the government itself.

59. While attached to the inſtitution, the junior ſervants will have the moſt ample means afforded them of completing the European branch of their education, or of correcting its defects; of acquiring whatever local knowledge may be neceſſary for that department of the ſervice, in which (after mature reflection on their own inclinations and talents) they may determine to engage; of forming their manners, and of fixing their principles on the ſolid foundations of virtue and religion.

60. The acquirements, abilities, and moral character of every civil ſervant may be aſcertained before he can be eligible to a public ſtation; and every ſelection of perſons, for high and important offices, may be made under a moral certainty that the public expectation cannot be diſappointed.

61. The 24th clauſe of the regulation will afford the foundation of a law, which may at all times ſecure the civil ſervice againſt the effects of the poſſible partiality or ignorance of any government.

62. It is intended that the allowance of every civil ſervant, of leſs than three years ſtanding, being a ſtudent in the college, ſhould be brought to one ſtandard of 300 rupees per month, without any allowance for a moonſhee.

63. As a table and apartments will be provided for the ſtudents, this allowance will place them in a better ſituation than any writer of the ſame ſtanding now enjoys. With theſe advantages, under the control of the official authorities of the college, and with the benefit of their advice and admonition, aided by ſtatutes for the prevention of extravagance and debt, it may be hoped, that many young men will adopt early habits of economy, and will lay the foundations of honeſt independence, at a much earlier period than is now practicable. This advantage will be conſiderable in every view, in none more than as it will tend to contract the period of each ſervant's reſidence in India, to give a nearer proſpect of return to England, and to keep that deſirable object more conſtantly in view.

64. The diſcipline of the college will be as moderate as can be conſiſtent with the ends of the inſtitution. It will impoſe no harſh or humiliating reſtraint, and will be formed on principles combining the diſcipline of the Univerſities in England with that of the Royal Military Academies of France and of other European monarchies.

65. It may be expected that the great majority of young men, on their arrival in India, will eagerly embrace the opportunities afforded

to

to them by this inſtitution, of laying the foundations of private character, of public reputation, and of early independence. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that many will be ſo inſenſible to their own honour and intereſts, and ſo deſtitute of every liberal feeling and ſentiment, as not to prefer the propoſed courſe of ſtudies in the college, to the menial labour now impoſed upon them, of tranſcribing papers in an office, where, in the nature of their duty, they are levelled with the native and Portugueze clerks, although infinitely inferior in its execution.

66. Thoſe young men, who may not at the firſt view diſcover all the advantages to be derived from the inſtitution, will ſoon improve by the example and communications of others; if any individual ſhould continue inſenſible to the calls of public duty, and of private reputation, (and it is of importance that perſons of this deſcription ſhould be known, before an opportunity has been afforded to them of injuring the public intereſts by their vices and defects,) the public good will demand that they ſhould be puniſhed by neglect and excluſion from employment. Conſidering the liberal manner in which the ſervants of the Company are rewarded for their ſervices, the public may juſtly inſiſt on ſubmiſſion to whatever regulations may be preſcribed by this inſtitution.

67. The excitements to exertion being as powerful, as the conſequences of contrary habits will be ruinous, inſtances of groſs neglect or contumacy will rarely occur. In this reſpect the inſtitution poſſeſſes peculiar advantages, and it will become a powerful inſtrument in the hands of the government in India, who will be enabled thereby to bring the general character of the ſervants of the Company to ſuch a ſtandard of perfection as the public intereſts require. To every other inducement, which any collegiate inſtitution in the world can ſupply for the encouragement of diligence, will be added the immediate view of official promotion, increaſe of fortune, and diſtinction in the public ſervice.

68. If it be aſked, whether it is proper that the whole time of the junior ſervants, for the firſt three years of their reſidence in India, ſhould be devoted to ſtudy in the college, and that the Company ſhould loſe the benefit of their ſervices, during that period, while the junior ſervants receive a ſalary?

69. It may be inquired on the other hand, what is now the occupation of the civil ſervants for the firſt three years after their arrival in India? What benefit the Company now derive from the ſervices of the junior ſervants during that period? And what in general are now the characters and qualifications of thoſe ſervants at the expiration of

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that period? In all these questions, sufficient answers have been given in the preceding pages. Further details respecting the nature of the institution, will be forwarded officially to the court of directors at an early period.

70. The reasons which induced the Governor-general to found the college, without any previous reference to England, were these:—His conviction of the great immediate benefit to be derived from the early commencement even of the partial operation of the plan. His experience of the great advantages which had been already derived by many of the young men by their attendance on Mr. Gilchrist, in consequence of the first experiment made on a contracted scale, with a view to a more extended institution. His anxiety to impart to the very promising young men, arrived from Europe within these last three years, a share of the advantages described in this paper; and his solicitude to superintend the foundation of the institution, and to accelerate and witness its first effects.

71. This institution will be best appreciated by every affectionate parent in the hour of separation from his child, destined to the public service in India. Let any parent (especially if he has himself passed through the Company's service in India) declare whether the prospect of this institution has aggravated or mitigated the solicitude of that painful hour, whether it has raised additional doubts and fears, or inspired a more lively hope of the honourable and prosperous service, of the early and fortunate return of his child.

72. With regard to the funds for defraying the expense of the institution, the Governor-general does not intend, without the sanction of the honourable court of directors, to subject the Company to any expense on account of the institution, beyond that which has already received their sanction independently of the institution.

73. The honourable court have authorised this government to purchase the writers buildings if they can be obtained on advantageous terms: these buildings cannot be obtained on such terms; nor can they be advantageously converted to the final purposes of the institution—a sum equal to the just value of the buildings, or to the rent now paid for them, will be applied towards the purchase of a proper spot of ground, and to the buildings requisite for the college.

74. The ground proposed to be employed is situated in the Garden Reach, where three or four of the present gardens will be laid together, a new road formed, and a large space of ground cleared and drained. This arrangement will improve the general health of the neighbourhood of Calcutta, as well as afford ample room for every accommodation required for the use of the college, or for the health of the students.

75.

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75. The expenſes of the inſtitution will, be provided for by a ſmall contribution from all the civil ſervants in India, to be deducted from their ſalaries. This reſource will probably be ſufficient for all preſent purpoſes, with the addition of the fund now applied to the moonſhee's allowance, and of the profits to be derived from a new arrrangement of the government printing preſs.

76. The Governor-general has not deemed it proper, in the firſt inſtance, to ſubject the Company to any additional expenſe on account of the inſtitution. The honourable the court of directors will, however, reflect, that this inſtitution is calculated to extend the bleſſings of good government to the many millions of people whom Providence has ſubjected to our dominions; to perpetuate the immenſe advantages now derived by the Company from their poſſeſſions in India, and to eſtabliſh the Britiſh empire in India, on the ſolid foundations of ability, integrity, virtue, and religion. The approved liberality of the honourable court will, therefore, certainly be manifeſted towards this inſtitution, to an extent commenſurate to its importance. It would produce a moſt ſalutary impreſſion on India, if the court, immediately on receiving this regulation, were to order the Governor-general in council to endow the college with an annual rent charge on the revenues of Bengal, and to iſſue a ſimilar order to the Governor in council of Fort St. George, with reſpect to the revenue of Myſore, leaving the amount of the endowment upon each fund to the Governor-general in council.

77. All thoſe who feel any concern in the ſupport of the Britiſh intereſts in India, and eſpecially thoſe whoſe fortunes have been acquired in the ſervice of the Company, or whoſe connections may now or hereafter look to this ſervice for advancement, will undoubtedly contribute to the ſupport of the inſtitution; under the auſpices of the Court it is hoped, that a large ſum might be raiſed by ſubſcription in Europe. The Governor-general conſidered the college at Fort William to be the moſt becoming public monument which the Eaſt India Company could raiſe to commemorate the conqueſt of Myſore, he has accordingly dated the law for the foundation of the college on the 4th May 1800, the firſt anniverſary of the reduction of Seringapatam.

78. The early attention of the Governor-general will be directed to the Mahommedan college founded at Calcutta, and to the Hindu college eſtabliſhed at Benares. In the diſorder which preceded the fall of the Mogul empire and the Britiſh conqueſts in India, all the public inſtitutions calculated to promote education and good morals were neglected, and at length entirely diſcontinued. The inſtitutions at Calcutta and Benares may be made the means of aiding the ſtudy of the laws

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laws and languages in the college at Fort William, as well as of correcting the defective moral principles too generally prevalent among the natives of India.

79. An eſtabliſhment of moonſhees and native teachers of the languages under the control of the collegiate officers at Fort William, will be attached to the new college, and the young men will be ſupplied from this eſtabliſhment, inſtead of being left (as at preſent) to exerciſe their own diſcretion, in hiring ſuch moonſhees as they can find at Calcutta or in the provinces.

80. The arrangement reſpecting the native colleges, while they contribute to the happineſs of our native ſubjects, will qualify them to form a more juſt eſtimate of the mild and benevolent ſpirit of the Britiſh government.

81. In ſelecting the Garden Reach for the ſite of the buildings for the new college, two objects were in the contemplation of the Governor-general:

Firſt, That the ordinary reſidence of the ſtudents ſhould be ſo near that of the Governor-general, as that he may have the conſtant means of ſuperintending the whole ſyſtem and diſcipline of the inſtitution. The diſtance of fifteen or ſixteen miles, in this climate, would often embarraſs the communication.

Secondly, That the college ſhould be removed ſome diſtance from the town of Calcutta. The principle of this object is ſufficiently intelligible without further explanation: it is, however, deſirable that the college ſhould not be ſo remote from Calcutta as to preclude the young men from all intercourſe with the ſociety of that city: advantages may be derived from a regulated intercourſe with the higher claſſes of that ſociety; the Garden Reach combines theſe advantages with many others, of ſpace and accommodation. The ſituation of the writers buildings is objectionable, on account of their being placed in the centre of the town; nor could it have been practicable in that ſituation (even if the writers buildings could have been purchaſed on reaſonable terms) to have obtained an area of ground ſufficiently ſpacious for the new building.

82. As it will require a conſiderable time before the new building in Garden Reach can be completed, it is intended in the mean while to continue to occupy the writers buildings, and to hire ſuch additional buildings in the neighbourhood as may be required for the temporary accommodation of the ſtudents and officers of the college, for the library, the dining hall, the lecture rooms, and other purpoſes; it will be neceſſary to make ſome conſiderable purchaſes of books for the foundation

dation of the library; the Governor-general will effect whatever purchases can be made with economy and advantage in India; lists of books will be transmitted to England by an early opportunity, with a view to such purchases as it may be necessary to make in Europe: and the Governor-general entertains no doubt, that the court of directors will contribute liberally towards such purchases. That part of the library of the late Tippoo Sultaun, which was presented by the army to the court of directors, is lately arrived in Bengal; the Governor-general strongly recommends, that the oriental manuscripts composing this collection, should be deposited in the library of the college at Fort William, and it is his intention to retain the manuscripts accordingly, until he shall receive the orders of the court upon the subject: he will transmit lists of the collection by the first opportunity.

83. It is obvious, that these manuscripts may be rendered highly useful to the purposes of the new institution, and that much more public advantage can be derived from them in the library of the college at Fort William, than can possibly be expected from depositing them in London.

84. Such of the manuscripts as may appear merely valuable as curiosities, may be transmitted to England by an early opportunity.

85. It is the intention of the Governor-general that the first term of the college should be opened in the course of the month of November, and the lectures in several of the languages may, it is hoped, be commenced in the course of the ensuing winter.

86. With the aid of such temporary arrangements as may be immediately made, it is expected that many other branches of the institution may be brought into immediate operation, particularly those which relate to the expenses, morals, and general studies of the young men. Fortunately for the objects of the institution, the Governor-general has found at Calcutta, two clergymen of the Church of England, eminently qualified to discharge the duties of provost and vice provost. To the former office he has appointed Mr. Brown, the Company's first chaplain, and to the latter Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Brown's character must be well known in England, and particularly so to some members of the court of directors; it is in every respect such as to satisfy the Governor-general, that his views, in this nomination, will not be disappointed. He has also formed the highest expectations from the abilities, learning, temper, and morals of Mr. Buchanan, whose character is also well known in England, and particularly to Dr. Porteus, bishop of London, and to Dr. Milner, master of Queen's college, in

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the university of Cambridge. With respect to the professorships, those which relate to the languages will be best filled in India, and the Governor-general entertains little doubt that he shall soon be able to fill them permanently in an efficient manner; in the mean while, the most laudable zeal has been manifested by such persons in the civil and military service as are competent to assist the Governor-general in making a temporary provision for the discharge of the duties of these professorships. The persons properly qualified to fill certain of the other professorships must be sought in Europe. The institution will be so framed as to offer strong inducements to such persons, and the Governor-general will endeavour at the earliest period to secure the assistance of talents, learning and morals from Europe, adapted to the great purposes of this institution. It may be useful to observe, in this place, that the professors and native moonshees, or teachers, will be prohibited from instructing any other persons than the students of the college; the object of this regulation is to prevent European parents, resident in India, from attempting to commence or complete, by means of the new institution, the regular education of their children in India: it is an obviously necessary principle of policy to encourage the present practice of sending children born in India, of European parents, at an early age, to Europe for education.

87. The Governor-general means to recommend, that the court of directors should hereafter nominate all persons destined for the civil service at any of the presidencies in India, to be students at the college at Fort William: to each studentship (as has been already observed) will be annexed a monthly salary of 800 rupees, together with apartments and a common table. It will be for the honourable court to decide whether the ultimate destination of the student to the civil establishment of Bengal, Fort St. George, or Bombay, shall be specified in the original appointment to the studentship at the college at Fort William. It would certainly be more advantageous to the public service, that no such appointments should be made in England, and that the ultimate destination of each student should be determined in India, under the authority of government, on the spot, according to the inclinations and acquirements of the students respectively. The improved state of the civil service at Fort St. George, and the indispensable necessity for introducing the same improvements into the service at Bombay, will speedily, under the civil service, at each of those presidencies, be no less advantageous and respectable than that of Bengal.

88. The Governor-general highly applauds the wisdom of the late order of the Court, regulating the rank of the cadets for the artillery,

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according to the period of time when they may be respectively reported to be qualified for commissions, under the institution of the academy at Woolwich. It would be a most beneficial regulation to declare, that the rank of all students appointed to the college at Fort William, in the same season, should be regulated according to their respective progress in the prescribed studies of the college, and to the public testimonials of their respective merit, established according to the discipline and institution of the college.

89. If the court of directors should approve the principles and objects of this institution, and should accordingly order the Governor-general to endow it with a rent charge upon the land revenue of Bengal and Mysore, it would be a gracious act to relieve the civil service from the tax which the Governor-general intends to impose on the public salaries for the support of the college. The tax will indeed be very light, but the court of directors may probably be of opinion, that such an institution as the present ought to be supported rather by the munificence of the sovereign of the country, than by any diminution, however small, of the established allowances of the public officers.

Fort William, 18th Aug. 1800.

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STATE PAPERS.

PAPERS RESPECTING THE TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND EUROPE.

The Continuation of the Series of Official Communications that paſſed between the Commiſſioners for the Affairs of India and the Court of Directors, reſpecting the important Queſtion, "Whether or not the Engliſh Merchants reſident in "India ſhall be allowed to ſend their Goods to the Port of London in their own "Ships?"

AT a court of directors, held on Wedneſday, 10th February 1802,

The chairman from the ſpecial committee laid before the court propoſed paragraphs *(Vide Appendix*, No. XLVI.) for India, in the commercial department, prepared by the committee, for the purpoſe of giving effect to the arrangement formed with the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, reſpecting the trade of individuals with India; and the ſame were read.

The chairman at the ſame time acquainted the court, that with a view to facilitate the tranſmiſſion of the paragraphs, the deputy and himſelf had been deſired by the ſpecial committee to communicate a copy thereof to the earl of Dartmouth; that, in conſequence, his lordſhip had returned the paragraphs, with a variety of propoſed alterations, ſome of which had been adopted by the committee, and accompanied by a letter *(Vide Appendix*, No. XXIII.) dated the 28th of January laſt, explaining the ſame, adding, that he doubts whether it might not be expedient to ſuſpend for the preſent the ſending out any paragraphs at all; but that if, however, the court ſhould think it neceſſary that a diſpatch upon this ſubject ſhould now be ſent out, he has encloſed a paragraph, *(Vide Appendix*, No. XXXIV.) which it may be expedient to add to whatever inſtructions the court may determine upon ſending to India.

That the chairman having yeſterday written to lord Dartmouth, *(Vide Appendix*, No. XXXV.) to know whether the opinion contained in his lordſhip's letter abovementioned, is that of his lordſhip individually, or given in his official capacity?

Lord Dartmouth acquainted him, by a letter *(Vide Appendix*, No. XXXVI.) dated yeſterday, that although his lordſhip's letter reſpecting the paragraphs was intended as a private letter, he has not the ſmalleſt objection to its being ſhewn to the ſpecial committee, and that it is his wiſh that it ſhould be produced

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to the court; adding, however, that the ſentiments which it contains are entirely the reſult of his own private inveſtigations, and to be underſtood wholly as his private opinions.

The chairman then laid before the court the ſeveral letters abovementioned, a copy of the paragraphs returned by lord Dartmouth, and the additional paragraph propoſed by his lordſhip.

And it was, on the queſtion,

Reſolved unanimouſly, That this court approve the paragraphs for India in the commercial department, as prepared by the ſpecial committee.

At a court of directors, held on Wedneſday, 24th February 1802,

A letter, *(Vide Appendix*, No. XXXVII.) from the right hon. the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India, dated the 22d inſt. being read, ſtating that they have taken into their ſerious conſideration the paragraphs on the ſubject of private trade, and that previouſly to their coming to any reſolution reſpecting them, the board deem it proper to call for certain explanations ſtated in their letter now read;

Ordered, That the ſaid letter be referred to the ſpecial committee to examine the report.

At a court of directors, held on Wedneſday, 3d March 1802,

A letter (*Vide Appendix*, No. XXXIX.) from the hon. William Brodrick, dated the 27th ult. being read, ſignifying the deſire of the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India to be furniſhed with a report reſpecting the rates of freight on private trade, in purſuance of the proviſions of the Act of the 33d of his preſent Majeſty;

The chairman from the ſpecial committee laying before the court draft of a letter *(Vide Appendix*, No. XL.) to the hon. William Brodrick, in reply to his letter of the 27th ult. read in court this day;

The ſame was read and approved.

At a court of directors, held on Wedneſday, 10th March 1802,

A letter *(Vide Appendix*, No. XLI.) from John Meheux, eſq. dated the 6th inſt. being read, requeſting, by direction of the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India, to be furniſhed with an account of all foreign ſhips and their tonnage, that have imported and exported at the ſeveral ſettlements in India, for five years laſt paſt, ſpecifying ſeparately each nation and every year, and the ſame account from China; alſo any account that is in poſſeſſion of the court, reſpecting the number of foreign ſhips that have traded to the ſettlements of other European nations in the Eaſt Indies, during the ſame period; alſo

Another letter *(Vide Appendix*, No. XLII.) from Mr. Meheux, dated the 6th inſt. ſignifying, by direction of the board, that the eſtimate which the ſecretary tranſmitted to Mr. Brodrick on the 3d inſt. is not a ſufficient anſwer to their application of the 27th ult. and that the board therefore deſire, that a report may be immediately made to them, agreeably to the 91ſt ſection of the Act 33d Geo. III. cap. 52, and that they further deſire, that the ſame be made regularly in future as the Act requires;

Ordered, That the ſaid letters be referred to the conſideration of the ſpecial committee.

The chairman from the ſpecial committee laying before the court

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draft of a letter *(Vide Appendix,* No. XLIII.) to John Meheux, esq. in reply to his letter of the 6th inst. read in court this day, desiring that a report may be immediately made to the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, agreeably to the 91st section of the Act of the 33d Geo. III. cap. 52;

The same was read and approved.

At a court of directors, held on Tuesday, 23d March 1802,

On reading a letter *(Vide Appendix,* No. XLV.) from the right honourable the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, dated the 20th inst. returning draft No. 45, but stating that, as many alterations have occurred to them, as indispensably necessary to be made, they have substituted a new one in its room: that their object in these alterations is, that a full and fair experiment should be made, agreeably to what seemed to be the opinion of parliament relative to this subject; and that this question involving, as they think it does, some very important interests, may be placed in such a train of arrangement, as, whilst it preserves the rights of the East-India Company, may also afford every facility for carrying on that trade from India, which avowedly the capital of the Company cannot embrace, and which, if obstructed or unreasonably fettered and restrained, will be forced into foreign channels of remittance, to the advantage of the Company's rivals in the markets, and to the obvious detriment of the maritime and commercial interests of this country.

And the said paragraphs *(Vide Appendix,* No. XLVI.) being laid before the court and read,

Ordered, That the said letter and paragraphs be referred to the consideration of the special committee.

At a court of directors, held on Friday, 26th March 1802,

The chairman laid before the court a letter *(Vide Appendix,* No. XLVII.) from the hon. William Brodrick at Whitehall, dated the 25th instant, stating that the board of commissioners are of opinion, that drafts of the tenor of those herewith enclosed (marked A and B) *(Vide Appendix,* Nos. XLVIII. *and* XLIX.) should be transmitted to India, together with draft No. 45, and recommending them to the adoption of the court.

The said letter and drafts were read.

The chairman acquainted the court that he had this morning laid those papers before the special committee, who prepared an additional report in consequence, in which they offer to the court an opinion thereon, and refer to their third report, now ready to be laid before the court.

The said additional report from the special committee, dated this day, was then read, as follows, *viz.*

"The committee having taken into their most mature and deliberate consideration, the amended paragraphs respecting the private trade with India, returned from the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, were preparing to lay before the court their observations thereupon, as well as upon the letter which accompanied those paragraphs, when the subjoined letters were laid before them by the chairman. After an attentive perusal of the whole of these papers, it is with extreme regret the committee feel themselves constrained to report to the court as their opinion,

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that the amendments introduced by the commissioners completely and fundamentally vary the true intent and spirit of the articles agreed upon by this court with the chancellor of his majesty's exchequer; and that the letter received this morning from the board, together with two commercial paragraphs to be transmitted to India, when taken altogether, demonstrate a decided and unequivocal intention of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the East-India Company.

"They therefore judge it to be incumbent upon them to lay the same before the court, together with the materials which they have collected for the elucidation and defence of the Company's rights.

"Still, however, flattering themselves that these rights, solemnly and deliberately granted to them by the legislature, will not be forcibly superseded or destroyed."

Resolved unanimously, That this court approve the said report.

The above-mentioned third report of the special committee appointed to take into consideration the private trade to and from India, dated this day, was read, and ordered to lie for consideration till Tuesday next.

At a court of directors, held on Tuesday, 30th March 1802,

The court proceeding to take into consideration the third report of the special committee appointed to take into consideration the private trade to and from India, dated the 26th instant, and read in court that day;

Resolved unanimously, (*Vide Appendix*, No. L.) That this court approve the said third report from the special committee.

A report from the special committee, dated this day, being now read,

Resolved, That the several proceedings of the court of directors and of the general court thereinmentioned, respecting the trade between India and Europe, together with an Appendix, a list whereof is annexed to the said report, be printed for the information of the proprietors.

APPENDIX.

MEMORANDUM.—The Paragraphs in the Commercial Department, proposed by the Court to be sent to Bengal, will be found in Appendix, No. LI.

No. XXXIII.—*Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to the Chairman, &c. of the Court of Directors.*

Whitehall, 28th Jan. 1802.

GENTLEMEN,

I do not think it necessary to offer any apology for having so long retained in my hands the papers I now return you. The importance of the subject, the variety of matter contained in it, the nature as well as the extent of the reasoning therein urged and adverted to, are such as to have required, on my part, no common share of diligence in their perusal, and no inconsiderable portion of anxiety respecting the opinion I conceive myself now called upon to declare upon the subject, and particularly so, when I find most unexpectedly, what I had considered as a matter of experiment, upon the result of which the future regulation of the private trade was to be formed, is in these paragraphs treated as a fixed and final determination, as a permanent system not hereafter to be

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be departed from, as a regular code not in future to be infringed, by which, in every circumſtance, and under all contingencies, that trade is to be regulated. Long as this matter has been in agitation, much as has been ſaid upon it, divided as opinions ſtill are reſpecting it, I confeſs I do not feel myſelf ripe for ſuch a determination. Contending ſentiments call for experiment, and in my private opinion, which in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs, at leaſt, is all I have to offer, no fixed reſolution ſhould be adopted, till the effect of experiment ſhall be known; and it appears to me particularly neceſſary to pauſe at the preſent moment, becauſe we are already appriſed that the ſtate of the Company's finances in India has compelled the Governor-general to call in the aid of private capital and private ſhipping, to complete the Company's inveſtments; becauſe it is more than probable, that from a continuance of the ſame neceſſity, before any paragraphs tranſmitted from hence to India can arrive at Calcutta, ſimilar expedients may have already been reſorted to, to meet ſimilar difficulties, and engagements formed with the private merchant, which it would be unjuſt, impolitic, and ruinous to ſet aſide; and laſtly, becauſe the proper ſeaſon for permanent regulation appears to me to be that in which, by the ceſſation of the expences of war, and the eſtabliſhment of a wiſe and wholeſome economy, the happy moment ſhall have returned, when the Company's revenues in India ſhall produce a ſufficient ſurplus to furniſh the capital for the purchaſe of their inveſtments. Under ſuch circumſtances, I am not fully convinced of the neceſſity of ſending out any paragraphs whatever.

With regard to the general ſubject, (conſidering this in the light of a private letter,) I will not ſcruple to impart to you the deliberate opinion which a ſedulous, and, I truſt, impartial conſideration of the voluminous papers which have come to my hands reſpecting it, has induced me to form; and I do ſo with confidence, becauſe it is corroborated by that of perſons whom I regard as of the firſt weight upon Indian topics, and without reſtraint, becauſe I am not conſcious of being actuated in this matter by any other motives than thoſe of a zealous wiſh to be inſtrumental in promoting what I conceive will be productive of the greateſt poſſible advantage to the Public and the Company. I think, in the firſt place, that the moſt liberal facilities, for the purpoſe of drawing the trade of India to Great-Britain, can never be prejudicial (I will ſay more, muſt be advantageous) to the Company's intereſts.

Secondly, That every attempt to exclude India-built ſhipping from the trade of India, or any other branch of the Britiſh trade, is highly impolitic; and laſtly, that it would be vain to expect that the ſurplus wealth of India ſhould be allured to this country, unleſs the ſhippers of goods to be exported from India be allowed to provide their own ſhipping, at the loweſt freight at which they can procure it, ſubject only to the following reſtrictions:

1. The merchant not to be allowed to export goods from India to Britain, except under the eye of the ſervants of the Eaſt-India Company, or perſons licenſed by them.
2. Every perſon employed in India, in the conduct of that trade, to be under ſimilar licenſes.
3. All goods imported from India to unload at the port of

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London, and be lodged in the Company's warehouſes; the importers, of courſe, to have the fair advantages reſulting from the trade in which they have embarked.

4. The ſhips, when unladen, to return to India with cargoes, or be diſpoſed of at home, at the option of the proprietors.

You will obſerve, that when I ſtate this to you as my deliberate opinion, I mean no more than that theſe are the principles by which I ſhould have wiſhed the buſineſs to be regulated, if it were now entirely open, unoppoſed by chartered rights, and unſhackled by agreements. I could urge much more upon the general topic; but it is reaſonable that I ſhould relieve you from this long preface, and proceed to ſome conſideration of the propoſed paragraphs.

In paragraph 3, the word "unanimous" ſhould be omitted. The writer of paragraph 4 ſeems to have forgotten, that orders for tranſmiſſion to India were frequently ſent to the board, after the acquieſcence of the Houſe of Commons in Sir William Pulteney's motion.

Paragraph 5. Can it properly be ſaid, that the "oppoſition to the introduction of Indian ſhips did not ariſe from a deſire to exclude them from mixing in the commercial ſhipping of this country?" when it has been ſo often urged, that it would interfere with the ſhip-building here, and the attention of the ſhip-builders to their intereſts has been ſo repeatedly awakened upon the ſubject.

I have always underſtood that the agreement between Mr. Addington and the court of directors was not intended to extend to a final arrangement, but was to be the baſis of an arrangement, upon which a ſyſtem of regulations was to be built, provided that it ſhould appear upon trial that the indulgence granted by the Company had not proved injurious to its intereſts. Upon theſe principles, I conceive that the preſent is not the ſeaſon for ſettling the principles upon which the private trade is to be conducted; I have therefore marked with a pencil part of the ſixth, and the whole of the following paragraphs to twenty, conceiving that it is not expedient that they ſhould be now ſent out; and on this account I refrain from troubling you with any opinions as to the arguments contained in any of the paragraphs ſo propoſed to be omitted. I ſhould propoſe that the latter part of paragraph 20 ſhould alſo be omitted, becauſe it has appeared, ſince theſe paragraphs were drawn up, that the agents for the private merchants are not ſatisfied, and it does not ſeem neceſſary, in this place, to come to a deciſion that they ought to be ſo.

I come now to the eleven articles agreed to by the court of directors, in conferences between Mr. Addington and Mr. Vanſittart on one ſide, and the chairman and deputy chairman on the other. Of theſe I ſhall ſay no more, than that I have never conſidered them in any other light than as the baſis of a future arrangement.

Paragraph 22.

1. Is it meant that the whole of the tonnage to be provided for the private trade, in 1803-4, is to be 6,400 tons of ſhipping? and connecting the tonnage here ſpecified (2,720 tons) with the declaration in paragraph 24, "That it is our intention," &c., this ſeems to be intended: if ſo, it is ſcarcely adequate to the probable demands of a trade, which, in this ſeaſon, in which

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which little cotton was imported (rice not included,) was about two-thirds more than the quantity of tonnage propoſed to be provided.

2. The words "as far as the circumſtances of the reſpective countries will admit," are not ſufficiently definite.

3. When were the ſhips here mentioned contracted for, and for what uſes?

Paragraph 23.

4. I alſo wiſh to inquire, when the contracts for theſe ſhips were entered into, and on what terms?

5. There ſeems to be wanting ſomething of explanation with regard to the ſtipulations in article X.

6. It does not ſeem neceſſary that India-built ſhips, intended for ſale, ſhould be reſtrained to any particular mode of conſtruction; nor is it poſſible that the owners, when ſold, can engage that they ſhall not return *circuitouſly* to India. If by the word "*circuitouſly*" is meant through foreigners, in what manner can they be prevented doing what they pleaſe with the ſhips they have purchaſed?

7. The laſcars, with which the Indian ſhips are often in part manned, are Britiſh ſubjects, and not aliens. Is it poſſible that owners of India ſhips can engage, abſolutely, that two-thirds of their crew ſhould be Europeans? No contract can be made unleſs it be conditional.

Paragraph 24.

8. Of courſe thoſe ſhips cannot be here included which are hired for the voyage home, and to be ſold here. It ſhould be more fully explained what is meant by demurrage and reaſonable expences, and ſome inſtances ſhould be ſtated.

9. The neceſſity of this proviſion is not to me very apparent, as there muſt be always more ſhips than cargoes to go outwards, and opportunity may then be taken of ſuperceding the intended diviſion of half and half.

10. I ſee no reaſon why it ſhould not be provided, that whenever two or more merchants can agree together to load one ſhip, and make application to the governor-general, he ſhould give them permiſſion to do ſo, whether it be a Britiſh or India-built ſhip, directing (if the Court think proper) that the export warehouſe-keeper appoint a Company's ſervant to ſuperintend the loading, but not to put the merchants to the inconvenience and delay of bringing all the goods to the Company's warehouſe. In other caſes, where the ſhips are loaded with the goods of many unconnected merchants, the goods muſt go from the Company's warehouſe.

11. It certainly can never be my wiſh that the free merchants ſhould be independent of the Company; but if the owners of ſhips and goods agree that they find mutual advantage in ſettling the freight between themſelves, it is good ground to go upon. Should the owners of goods complain againſt the ſhip owners, the directors might interfere to do them juſtice.

12. I do not ſuppoſe that it is here intended to deprive the merchants of the privilege of loading at the town of Calcutta, from which ſuch advantages have ariſen to them, in point of diſpatch and economy.

13. The rate of freight to be paid by the merchants is not here ſpecified.

14. Is it not rather a waſteful ſyſtem, to keep gruff goods in ſtore for ſuch a purpoſe, eſpecially when they are loſing articles?

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15. This propoſition ſtrikes at the root of all equality, in the employment of European and India-built ſhipping. Suppoſe the private conſignments for any one year to be ſmall, and the quantity of ſhipping large, half Engliſh and half Indian; by this order all the Engliſh being to be firſt laden, all the Indian ſhips will be unemployed.

16. This propoſal may probably be without effect, unleſs the permiſſion propoſed in note *nine* be granted.

17. This is not ſufficiently explicit. Ships *from London to India* have ſeldom or never a full cargo, often only half a lading. In this caſe the account would ſtand thus: ſuppoſing the whole freight to be 24,000l. goods from India would pay 18,000l. ſhippers of goods from London, 6000l.; the latter, therefore, by the terms of this order, pay 6000l. on half a cargo, that is 10l. per ton inſtead of 5l. Now, as it cannot be intended that they ſhould pay more than 5l. per ton (namely 3000l.) there is a loſs of 3000l. to be made good. This may frequently happen, which would not be the caſe if the owners of Indian ſhips made their own arrangements with the private merchants, as ſuggeſted in *note* X.

The depriving the governments in India of the liberty they have hitherto enjoyed of licenſing Europeans, is a ſtrong meaſure, and there is nothing in what is propoſed with regard to the facilities granted to the private trade that ſeems to juſtify it.

In the remaining paragraphs I have marked a few paſſages, which, for obvious reaſons, I ſhould propoſe to be omitted. Long as this letter has neceſſarily been, you will perceive I have not thought myſelf called upon to go much at length into the plan itſelf. The obſervations I have troubled you with have been chiefly confined to the regulations propoſed for carrying that plan into execution. In the former part of this letter I ſtated a doubt, whether it might not be expedient to ſuſpend, for the preſent, the ſending out any paragraphs at all, as it is ſufficiently known that proviſion is already made for the private trade for the enſuing ſeaſon. If, however, the directors ſhould think it neceſſary that a diſpatch upon this ſubject ſhould now be ſent out, I have encloſed herewith, for your peruſal, a paragraph, which it may be expedient to add to whatever inſtructions the court may determine upon ſending to India. If you agree with me in this opinion, you will, I have no doubt, have the goodneſs to propoſe the adoption of it to the court.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
DARTMOUTH.

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Eaſt-India Company.

No. XXXIV.—*Additional Paragraph propoſed by Lord Dartmouth, and encloſed in his Lordſhip's Letter.*

In the letter from the Governor-general in council to the ſecret committee, of the 9th April 1801, which has been communicated to us, and to which we ſhall reply more fully hereafter, we obſerve that, in order to guard againſt the evils which might attend a ſudden and conſiderable reduction of the Indian inveſtment, the advances for which iſſued throughout the country furniſhed ultimately a reſource for the payment of the land revenues, and by withholding

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of which, difficulties might occur in realizing those revenues, that it had been found necessary to afford the public an assurance that the arrangement adopted in the first year, by the order in council of the 19th September, for allowing the export of goods to England on private ships, would be continued in the ensuing season. We perfectly agree in the sentiments expressed in that letter, in regard to the evil consequences likely to ensue when the Company's investment is much curtailed, if the public were not allowed to fill up the chasm. The class of manufacturers, as therein remarked, is entitled to the constant protection and encouragement of the state, otherwise that useful and valuable body of men might experience distress, the fabricks be debased, valuable branches of manufacture, now supported by the Company, wholly abandoned or materially injured, and the country suffer from the diminution of that supply of specie which is now regularly circulated through the channel of the Company's advances. We were glad to find that the Governor-general in council had taken care to prevent the operation of those evils, or to alleviate their effects, and that with this view it was deemed necessary to afford every possible encouragement to the private merchant, in order that he might be enabled to supply the place of the Company in the market, and to furnish that support to the manufactures which could not proceed from the Company's funds. Should such causes have operated with you in April 1802, or previous to the receipt of this, for encouraging the merchants to make advances at the aurungs for the future season 1803, and have led to the adoption of similar measures, we of course shall approve of the same, notwithstanding the above instructions, taking it for granted that you will act up to the spirit of our orders, as far as you see our interests will admit.

No. XXXV.—*Letter from the Chairman to Lord Dartmouth.*

Mansfield-street, Tuesday, Feb. 9, 1802.

MY LORD,

Upon my return to town on Sunday, I found your lordship's letter addressed to myself and the deputy chairman, on the subject of the private trade paragraphs. Upon the sentiments expressed in that letter, however discordant my opinion may be with that of your lordship, it is not my inclination, nor is it necessary, at this moment, to enter into a general discussion. The cause of my now addressing your lordship is to ascertain how far your letter is to be considered of a private nature, and intended merely for the perusal of myself and the deputy, or whether it is your lordship's wish it should be submitted to the special committee summoned to meet to-day, to consider the amendments proposed in the paragraphs? or, in other words, if I am to regard the opinion quoted in the letter as that of your lordship individually, or given in your official capacity, as fit and proper to be acted upon for the benefit of the East-India Company?—I wish to be allowed to make one remark upon that part of your letter where it is observed, "you had understood the arrangements between Mr. Addington and the court of directors were not intended to extend to final arrangement, but was to be the basis upon which a system of regulations was to be built, provided that it should appear upon trial that the indulgence

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gence granted by the Company had not proved injurious to its intereſts."

That the paper preſented by the deputy and myſelf to Mr. Addington, and altered by him, will bear ſuch a conſtruction, I am not willing to admit; and I ſhall content myſelf for the preſent with referring your lordſhip to the minute itſelf, which I now encloſe for your candid conſideration.

I am, &c.

C. MILLS.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dartmouth.

No. XXXVI.—*Letter from Lord Dartmouth to the Chairman.*

India Board, 9th Feb. 1802.

SIR,

Though my letter reſpecting the private trade paragraphs was certainly intended as a private letter, that form was adopted as a convenient mode of tranſmitting my private opinions in the moſt free and explicit manner, rather than with any other view. I have not the ſmalleſt objection whatever to your ſhewing it to the ſpecial committee, and it is my wiſh that it ſhould be produced alſo to the court. You will underſtand, however, that the ſentiments which it contains are entirely the reſult of my own private inveſtigations, and to be underſtood wholly as my private opinions. With regard to the minute accompanying your letter, I can only now ſay, that it does not ſeem to me ſuſceptible of the latitude of conſtruction which has been given to it. It was, however, ſubmitted to the chancellor of the exchequer, and it is for him to ſtate in what light he conſiders it.

I am, Sir, &c.

DARTMOUTH.

The Hon. Chairman of the East India Company.

No. XXXVII.—*Letter from the Right Hon. the Board of Commiſſioners for the Affairs of India, to the Hon. Court of Directors.*

Whitehall, 22d Feb. 1802.

GENTLEMEN,

We have taken into our ſerious conſideration the paragraphs which you have tranſmitted to us on the ſubject of private trade, and previouſly to our coming to any reſolution reſpecting them, we deem it proper to call for explanations on the following points:

Paragraph 22. As 2720 tons of ſhipping cannot, according to the preſent ſtate of the private trade, be one half of what will be wanted, we beg to know whether this is the utmoſt for which you think it prudent for the Company at preſent to enter into permanent contracts, and your reaſons for that opinion.

We deſire to be informed, whether there are no contingences, ſuch as allowance on the building, home demurrage, or other circumſtances, which, in all probability, will make the rate of freight exceed 14l. per ton, as ſtated in this paragraph; what thoſe circumſtances may be, and if any, what exceſs they will or may occaſion upon the 14l. per ton ſtated by you?

Par. 23. We wiſh to know to what ſhips the following words apply? "As we have engaged extra ſhips ready built, to the amount of 2750 tons builder's meaſurement, for ſix voyages for the private trade." When were theſe ſhips advertiſed for, and when were they engaged, and upon what terms?

Are there any other ſhips engaged for private trade; and if ſo, how many, and upon what conditions?

We requeſt ſome explanation reſpecting the latter part of the 10th pro-

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propoſition, viz. "Provided alſo, that nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to make void any contract or agreement into which the Company have already entered, or to prevent the Company from taking up hereafter, or contracting to build ſhips in Great Britain, on equal or more advantageous terms than thoſe of India." We beg you will ſtate all the contracts already entered into to which this has reference. Are we to ſuppoſe, that after agreeing to the principle of half the ſhips being India and half Britiſh, that the laſt part of this paragraph is to reſerve to the directors the power of giving the preference to Britiſh ſhips when the terms are equal? or what conſtruction is to be put upon it?

You ſay you have engaged ſhips at 14l. per ton; but we do not obſerve that there is a ſufficiency for half of the private trade which may be expected. In 1803-4 other ſhips belonging to the Company, and hired on more expenſive terms, may be employed to bring home a part of the merchants goods; how, in ſuch caſe, do you intend to ſettle the freight, ſo as to make it fair and equal to all the merchants whoſe goods it is propoſed to load, according to the pleaſure of the Company's warehouſe-keepers, no choice being left to the merchants whether their goods ſhall go on the dearer or the cheaper ſhip.

We have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervants,

(Signed by order of the Board of Commiſſioners for the Affairs of India)

W. BRODRICK.

The Hon. Court of Directors of the Eaſt-India Company.

No. XXXVIII.—*Letter from the Secretary to the Hon. William Brodrick.*

Eaſt India Houſe, 24th Feb. 1802.

SIR,

I am ordered by the court of directors to expreſs their readineſs to give the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India every poſſible information, even on ſubjects which, by the act of 33d of his preſent majeſty, appear to the court of directors to be reſerved excluſively to their own deciſion. With this view the encloſed obſervations and anſwers to the queſtions propoſed by the board of commiſſioners, are tranſmitted for their peruſal.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

WILLIAM RAMSAY, *Sec.*

The Hon. William Brodrick.

The Board's Obſervations.

Paragraph 22. As 2720 tons of ſhipping cannot, according to the preſent ſtate of the private trade, be one half of what will be wanted, we beg to know whether this is the utmoſt for which you think it prudent for the Company at preſent to enter into permanent contracts, and your reaſons for that opinion?

The Court's Anſwer.

Paragraph 22. The Company have hitherto formed no preciſe or definite opinion, whether permanent contracts, to a larger amount than 2720 tons, ſhould or ſhould not be entered into, and of courſe can offer no reaſons upon the ſubject.

If the board of commiſſioners will pleaſe to refer to paragraphs 23 and 24, they will ſee that ample proviſion (near 11,000 tons) is made for all the poſſible wants of the private trade.

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1st. Provision is made for 2720 tons at home, upon permanent contracts, and the like quantity is to be provided in India.

2d. 2750 tons of ready built shipping are provided in England, and the like quantity may be engaged in India.

3d. Whenever wants shall occur in India beyond this provision, the governments are authorised to provide for the same, to an indefinite extent; it being understood that this power shall not be abused.

The Board's Observations.

We desire to be informed, whether there are no contingences, such as allowance on the building, home demurrage, or other circumstances, which, in all probability, will make the rate of freight exceed 14l. per ton, as stated in this paragraph; what those circumstances may be, and if any, what excess they will or may occasion upon the 14l. per ton stated by you?

The Court's Answer.

The court foresee no circumstances which can increase the rate of freight of 14l. per ton; but if any such should occur, the increase will equally apply to Indian as to British ships.

The Board's Observations.

Par. 23. We wish to know to what ships the following words apply? "As we have engaged extra ships ready built, to the amount of 2750 tons, builders' measurement, for six voyages for the private trade." When were these ships advertised for, and when were they engaged, and upon what terms?

Are there any other ships engaged for private trade; and if so, how many, and upon what conditions?

The Court's Answer.

Par. 23. With respect to the "extra ships ready built, engaged to the amount of 2750 tons, for six voyages for the private trade," mentioned in the twenty-third paragraph, they were advertised for on the 29th July 1801, and engaged on the 2d October 1801, on the following terms, viz.

1 Ship at	£12	19	0	per ton peace freight.
1 Do. at	13	15	0	
3 Do. at	14	0	0	

The court are not aware of any other ships engaged for the conveyance of private trade, to which the board's observations can apply, except the under-mentioned, amounting to 2298 tons, which were engaged on the 3d December 1801, for one voyage only, viz.

1 Ship at	£12	19	6	per ton peace freight,
1 Do. at	15	0	0	
2 Do. at	15	15	0	

besides those already enumerated.

The Board's Observations.

We request some explanation respecting the latter part of the tenth proposition, viz. "Provided also that nothing herein contained shall be construed to make void any contract or agreement into which the Company have already entered, or to prevent the Company from taking up hereafter, or contracting to build ships in Great Britain, on equal or more advantageous terms than those of India." We beg you will state all the contracts already entered into, to which this has reference. Are we to suppose, that after agreeing to the principle of half the ships being India and half British, that the last part of this paragraph is to reserve to the directors

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rectors the power of giving the preference to Britiſh ſhips when the terms are equal? or what conſtruction is to be put upon it?

The Court's Anſwer.

Tenth propoſition.—The intent of this propoſition can be only to bear harmleſs the Company and individuals, with reſpect to any ſuch engagements as were entered into before an agreement had been formed for making a fair compariſon of the price of Indian tonnage; and it is juſt and reaſonable that ſuch a reſervation ſhould exiſt.

The intended conſtruction of this propoſition is, that a fair compariſon ſhall be made in reſpect to the price of Indian and Britiſh ſhips, and that no preference is to be given, except to the ſhips which ſhall be found to ſail the cheapeſt.

The Board's Obſervations.

You ſay you have engaged ſhips at 14l. per ton; but we do not obſerve that there is a ſufficiency for half of the private trade which may be expected in 1803-4. Other ſhips belonging to the Company, and hired on more expenſive terms, may be employed to bring home a part of the merchants' goods. How, in ſuch caſe, do you intend to ſettle the freight, ſo as to make it fair and equal to all the merchants whoſe goods it is propoſed to load, according to the pleaſure of the Company's warehouſe-keepers, no choice being left to the merchants whether their goods ſhall go on the dearer or the cheaper ſhip?

The Court's Anſwer.

The obſervation relative to the tonnage provided not being more than one-half of what will be wanted for the private trade of 1803-4, is ſufficiently anſwered, under the reply to the board's remarks upon paragraph 22: but it ſhould be added, that if the private trade be laden upon the vacant tonnage of the regular ſhips, no more than in the proportion of 14l. per ton, provided it is peace, will be charged for the ſame; and as the admiſſion of private trade goods at this price into the regular ſhips, if in any event they ſhould not be fully freighted by the Company, would be a ſaving to the Company, and conſequently preferable to letting thoſe ſhips either return not fully freighted, or remain upon demurrage in India.

No. XXXIX.—*Letter from the Hon. W. Brodrick to the Secretary.*

Whitehall, 27th Feb. 1802.

SIR,

I am directed by the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India, to requeſt that you will ſignify to the court of directors, their deſire to be furniſhed with a report reſpecting the rates of freight on private trade, in purſuance of the proviſions of the act of the 33d of his preſent majeſty.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
W. BRODRICK.

William Ramſay, Eſq.

No. XL.—*Letter from the Secretary to Mr. Brodrick.*

Eaſt-India Houſe, 3d March 1802.

SIR,

In anſwer to your letter of the 27th inſtant, I am ordered by the court of directors to tranſmit to you, for the information of the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India, an account, prepared by the court of directors, on the 4th December 1793, reſpecting the rate

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of freight on private trade, in pursuance of the provisions of the act of the 32d of his present majesty, and transmitted the same day to the board, since which time no increase of the rate of freight has been made, nor has any decrease been recommended.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
W. RAMSAY, *Sec.*

The Hon. W. Brodrick.

4th December 1793.

Estimate of the additional Freight and other extra Expences in consequence of the War.

		£.	s.	d.
The allowed extra expences of outfit per ton,		3	0	0
Allowed for sundry contingent expences in consequence of the war,		1	0	0
Allowed for bounty, crimpage, and charges of manning the ships,		1	0	0
Difference of wages between 26s. and 45s. per month to seamen and the officers, in the usual proportion, is 79l. 7s. per month. The river pay is reckoned as usual at two months, and it is supposed that, from the ship's sailing from Gravesend outwards, till her return to her moorings in the river, will probably take up, in time of war, eighteen months more; therefore twenty months, at 79l. 7s. will be	1,587 0 0			
Difference of insurance.—It is supposed the offices will charge sixteen guineas per cent. The Company are to pay the excess beyond eight guineas, and the outfit, by agreement, is to be estimated at 19,200l. Eight guineas per cent. on this sum will be	1,612 16 0			
Demurrage.—Whole demurrage to be allowed instead of two-thirds for detention for convoy, which detention this estimate supposes thirty days, which at full demurrage amounts to £625 0 0				
Two-thirds 416 13 4	208 6 8			
In time of war it is highly probable the ship will be detained in India and at St. Helena three months beyond the usual periods in time of peace, the demurrage for which will be	1,875 0 0			
	£5,283 2 8			
Which is per ton		6	12	0
Carry forward		£11	12	0

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Brought forward - - -	£	11	12 9
Kintledge being paid for as goods, and being about 97½ tons to a ſhip of 800 tons, is nearly one-eighth, and makes an addition of - -		1	9 6
		13	1 9
This ſum of 13l. 1s. being reduced in the proportion that the freight preſcribed by the act for the private trade bears to that paid by the Company, amounts to - -		10	4 8
Conſequently one-fourth of this laſt ſum -	2	11	2
Added to the outward freight of -	5	0	0
	7	11	2
And three-fourths, being - - -	7	13	6
Added to the homeward freight of - -	15	0	0
	22	13	6

No. XLI.—*Letter from Mr. Meheux to the Secretary.*

Whitehall, 6th March 1802.

SIR,

I am directed by the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India to inform you, that the eſtimate which you tranſmitted to Mr. Brodrick on the 3d inſtant, is not a ſufficient anſwer to their application of the 27th ultimo: the board therefore deſire, that a report may be immediately made to them, agreeably to the 91ſt ſection of the act 33d Geo. III. cap. 52; and they further deſire, that the ſame be made regularly in future, as the act requires.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
JOHN MEHEUX.

William Ramſay, Eſq.

No. XLII.—*Letter from Mr. Meheux to the Secretary.*

Whitehall, 6th March 1802.

SIR,

I am directed by the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India, to requeſt that you will furniſh them with an account of all foreign ſhips, and their tonnage, that have imported and exported at the ſeveral ſettlements in India for five years laſt paſt, ſpecifying ſeparately each nation and every year, and the ſame account from China; alſo any account that is in poſſeſſion of the directors, reſpecting the number of foreign ſhips that have traded to the ſettlements of other European nations in the Eaſt-Indies during the ſame period.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
JOHN MEHEUX.

William Ramſay, Eſq.

No. XLIII.—*Letter from the Secretary to Mr. Meheux.*

Eaſt-India Houſe, 10th March 1802.

SIR,

In anſwer to your letter of the 6th inſtant, ſtating, that the eſtimate which was tranſmitted to Mr. Brodrick,

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Brodrick, on the 3d inſtant, is not a ſufficient anſwer to the application of the right hon. board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India of the 27th ultimo, and therefore deſiring that a report may be immediately made to them, agreeably to the 91ſt ſection of the act 33d Geo. III. cap. 52; I am ordered by the court of directors to ſtate to you, for the information of the board, that the ſubject to which the ſection of the act referred to relates has annually been under the conſideration of the court ſince the act paſſed, and the reſult of their deliberations thereon has been tranſmitted from time to time to the board, with the proceedings of the court. It will be recollected that, during the period in queſtion, this nation having been continually engaged in warfare, there has been no alteration in the general ſtate and condition of the affairs of ſhipping, which could operate to induce an abatement in the rates of freight; and until the prices of the articles relating to the outfit of ſhips, and other circumſtances which influence the price of freight, ſhall be ſettled by a continuance of peace, the court can have no materials from whence to form an eſtimate, by which the rate of freight to be charged to private traders, in purſuance of the act, can be fixed, otherwiſe than by the rate of freight at which individuals have agreed to build ſhips for, and freight them to the Company. Upon which the court has nothing to add to what is already ſtated in the court's remarks, which accompanied the ſecretary's letter of the 24th ult.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

J. MADDOCKS, *Aſſiſt. Sec.*

John Meheux, Eſq.

No. XLIV.—*Letter from the Secretary to Mr. Brodrick.*

East-India Houſe, 16th March 1802.

SIR,

I laid before the court of directors of the East-India Company a letter from Mr. Meheux, of the 6th inſtant, requeſting, by direction of the right honourable the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India, to be furniſhed with an account of all foreign ſhips, and their tonnage, that have imported and exported at the ſeveral ſettlements in India, for five years laſt paſt, ſpecifying ſeparately each nation and every year, and the ſame account from China; alſo any account that is in the poſſeſſion of the court, reſpecting the number of foreign ſhips that have traded to the ſettlements of other European nations in the East-Indies, during the ſame period.

I received the court's commands thereupon, to communicate to you ſuch information as could be obtained from the Company's records, as ſoon as the ſame could be arranged; and, in obedience thereto, I now have the honour to tranſmit you a collection of papers, containing the moſt authentic documents that can be procured upon the ſubject; which, however, as far as reſpect Fort St. George and Bombay, are defective, there having been no public reporter of foreign commerce at either of thoſe preſidencies.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

W. RAMSAY, *Sec.*

The Hon. William Brodrick.

No. 1. Statement of Foreign European and American ſhips, and their tonnage, arrived at and departed

parted from the port of Calcutta, from the 1ſt June 1795 to 31ſt May 1800, according to the ſtatement of the reporter of external commerce in Bengal.

No. 2. Statement of the number of Foreign European and American ſhips, which have entered and cleared out at the Calcutta cuſtom-houſe, from and to Foreign Europe and America, from the 1ſt June 1796 to 31ſt May 1800, according to the ſtatements of the reporter of external commerce in Bengal.

No. 3. Statement of arrivals and departures at and from the port of Calcutta of Foreign European and American ſhips, and their tonnage, trading to ſeveral ports and places in the Eaſt-Indies and China, from the 1ſt June 1795 to the 31ſt May 1800.

No. 4. Fort St. George liſt of arrivals and departures of ſhips, from the 31ſt May 1795 to 1ſt June 1796.

No. 5. Do. liſt of arrivals and departures of ſhips, from the 31ſt May 1796 to the 1ſt June 1797.

No. 6. Do. liſt of arrivals and departures of ſhips, from the 31ſt May 1797 to 1ſt June 1798.

No. 7. Do. liſt of arrivals and departures of ſhips, from the 31ſt May 1798 to 1ſt June 1799.

No. 8. Do. liſt of arrivals and departures of ſhips, from the 31ſt May 1799, to the 1ſt June 1800.

No. 9. Do. ſtatement of arrivals and departures of Foreign European and American ſhips, at and from Bombay, from 1ſt June 1795 to 27th March 1797, and from 16th December 1797 to 31ſt May 1800.

No. 10. Statement of the number of ſhips importing and exporting to and from China, for five years.

No. XLV.—*Letter from the Board of Commiſſioners to the Court of Directors.*

Whitehall, 20th March 1802.

GENTLEMEN,

We return your draft No. 45; but as many alterations have occurred to us, as indiſpenſably neceſſary to be made in it, we have ſubſtituted a new one in its room. Our object in theſe alterations is, that a full and fair experiment ſhould be made, agreeably to what ſeemed to be the opinion of parliament relative to this ſubject; and that this queſtion involving, as we think it does, ſome very important intereſts, may be placed in ſuch a train of arrangement as, whilſt it preſerves the rights of the Eaſt-India Company, may alſo afford every facility for carrying on that trade from India, which avowedly the capital of the Company cannot embrace, and which, if obſtructed, or unreaſonably fettered and reſtrained, will be forced into foreign channels of remittance, to the advantage of your rivals in the markets, and to the obvious detriment of the maritime and commercial intereſts of this country.

We have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervants,

(Signed by order of the Board of Commiſſioners for the Affairs of India.)

W. BRODRICK.

The Hon. Court of Directors of the Eaſt-India Company.

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No. XLVI.—(Draft No. 45.)—*Paragraphs in the Commercial Department, propoſed by the Court of Directors to be ſent to their Preſidency at Fort William in Bengal; and the Paragraphs as amended and approved by the Board of Commiſſioners.*

The Court's Paragraphs.

1. We propoſe, in this letter, to communicate to you our reſolutions and inſtructions, on the ſubject of enlarging the privileges of private traders between India and Great-Britain, a ſubject which has been very much agitated within the laſt three or four years.

2. It was our intention to have made ſuch a communication to you at the cloſe of the laſt ſeaſon. We had then brought a very mature deliberation upon the ſubject in queſtion to a cloſe. Mr. Dundas, the preſident of the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India, had, in a letter of the preceding year, laid down the principles by which, in his judgment, the privileges of individuals in the Indian trade ought to be regulated, and the means by which thoſe principles ſhould be brought into practice.

3. Senſible of the attention due to opinions coming from ſuch authority, and perceiving the ſubject to have relations the moſt extenſive, and to involve conſequences the moſt important, we appointed a ſpecial committee of our court to take it into their moſt ſerious conſideration. That committee, deſirous that its nature, its tendency, and its real merits ſhould, once for all, be thoroughly aſcertained, went into a review of all that had been advanced in favour of enlarging the privileges of individuals; next, into an inveſtigation of the principles and conſequences involved in the requiſitions and ſpeculations of the private traders and their advocates; and laſtly, to the concluſions reſulting

The Board's Paragraphs.

1. We propoſe in this letter to communicate to you our reſolutions and inſtructions on the ſubject of enlarging the privileges of private traders between India and Great-Britain, a ſubject which has been very much agitated within the laſt three or four years.

2. It was our intention to have made ſuch a communication to you at the cloſe of the laſt ſeaſon. We had then brought a very mature deliberation upon the ſubject in queſtion to a cloſe. Mr. Dundas, the preſident of the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India, had, in a letter of the preceding year, ſtated the principles by which, in his judgment, the privileges of individuals in the Indian trade ought to be regulated, and the means by which thoſe principles ſhould be brought into practice.

3. Senſible of the attention due to opinions coming from ſuch authority, and perceiving the ſubject to have relations the moſt extenſive, and to involve conſequences the moſt important, we appointed a ſpecial committee of our court to take it into their moſt ſerious conſideration. That committee, deſirous that its nature, its tendency, and its real merits, ſhould be thoroughly aſcertained, went into a review of all that had been advanced in favour of enlarging the privileges of individuals; next, into an inveſtigation of the principles and conſequences involved in the requiſitions of the private traders; and laſtly, to the concluſions reſulting from the whole, which were, in effect, to give to the private

The Court's Paragraphs.

ing from the whole, which were, in effect, to give the private commerce of Britiſh ſubjects, every extenſion that appeared compatible with the permanence of the Company and the exiſting ſyſtem of Indian policy; objects which, by general conſent, were entitled to paramount regard.

4. It was after the whole of theſe proceedings, with the facts, the principles, and reaſonings adduced in the courſe of them, had been digeſted by the ſpecial committee into the form of a report, which received the unanimous concurrence of the court of directors, and was tranſmitted to the preſident of the board of control, that the letter of our Governor-general, dated 30th September 1800, containing views and concluſions, very different from ours, on the ſubject in queſtion, arrived. The opinions delivered in this letter unavoidably required ſome remarks from us; and theſe, with certain obſervations ariſing from the matter of another letter received from Mr. Dundas, the preſident of the board of commiſſioners, occaſioned a ſecond report.

5. The ſyſtem laid down in this and the former report having received the ſanction of a very large majority of the proprietors of India ſtock, we prepared, and, as already intimated, were about to tranſmit, in conformity to the ſuggeſtions of Mr. Dundas, in his ſecond letter, orders and inſtructions to our governments in India, for carrying that ſyſtem into execution, when an honourable member of the Houſe of Commons moved there, that the papers containing our proceedings relative to this ſubject might be laid before that houſe, in order to conſideration of them in the next ſeſſion of parliament; and this motion

The Board's Paragraphs.

private commerce of Britiſh ſubjects, every extenſion that appeared compatible with the permanence of the Company, and the exiſting ſyſtem of Indian policy; objects which, by general conſent, were entitled to paramount regard.

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5. The ſyſtem laid down in this and the former report having received the ſanction of a very large majority of the proprietors of India ſtock, we prepared, and, as already intimated, were about to tranſmit it to you, when an honourable member of the Houſe of Commons moved there, that the papers containing our proceedings relative to this ſubject might be laid before that houſe, in order to a conſideration of them in the next ſeſſion of parliament; and this motion having been acquieſced in, the tranſmiſſion of the orders we had prepared, was, in conſequence, ſuſpended.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

tion having been acquiesced in, the transmission of the orders we had prepared, was, in consequence, suspended.

6. We understood, that there were parts of the subject which his Majesty's ministers conceived to be materially connected with the naval interests of the kingdom, and we supposed that considerations of this nature might have contributed to recommend to them a parliamentary discussion.

7. We were, on the part of the Company, heartily disposed to render the resources of India available for the benefit of the royal navy, in such a manner as Government might think practicable and fit; and our opposition to the introduction of Indian ships here, did not arise from a desire to exclude them from mixing in the commercial shipping of this country. We were willing both to forward that object, and the facility and advantage of private commerce between Great-Britain and India, in any way reconcileable with the preservation of privileges essential to the Company, and to the maintenance of the present Indian system: therefore we thought it due, both to government and to the Company, to explain our sentiments on these heads; and before the intended discussion came on in the House of Commons in the present session, an arrangement respecting the private trade was suggested, which met with the approbation of his Majesty's ministers.

8. This arrangement, which changes several of the articles laid down in our resolutions of last season, and in a manner favourable to the private traders, it is the ultimate business of the present letter to convey to you, with the instructions requisite for carrying it into effect;

The Board's Paragraphs.

6. We understand, that there were parts of the subject which his Majesty's ministers conceived to be materially connected with the naval interests of this kingdom, and we suppose that considerations of this nature might have contributed to recommend to them parliamentary discussion.

7. We were, on the part of the Company, heartily disposed to render the resources of India available for the benefit of the royal navy, in such a manner as Government might think practicable and fit; and were willing, both to forward that object, and the facility and advantage of private commerce between Great-Britain and India, in any way reconcileable with the preservation of privileges essential to the Company, and to the maintenance of the present Indian system: therefore we thought it due, both to Government and to the Company, to explain our sentiments on these heads; and before the intended discussion came on in the House of Commons in the present session, we submitted to his Majesty's ministers certain propositions, which they were pleased to approve, "as the basis of an arrangement between the Company and those interested in the private trade."

8. These propositions which change several of the articles laid down in our resolutions of last season, and in a manner favourable to the private traders, it is the business of this letter to convey to you, with the instructions necessary to carry them into effect.

The

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The Court's Paragraphs.

effect; but as it will be found to conſiſt only of brief articles, ſtating ſimply what is to be done, as in directing our governments to meaſures of great importance, it has been uſual, and is proper for us to explain the reaſons upon which they are founded; and as, on the preſent ſubject, various repreſentations and opinions have been received by us from India, we deem it, on all theſe accounts, fit that the principles we hold upon it ſhould be fully and authentically known to our ſervants, and placed on our records there. With theſe views, we forward to you, as an appendage to this letter, the two reports already mentioned, which were printed with the letters above noticed from Mr. Dundas and the Governor-general, for the uſe of the proprietors. We are aware, that objections of different kinds have of late been publiſhed, and induſtriouſly diſſeminated in this country, againſt the matter and the reaſonings of theſe reports; but as, in theſe publications, there are not a few groſs errors in point of fact, ſo we do not think that they have overthrown any material principle or opinion for which we have contended, and we are prepared to ſhew, whenever it ſhall appear proper, the grounds of this judgment. But whilſt we conceive ourſelves warranted to ſpeak thus concerning the publications in queſtion, we are fully ſenſible, that on one or other of the many topics which the ſubject of commercial intercourſe with India embraces, ſome perſons, entitled to great conſideration, may differ, and have differed from us. We muſt view ſuch contrarieties, with the deference due to others, with regret, and with an increaſed ſolicitude in ſcrutinizing the opinions we ourſelves hold: but if ſtill

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

we are impreſſed with a conviction that theſe opinions are in the main right, the duty of a great public truſt requires us to avow them, and to act upon them.

9. We had intended, at the end of the laſt ſeaſon, from our ſolicitude reſpecting the preſent ſubject, to ſtate, in addition to the matter contained in our reports, ſome obſervations concerning the conſtitution of the Company, and the nature of the propoſed innovations; and though new circumſtances have ſince occurred, yet as thoſe obſervations are, in general, ſtill applicable, we ſhall, in cloſing, as we wiſh now to do, the conſideration of a very important queſtion, introduce them here. Afterwards we ſhall ſtate ſpecifically the articles of the arrangement made with his Majeſty's miniſters, and then give our directions for carrying them into full effect; beſtowing, laſt of all, upon any relative points before ſlightly touched on, ſuch further notice as they may appear to require.

10. It appears to us, that the nature and tendency of the propoſed enlargements have been leſs conſidered than any other part of this ſubject, eſpecially by our ſervants abroad, whoſe views upon ſuch a point cannot but be material to the intereſts of the Company. It is eaſy for thoſe who are immediately concerned in obtaining new privileges, to believe, that in ſeeking that object, they are conſulting alſo the public good; and the promotion of commerce has, in modern times, become ſo powerful a principle of policy and of action, that when this is underſtood to be the aim and effect of any meaſure, it ſeems with many, even of thoſe who have no perſonal intereſt depending, to eſtabliſh a controlling prepoſſeſſion in

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

in favour of ſuch a meaſure. But as it is poſſible to run to an extreme in this way, as it is not always eaſy juſtly to apply the theoretical principles of commerce, and in ſuch as have had a current reception, practice not unfrequently diſcovers imperfections, ſo the peculiar conſtitution of the Eaſt-India Company, which has been formed after experience rather than theory, and combines great political power and dominion with commercial practice, requires a direct, conſtant, and appropriate regard, in all propoſed innovations, which have relation either to the adminiſtration of the territorial poſſeſſions of the Company, or to its privileges of trade.

11. The conſtitution of the Company, as it now ſtands, has been fixed by repeated and ſolemn acts of the Legiſlature. When, after the Company's acquiſitions of territorial power of the Eaſt, the government firſt, and parliament afterwards, interpoſed its authority for the regulation and management of ſo great an intereſt, there was not an idea advanced, of rendering, on account of that acquiſition, the trade leſs excluſive, or the country more acceſſible to Britiſh merchants than it had been before. The Company ſucceeded to the native rulers in a delegated ſovereignty, and might thence, indeed, employ, in greater numbers, ſervants civil and military, of its own; but the privileges of Britiſh ſubjects in general, with reſpect to that country, received no extenſion. It was never conceived, that becauſe a rich annexation of territory had been made to the empire of Britain, the European ſubjects of that empire had thence acquired any right to enter upon its ſoil, or to participate individually in its trade; and

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

although, generally, upon the renewals of the Company's charter, ſome attempt has been made at home, to reduce or to ſhare its privileges, the Legiſlature has ſteadily adhered to the policy of making the India Company, the one great organ of intercourſe between Britain and the dependent ſtates, and of the government of thoſe ſtates. This policy is ſtrenuouſly maintained to the preſent hour, as may be ſeen in the letters of the preſident of the board of commiſſioners, which are in the collection of printed papers now ſent you; and it is thus maintained, becauſe it is thought, with perfect juſtice, beſt to conſult the true intereſt of the nation. The ſyſtem of the Eaſt-India Company ſtands upon national principles.

12. A ſyſtem which has been ſo long eſtabliſhed, ſo repeatedly confirmed, and ſo well juſtified by its effects, we may confidently hope the Legiſlature, however ſolicited by particular intereſts, will ſtill be diſpoſed to cheriſh, and never formally give up; and whilſt the fitneſs of maintaining this ſyſtem continues to be generally acknowledged, danger, which will always exiſt, as long as *any private intereſts are in oppoſition to this more public one*, will not perhaps be ſo likely to approach in the form of avowedly hoſtile attack, as by the gradual operation of thoſe contrary intereſts, or by *impolitic meaſures agitated within the Company itſelf*, where they will, of courſe, be repreſented as compatible with its privileges and its permanence. It becomes, therefore, a duty of the firſt order, eſpecially in thoſe who have the management of the Company's affairs, vigilantly to obſerve, and ſcrupulouſly to examine the ſource, the objects, and the tendency of all

The Board's Paragraphs.

ſchemes

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The Court's Paragraphs.

ſchemes which would graft any new principles or uſages of importance upon the preſent conſtitution and practice of the Company.—Great circumſpection, in this caſe, is not to be reckoned the offſpring of a narrow, timid ſpirit, but that neceſſary prudence which the nature of the caſe requires. To reaſon upon the effects of material innovations, and to aſſign importance even to probabilities eſtabliſhed by ſuch reaſoning, ought not to be treated as precarious ſpeculation. Where experiments are to be made and much may be loſt, any probability of loſs becomes, according to its degree, a ſolid argument againſt change, whilſt even an equal probability of advantage will not weigh equally in favour of innovation, becauſe what is already poſſeſſed may by it be ſacrificed: and without all this precaution the Company themſelves, or their adminiſtrations abroad, may, by the promiſe of expected good, unwarily be led into meaſures capable of eventually undermining their exiſtence.

13. We muſt confeſs it to be our opinion, that the Company, or, in other words, the preſent ſyſtem of Indian policy, is in no way more expoſed to danger of the deſcription here given, than from the continual increaſe in India of Europeans not in the ſervice, and the inceſſant preſſing of ſuch claims as have of late been brought forward by that claſs of men, or by others who ſupport their views. The unlicenſed reſort of ſuch perſons to India was a conſequence likely enough to follow, from the eſtabliſhment of an European dominion there; and our governments have beheld it with too much indulgence, although it will hardly be denied that it is fitted

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

fitted to be germ of a great and perilous change in the ſtate of that dominion, and the Indian ſyſtem connected with it. This practice has been the main cauſe of the continuance of the clandeſtine trade. The continuance of the clandeſtine trade was one ground, on which the Company were firſt induced to yield a material ſacrifice of their privileges, and it ſtill ſerves as a plea for further inroads upon their ſyſtem. Nor do we perceive any end of this plea: the ingenuity of thoſe concerned in the trade may ſtill contrive to carry it on; it may ſtill be formed into a freſh argument againſt the Company's remaining privileges. The entire extinction of it would not, as far as we can diſcover, neceſſarily reſult from any meaſures within our competence; and this ſort of reaſoning, therefore, may be employed even as long as the Company have any thing to give up.

14. We believe there are thoſe who greatly overlook the other conſiderations belonging to this ſubject, in the importance they attach to the increaſe which has taken, or, as they ſuppoſe, may take place, in the produce and exports of our territories; an increaſe, however, hitherto chiefly owing to the encouragement given by the Company to the culture of indigo and ſugar. But unleſs ſuch perſons will alſo contend, that the medium of the Company, and all reſtrictions whatever on the intercourſe of the ſubjects of this country with India ſhould be removed, (a doctrine which has but few avowed advocates,) they will allow that there is ſome point at which enlargements of the privileges of individuals ought to ſtop. To aſcertain this point, has been the ſcope of our late deliberations; and to fix it, which is the deſign of our preſent

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

preſent orders, is become abſolutely neceſſary.

15. There was, indeed, a very full diſcuſſion of this nature, on the renewal of the charter in 1793. The objects and the manner of enlargement were then clearly agreed upon, although all the principles and relations of that ſubject were not then brought fully into view. The object, with reſpect to India, was, the transfer of the trade, then clandeſtinely carried on between the Britiſh poſſeſſions there and foreign Europe, to the Thames. That trade was underſtood to ariſe from two ſources; the remittance of Britiſh fortunes from India, and the inveſtment of European Britiſh capital in ſhips ſailing thither under foreign flags from the continental ports of Europe. In propoſing to transfer the clandeſtine trade into the Thames, it was implied, that this latter part of it, carried on with European capital, would be annihilated; for as it was a conſequence of the riſe of the other part, which was itſelf now expected to ceaſe, ſo it was ſuppoſed to owe its continuance, very much, to the comparative lowneſs of the freight paid at continental ports; which diſadvantage was particularly to be remedied by the plan of transfer, and therefore the inducement to fit out ſhips from thoſe ports would ſo far be removed. The remittance of Britiſh fortunes acquired in India, by the medium of goods, into the Thames, was then the ſole object of the privilege granted to Britiſh reſidents in India by the Act of 1793. There was no reſerve made or implied for the continuance of the employment of European Britiſh capital, which had been illegally introduced into this trade; and as the object of the enlargement was thus fairly

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

fairly underſtood, ſo the manner in which it ſhould be enjoyed was alſo moſt clearly ſtated. The newly privileged trade was to be brought on the ſhips of the Company. The memorials of the agents of the private traders, the diſcuſſions in the court of proprietors, the correſpondence between the court of directors and his Majeſty's miniſters, every tranſaction on the renewal of the charter, and the act of 1793 itſelf, all confirm this ſtatement. They ſhew, that the enlargement in view, with reſpect to Britiſh reſidents in India, went no further than to bring the fortunes of thoſe reſidents to this country, in merchandize, on the Company's ſhips. The fortunes were to be the capital, the Company's ſhips the channel of the trade. This trade muſt, in the nature of things, have had a moderate limit; and as it was the main profeſſed end of the charter to prevent a general trade to India, ſo it would have been incompatible with this deſign to have admitted into the charter any principle of indefinite enlargement.

16. But now the Britiſh reſidents in India, aided by thoſe who take up their cauſe here, deſire to ſend their own ſhips to Britain with private merchandize; and the principle of employing European Britiſh capital in this trade, with the expreſs view of promoting the produce and exports of India, is alſo contended for. It is in vain attempted to found any of theſe claims upon the Act of 1793. They differ eſſentially from the principle of that Act; they are new claims, though they proceed from the ſame parties, whoſe views are extended with the advancement they have received; and we ſee in them, when fairly followed

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

followed into their natural conſequences, nothing ſhort of a general trade. This trade, though it might for a time be carried on through the exiſting forms of the Company, would, at length, ſuperſede them; and even before arriving at that point, the Britiſh commerce with India, inſtead of being, as it is now, a regulated monopoly, would deſerve more properly the character of a regulated free trade, a title, however, which, it is to be feared, would not ſuit it long. If private Indian ſhips and cargoes were indefinitely, that is without any limitation as to number or value, licenſed to come here, it muſt follow as a conſequence, that the capital and the merchants of Britain would be embarked in the trade. This, though forbidden, could not be prevented, and the avowed admiſſion of that capital into it would be followed by an equally formal admiſſion of the merchants of this country. They have, in fact, already applied for permiſſion to ſend their own ſhips to India, and bring from thence ſuch goods as the Company do not chooſe to reſerve excluſively for themſelves; and it is to us clear, that the moment any further principle of enlargement, beyond the remittance of Britiſh fortunes in goods, on the ſhips of the Company, is adopted, (we ſpeak not here of the paſt conceſſion in favour of home manufactures, which has been already noticed,) the claim of thoſe Britiſh reſidents to peculiar or excluſive privileges, in the trade to Europe, is at an end.

17. We may venture to aſſert, alſo, that their peculiar advantages from ſuch enlargement would ſoon ceaſe, and that a great infuſion of new competitors in that trade would probably make their ſitua-

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

tion worſe than it now is; whilſt, with reſpect to the nation at large, experience and juſt reaſoning equally warrant us to believe, that it would not be for its benefit, even in a commercial view, ſetting aſide other objections, to throw the trade between Britain and India indefinitely open.

18. But as it cannot fairly be denied, that a trade, which however modified in its form, ſhould be open, directly or indirectly, to all perſons and all capital belonging to this country, would be, in effect, a general trade; and as a general trade between a parent ſtate and its dependent ſettlements is one main principle of the colonial ſyſtem of policy, ſo the connexion between the admiſſion of that principle, and the gradual ſucceſſion of the other principles of that ſyſtem, ought never to be out of ſight. It is agreed by all, except perhaps by thoſe who may have an immediate intereſt to the contrary, that the colonization of Europeans in our Indian poſſeſſions ought not to be encouraged; and in excluding this end, all meaſures clearly favourable to it, or even involving a probability of producing it, are alſo in fairneſs excluded, at leaſt, unleſs they hold forth, what is not in this caſe to be expected, a greater certainty or probability of more important good. That the meaſures, however, which are now propoſed, would directly and conſequentially promote the reſort of Europeans to India, and their ſettlements there; and that there is a real relation between an indefinite enlargement of trading privileges, and the ultimate ſuperceſſion of the preſent regulated ſyſtem of Indian intercourſe and Indian policy, we think the printed reports, already mentioned, have eſta-

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

blished, with a degree of evidence which it will be difficult ever to invalidate, because it appears to arise out of the very nature of things; and until conclusions of a contrary kind are established, with conviction still clearer, it may be justly maintained, that to venture upon the proposed innovations, will be to run the hazard of an evil of the greatest magnitude, for what, if attained, would confessedly be a very inferior good.

19. Those, indeed, who have a direct interest in innovation, naturally extol the advantages to be expected from it, whilst they appear insensible that any danger is to be apprehended. We are obliged to contemplate objects through another medium, and, from the views which our situation brings more within our reach of ulterior consequences, to resist things which seem to offer some present advantage.

20. It is not our design to enter here into a particular consideration of the arguments employed to obviate the apprehension of future danger from the changes now proposed; but the distance at which our servants are placed from this scene, induces us to advert to one position, which assumes, that it will be in the power of the Company to correct any evils which may arise from those changes. No position appears to us more unsound than this. There is a fallacy in it, which lies in tacitly supposing that the Company and the private traders would continue, after these changes in the same disposition, and the same relative power and influence they possess at present; a notion which a due consideration of the effects of those innovations may be sufficient to remove.

21. After a full and deliberate con-

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraph.

consideration of this whole subject, we are thoroughly convinced, that a clear and fixed line is to be drawn between a trade in its nature colonial, and a trade merely of remittance. The first, created by transplanting capital from this country, is unnecessary, would be unlimited, and, in our decided opinion, not only subversive of the privileges, and even the existence of the Company, but prejudicial to the interests, commercial and political, of the empire and its dependencies at large. The second, from the indispensable residence in India of British subjects, who are finally to settle in their native land, and must send thither the property they acquire abroad, is become expedient, if not unavoidable, but at the same time must, in the nature of things, have a moderate limit; and to this may be added, returns for British manufactures consigned to India for sale. This remittance trade thus described, and amply provided for in the manner we are now about to describe, forms the point at which we should stop; and the necessity with which we were early impressed, of determining clearly the extent of the new trade, now shews itself more obviously than it did at first; for Mr. Dundas, with whose principles we are in perfect agreement, differing with him only as to the means of carrying them into execution, has, in his letter of the 2d April 1800, strongly maintained the following positions: "*That the same principles which prove the necessity of the present mode and form of Indian government, evince the necessity of the monopoly of the trade; the surplus produce of India beyond what the appropriated capital of the East-India Company can bring home, should be considered as the means of trans-*

The Board's Paragraph.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

transferring the fortunes of the ſervants in India to Great Britain." The merchants of this country cannot be permitted to participate with Britiſh reſidents in India in this trade, "*becauſe it would be introducing a rival capital in India, againſt the remittance trade of the Eaſt-India Company, and in competition likewiſe with thoſe individuals, whoſe capitals, by the propoſed indulgence, it is wiſhed to tranſfer to Great Britain.*" But the Indian agents advance far different views. After allowing to the Company whatever ſhare of the trade they may find it either politic or profitable to attach entirely to themſelves, *they are for giving the utmoſt practicable facility to Britiſh merchants in India, for exporting to the port of London the largeſt poſſible proportion of the manufactures and produce of India:*" and thoſe who eſpouſe the cauſe of the merchants here, are for leaving it to them to *find out and adopt the moſt effectual means* for bringing the remainder of the produce to the port of London, and for employing, if they pleaſe, to that end, the capital of this country; all which would conſtitute that indefinite unlimited trade, the conſequences of which are, in our opinion, ſo much to be feared.

To the definite trade we have above deſcribed, which is in harmony with the principles laid down by the late preſident of the board of commiſſioners, we are diſpoſed to afford every facility that can reaſonably be claimed for it, every conceſſion requiſite to produce a certain, expeditious, and cheap conveyance of Britiſh fortunes, and returns for Britiſh manufactures in merchandize to this country, excluding, at the ſame time, what is

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

not neceſſary to this end, and might become the inſtrument of that other ſpecies of trade which ought to be prevented; ſuch as a ſtated permiſſion to private ſhips to lade from India with private goods, at the pleaſure of their reſident owners, which we muſt therefore abſolutely refuſe.

22. Having ſtated theſe obſervations, we now proceed to detail the articles of the arrangement agreed on with his Majeſty's miniſters, for the enlargement of the private trade. We truſt they will be found to comprehend all the material proviſions requiſite for accompliſhing the ends propoſed, and for obviating any well grounded complaints of the free merchants, complaints which, ſo far as they have any juſt foundation, were in great part occaſioned by the ſtate of war, which has exiſted ever ſince the Act of 1793 paſſed till the preſent year. It has been already obſerved, that ſeveral of theſe articles differ from thoſe contained under the thirteenth of our reſolutions of 4th February 1801, annexed to the firſt report: the preſent ſet of articles are, therefore, to be your guide; but the preamble to the thirteenth reſolution, you are ſtill to regard as expreſſing the ſentiments upon which we found them.

Article I. That in addition to the quantity of three thouſand tons of ſhipping, now annually allotted to the exports of individuals from India, three, four, or five thouſand tons more, or as much as may be wanted, ſhall be aſſigned.

II. That the ſhipping to be thus annually employed ſhall be wholly applied to the uſe of private traders, and ſhall neither be deſtined nor detained for political or warlike ſervices in India, but ſail from thence directly

The Board's Paragraphs.

9. We ſhall therefore now proceed to detail the propoſitions for the preſent accommodation of the private trade; and we truſt they will be found to comprehend the moſt material proviſions requiſite for accompliſhing the ends propoſed, and for obviating any well grounded complaints of the free merchants; which complaints were, in great part, occaſioned by the inconveniencies inſeparable from the ſtate of war, which has exiſted ever ſince the act of 1793 paſſed.

10. Article I. That in addition to the quantity of three thouſand tons of ſhipping, now annually allotted to the exports of individuals from India, three, four, or five thouſand tons more, or as much as may be wanted, ſhall be aſſigned.

11. II. That the ſhipping to be thus annually employed ſhall be wholly applied to the uſe of private traders, and ſhall neither be deſtined nor detained for political or warlike ſervices in India, but ſail from thence

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The Court's Paragraphs.

directly for the port of London, at fixed periods, within the fair weather ſeaſon.

III. That all commodities of the produce of the Continent, or of the Britiſh territories in India, ſhall be permitted to be laden on thoſe ſhips; excepting only piece goods, which ſhall not be laden, unleſs by ſpecial licenſe from the Company, or their governments abroad; and ſaltpetre, which any of the governments in India ſhall have the power to prohibit or reſtrain.

IV. That the goods to be exported on private account be, as now, received into the Company's warehouſes in India; and that the ſame care be taken in aſſorting them into cargoes, in due proportions of light and heavy goods, according to the deliveries into the warehouſes, as is obſerved in forming the Company's own cargoes.

V. That theſe goods ſhall be brought to the Company's warehouſes in London, and thence to their ſales, in the regular order, ſubject to the charge of three per cent. now allowed to the Company for landing, warehouſing, and ſelling private goods.

VI. That when the private goods provided for exportation from India ſhall not ſerve to fill all the ſhips ſent out for them, the Company ſhall put gruff goods into thoſe ſhips upon their own account.

VII. That no perſon ſhall be permitted to embark in this trade, as principal or agent, except ſuch as may lawfully engage therein, according to the proviſions of the Act of 33 Geo. III. cap. 52.

VIII. That the ſhips to be employed in this ſervice ſhall be built for this purpoſe, either in Great Britain or India, the Company contracting

The Board's Paragraphs.

thence directly for the port of London, at fixed periods, within the fair weather ſeaſon.

12. III. That all commodities of the produce of the Continent, or of the Britiſh territories in India, ſhall be permitted to be laden on thoſe ſhips; excepting only piece goods, which ſhall not be laden, unleſs by ſpecial licenſe from the Company or their governments abroad; and ſaltpetre, which any of the governments in India ſhall have the power to prohibit or reſtrain.

13. IV. That the goods to be exported on private account be, as now, received into the Company's warehouſes in India; and that the ſame care be taken in aſſorting them into cargoes, in due proportions of light and heavy goods, according to the deliveries into the warehouſes, as is obſerved in forming the Company's own cargoes.

14. V. That theſe goods ſhall be brought to the Company's warehouſes in London, and thence to their ſales, in the regular order, ſubject to the charge of three per cent. now allowed to the Company for landing, warehouſing, and ſelling private goods.

15. VI. That when the private goods provided for exportation from India ſhall not ſerve to fill all the ſhips ſent out for them, the Company ſhall put gruff goods into thoſe ſhips upon their own account.

16. VII. That no perſon ſhall be permitted to embark in this trade, as principal or agent, except ſuch as may lawfully engage therein, according to the proviſions of the Act of 33 Geo. III. cap. 52.

17. VIII. That the ſhips to be employed in this ſervice ſhall be built for the purpoſe, either in Great Britain or India, the Company contracting

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The Court's Paragraphs.

tracting with those who shall undertake to build, or be the owners of them, for their service during eight voyages; and that the construction of them shall be agreeable to a plan already adopted by the Company in England, for ships intended to carry their own gruff goods.

IX. That in order to ascertain the rates at which ships of this construction, built of teak, can be obtained for eight voyages certain in India, the court will authorise their government there, immediately to advertise such of the above description as are likely to be required, and to engage them for the Company, provided the freight demanded shall not exceed the rate of those lately contracted for in England.

X. Or ships already built in India may be engaged for two or more voyages, for the purpose of carrying the private trade, if they shall not exceed the rate of peace freight actually paid by the Company for ships of the like description this season, and provided they are, in all respects, approved by their master attendants, or other proper officers in India: provided also, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to make void any contract or agreement, into which the Company have already entered; or to prevent the Company from taking up hereafter, or contracting to build ships in Great Britain, on equal or more advantageous terms than those of India.

XI. That the above ships shall be relet by the Company, without profit, to such merchants as may be disposed to export goods to India, or to import goods from India, as above described; charging to the exporter and importer respectively, such

The Board's Paragraphs.

tracting with those who shall undertake to build, or be the owners of them, for their service during eight voyages; and that the construction of them shall be agreeable to a plan already adopted by the Company in England, for ships intended to carry their own gruff goods.

18. IX. That in order to ascertain the rates at which ships of this construction, built of teak, can be obtained for eight voyages certain in India, the court will authorise their governments there, immediately to advertise for such a number of ships of the above description as are likely to be required, and to engage them for the Company, provided the freight demanded shall not exceed the rate of those lately contracted for in England.

19. X. Or ships already built in India may be engaged for two or more voyages, for the purpose of carrying the private trade, if they shall not exceed the rate of peace freight actually paid by the Company for ships of the like description this season, and provided they are, in all respects, approved by their master attendants, or other proper officers in India: provided also, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to make void any contract or agreement, into which the Company have already entered; or to prevent the Company from taking up hereafter, or contracting to build ships in Great Britain, on equal or more advantageous terms than those of India.

20. XI. That the above ships shall be relet by the Company, without profit, to such merchants as may be disposed to export goods to India, or to import goods from India, as above described; charging to the exporter and importer respectively,

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The Court's Paragraphs.

ſuch proportion only of the total freight for the voyage as ſhall be due, according to the proportions eſtabliſhed by the Act of the 33d George III. cap. 52.

21. We ſhall next lay down ſuch particular inſtructions, as appear to us moſt material for carrying theſe articles into due execution.

Firſt, for the ſupply of Indian tonnage, until ſhips built, or engaged by contract for that purpoſe, come into employ.

Although no official advices have reached us of the terms upon which you engaged with the owners of Indian ſhips taken up for the Red Sea, we have nevertheleſs received private intimation thereof, and have conſented to confirm that part of the agreement, by which they are to make one voyage to Europe: and we now direct, that at the diſcretion of the governor-general in council, the ſame conceſſion may be extended to all the ſhips engaged on that ſervice; or as ſome of theſe may have been diſabled or loſt, we allow others of equal burthen to be ſubſtituted for them, provided they leave Bengal or Madras before the 1ſt of April, or Bombay before the 1ſt of July 1803.

It is highly probable that the India-built ſhips already engaged by you for the expedition to the Red Sea, with the extra tonnage taken up by us this ſeaſon for the exports from hence, will furniſh more than ſufficient conveyance for the private trade goods which may be

The Board's Paragraphs.

tively, ſuch proportion only of the total freight for the voyage as ſhall be due, according to the proportions eſtabliſhed by the Act of 33d Geo. III. cap. 52.

21. We think it expedient, in this place, to apprize you, that it is our intention, provided the terms are equal, to open a fair competition between Indian and Britiſh ſhips, for bringing home the private trade.

22. We ſhall next lay down ſuch particular inſtructions, as appear to us moſt material for carrying theſe articles into due execution.

23. Firſt, for the ſupply of Indian tonnage, until ſhips built, or engaged by contract for that purpoſe, come into employ.

24. Although no official advices have reached us, of the terms upon which you engaged with the owners of Indian ſhips taken for the Red Sea, we have nevertheleſs received private intimation thereof, and have conſented to confirm that part of the agreement, by which they are to make one voyage to Europe: and we now direct, that at the diſcretion of the governor-general in council, the ſame conceſſion may be extended to all the ſhips engaged on that ſervice; or as ſome of theſe may have been diſabled or loſt, we allow others of equal burthen to be ſubſtituted for them, provided they leave Bengal or Madras before the 1ſt of April 1803, or Bombay before the 1ſt of July 1803.

25. It is highly probable that the India-built ſhips already engaged by you for the expedition to the Red Sea, with the extra tonnage taken up by us this ſeaſon for the exports from hence, will furniſh more than ſufficient conveyance for the private trade goods which may be

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The Court's Paragraphs.

be offered for exportation until April 1803; if not, the further tonnage wanted in them for that trade, muſt be ſupplied by ſhips taken up in India for one voyage; ſo that the ſhips engaged by permanent contracts in India do not come into employ until after April 1803.

22. Secondly, for the ſupply of Indian tonnage for the private trade, by permanent contracts.

In order to be prepared, after the period of April 1803, to comply with the intent and meaning of the articles above ſtated, we further direct, that you advertiſe for the building, within our own territories, of ſix ſhips, of between 500 and 550 tons, to be laden before April 1804, or as many as can furniſh tonnage to the extent of about 2720 tons, being the quantity we have contracted for here, for bringing home the private trade of 1803-4.

Theſe ſhips ſhall, as far as the circumſtances of the reſpective countries will admit, be built conformably to the terms and conditions particularized in a printed ſchedule herewith transmitted to you, which has formed the ſtandard whereby the ſhips lately hired here for the private trade, have been prepared and equipped. And the ſaid ſhip ſhall be engaged by the Company for ſix or eight voyages, provided the freight demanded ſhall not exceed the rate of 14l. per ton for the homeward and outward cargo, which is the rate of the ſhips mentioned above to have been lately contracted for by us.

23. Thirdly,

The Board's Paragraphs.

be offered for exportation till April 1803; if not, the further tonnage required for that trade muſt be ſupplied by ſhips taken up in India for one voyage; ſo that the ſhips engaged by permanent contracts in India do not come into employ until after April 1803.

26. Secondly, for the ſupply of Indian tonnage for the private trade, by permanent contracts.

27. In order to be prepared, after the period of April 1803, to comply with the intent and meaning of the articles above ſtated, we further direct, that you advertiſe for the building, within our territories, ſix ſhips, of between 500 and 600 tons, to be laden before April 1804, or as many as can furniſh tonnage to the extent of 2720 tons, being the quantity we have contracted for here, for bringing home the private trade of 1803-4.

28. Theſe ſhips ſhall, as far as the circumſtances of theſe reſpective countries will admit, be built and equipped conformably to the terms and conditions particularized in a printed ſchedule herewith tranſmitted to you, which has formed the ſtandard whereby the ſhips lately hired here for the private trade have been prepared and equipped. And the ſaid ſhip ſhall be engaged by the Company for ſix or eight voyages, provided the freight demanded ſhall not exceed the rate of 14l. per ton, together with 3l. per ton in the building and demurrage, provided thoſe allowances are continued to Britiſh ſhips taken up in time of peace for the homeward and outward cargo, which is the rate of the ſhips mentioned above to have been lately contracted for by us.

29. Thirdly,

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The Court's Paragraphs.

28. Thirdly, in case tenders should not be made for building by by contract Indian ships, on terms as low as those above stated, at which we have lately engaged British ships.

If the ships which, agreeably to the above direction, shall be advertised for in India, are tendered at a rate of freight higher than the said English rate for ships of the same description; and if, at any future time, Indian ships, which may be so advertised for by our order, should be offered on terms higher than the latest English terms known to you for ships of like burthen and equipment; in either of these cases it cannot be expedient to contract for the building of English ships to be permanently employed in the Company's service; and in order to supply otherwise the tonnage which may be immediately wanted, we authorise you to take the following methods: As we have engaged extra ships, ready built, to the amount of 2750 tons, builder's measurement, for six voyages, for the private trade, the like amount of tonnage, in ready built India ships, may be engaged by our governments there, provided they can be had at a rate not exceeding 14l. per ton to England and back, and in all other respects conformable to the manner already mentioned in the printed terms and conditions. As it may not suit residents in India to enter into contracts for six or eight voyages, we consent that you engage ships for the term of four or two voyages only, the terms and conditions in the printed schedule being always observed in such engagements, and likewise the stipulations in the tenth article; and both to afford a provisional aid to the supply of a due proportion of Indian

The Board's Paragraphs.

29. Thirdly, in case tenders should not be made for building by contract Indian ships, on terms as low as those above stated, at which we have lately engaged British ships.

30. If the ships which, agreeably to the above direction, shall be advertised for in India, are tendered at a rate of freight higher than the said English rate for ships of the same description; and if, at any future time, Indian ships, which may be so advertised by our orders, should be offered on terms higher than the latest English terms known to you for ships of like burthen and equipment; in either of these cases it cannot be expedient to contract for the building of Indian ships to be permanently employed in the Company's service; and in order to supply otherwise the tonnage which may be immediately wanted, we authorise you to take the following methods: As we have engaged extra ships, ready built, to the amount of 2750 tons, builder's measurement, for six voyages, for the private trade, the like amount of tonnage, in ready built Indian ships, may be engaged by our governments there, provided they can be contracted for at a rate not exceeding 14l. per ton to England and back, and in all other respects conformably to the printed terms and conditions, as far as the circumstances of the different countries will admit. As it may not suit residents in India to enter into contracts for six or eight voyages, we consent that you engage ships for the term of four or two voyages only, the terms and conditions in the printed schedule (and likewise the stipulation in article 10) being always observed in such engagements. And both to afford a pro-

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The Court's Paragraphs.

Indian tonnage for the private trade, and alſo to give encouragement to the diſpoſal of Indian ſhips in this country, we permit extra ſhips of that deſcription to be hired for one voyage home, under the expreſs ſtipulation, that they are not to return to India, either directly or circuitouſly, on account of any Britiſh ſubject whatever.

With regard to the manning of all theſe Indian ſhips, we ſhould certainly chooſe that the crews ſhould be entirely compoſed of European ſeamen; but the act of navigation allows one-third of the crew to be aliens, and therefore laſcars to this extent may be employed, but by no means in any greater proportion. The ſecurity of the ſhips and cargoes, and the preference ſo juſtly due to our own ſeamen, both recommend this limitation. This article not to extend to ſhips taken up for one voyage only, or for ſale in Europe.

The Board's Paragraphs.

viſional aid to the ſupply of a due proportion of Indian tonnage for the private trade, and alſo to give encouragement to the diſpoſal of India ſhips in this country, we permit extra ſhips, built within our territories in India, and properly equipped, to be hired for one voyage home, under the expreſs ſtipulation, that they are not to return to India, but to be ſold in this country.

31. With regard to the manning of all Indian ſhips, we ſhould certainly prefer that the crew ſhould be entirely compoſed of European ſeamen; but as that may not, in all caſes, be practicable in India, where the voyages commence, we direct that, with reſpect to all ſhips which may be engaged to the Company for two or more voyages, it be an expreſs condition, conformably to the directions of the navigation act, two-thirds, at leaſt, of the crews ſhall be compoſed of Europeans. We, however, empower you to grant a ſpecial licenſe, when in your judgment circumſtances ſhall require it, permitting the crew of any particular ſhip to be compoſed of one-fourth only of Europeans; the neglect of which muſt be conſidered as a breach of contract, and ſubject to a penalty of 20l. for each European ſeaman ſo deficient upon ſuch ſucceeding voyage, and a clauſe ſhould be inſerted in every charter-party to that effect. The owners of theſe ſhips muſt be under the uſual obligation to carry back to India the whole of the laſcars they may have on board upon their firſt voyage to England, free of all expence whatever to the Company.

32. We are aware, that it cannot be practicable in India to find commanders and officers, bred up in our ſervice, and duly qualified thereby

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The Court's Paragraphs.

24. Fourthly, other directions to be obſerved, in engaging Indian ſhips, and letting them on freight.

The advertiſements for ſhips wanted in India ſhould be iſſued at ſuch early periods as will afford the beſt opportunity for offers in conſequence; and the reſult of ſuch advertiſements and offers ſhould be tranſmitted to us, by the very firſt conveyance, both by land and ſea.

In all engagements for Indian ſhips, the outward and homeward freight muſt be included; and the freight from India ſhould be three-fourths

The Board's Paragraphs.

thereby for the ſeveral ſtations in the ſhips propoſed to be contracted for by our governments in India; nor can it be reaſonably expected, that the owners of ſuch valuable property ſhould be obliged to commit the management of it to men they are entire ſtrangers to, in prejudice of others, in whoſe experience and abilities they have confidence. We, therefore, do not require that article in the printed conditions to be inſiſted on. We alſo truſt to the diſcretion of our governments, to vary or diſpenſe with ſuch other articles as the circumſtances of the country may render neceſſary; but we do this in a full reliance that you will conform to the terms of the printed ſchedule, both for building and freighting, in every reſpect, that ſhall be practicable.

33. Theſe orders are given with a view to make an experiment between Britiſh and Indian ſhips, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining which can be furniſhed for the private trade of India on the cheapeſt and moſt convenient terms; and upon the reſult of this experiment we ſhall, in due time, come to a final arrangement on this important ſubject.

34. Fourthly, other directions to be obſerved in engaging Indian ſhips, and letting them on freight.

The advertiſements for ſhips wanted in India ſhould be iſſued at ſuch early periods as will afford the beſt opportunities for offers in conſequence; and the reſult of ſuch advertiſements and offers ſhould be tranſmitted to us, by the very firſt conveyance, both by land and ſea.

35. In all engagements for Indian ſhips, the outward and homeward freight muſt be included; and the freight from India ſhould be three-

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The Court's Paragraphs.

fourths of the whole rate contracted for, and subject also to an addition for demurrage, or any reasonable expence, in cases where the safety of the ship and cargo may be involved.

It is our intention to give an equal participation, on equal terms, to the Indian ships, in bringing home the private trade; and for every ship engaged by us on permanent contract for this service, an Indian ship may be engaged on a similar contract; but our hiring at any time a ship or ships casually, (which is a mode we shall never be inclined to prefer,) it is to give no pretension to the Indian ship owners for furnishing one in that way, or on such terms. If, however, in any season, after loading for Europe all the engaged ships, British or Indian, there should still be a want of more tonnage, an Indian extra ship may be hired for one voyage, without being limited to the rate of a British extra ship, but procured on such terms as circumstances may admit. It is, however, our special direction, that this indulgence shall only be granted in cases of necessity, and where there is no reason to suspect any indirect management or collusion.

The ships engaged in India are not, on any account, to be relet to the owners or others, to be loaded at their pleasure, but are to be laden in the same manner as the ships we consign to you for the private goods lodged in our warehouses, whither all privilege goods must first be sent, as heretofore practised, and thence, being duly entered at the custom-house, be assorted into cargoes, and shipped in the manner laid down in the foregoing propositions.

With regard to the rate of freight

The Board's Paragraphs.

three-fourths of the whole rate contracted for, and subject also to an addition for demurrage, or any reasonable expence, in cases where the safety of the ship and cargo may be involved.

36. We have already observed, that it is our intention to give an equal participation, on equal terms, to the Indian ships, in bringing home the private trade; and for every ship engaged by us on permanent contract for this service, an Indian ship may be engaged on a similar contract.

37. If, however, in any season, after all the ships engaged for private trade, British as well as Indian, shall have full cargoes, there shall still be a want of tonnage, an Indian extra ship or ships may be hired for one voyage, on the cheapest terms the state of circumstances will allow, either at Bengal, or our other presidencies.

38. It is, however, our special direction, that this indulgence shall only be granted in cases of necessity, and where there is no reason to suspect any indirect management or collusion.

39. Agreeably to the eleventh proposition hereinbefore stated, these ships are to be relet by the Company, without profit, to such merchants as may be disposed to export goods to India, or import goods from India; and you will lade them with such privilege goods as may from time to time be lodged in our warehouses, whither all privilege goods must first be sent, as heretofore practised, and thence being duly entered at the Custom-house, be assorted into cargoes, in as fair and equitable a manner as possible, and with the greatest practicable convenience to the trader.

40. With regard to the rate of freight

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The Court's Paragraphs.

freight to be paid by owners of goods laden on ſhips taken up in India, as there will be no more uncertainty or delay in the times at which thoſe ſhips ſhall ſail, we hold it juſt, that the rate ſhould be the ſame at which the Company engage the ſhips. If this is a fair rate, which it ought to be, the proprietors of goods cannot reaſonably complain. We are not convinced, by the arguments which the owners of Indian ſhips and goods have advanced, to ſhew the mutual advantage of leaving them to deal with each other, free of the Company's intervention. This mode might, no doubt, be favourable to the increaſe of Indian ſhipping in the European trade, and to that independence of the free merchants on the Company, which it is ſufficiently obvious they deſire; but we do not equally diſcern in it the intereſt of the ſhippers of goods: and when uncertainty and delay in the diſpatch of ſhips, which were the beſt arguments for the mode preferred by the merchants, are removed, all juſt objection to the method we now enjoin will, in our opinion, be alſo done away.

In reſpect to the charges that muſt attach in lodging private goods in our warehouſes, and embarking them in ſloops from thence, if the goods ſhall not be loaded at Calcutta for the ſhips, perhaps the moſt convenient way of ſettling them would be, by fixing tables of rates, according to which the ſhippers may pay and make out their invoices without further trouble.

We muſt here direct, that if, at any future period, the goods provided for the Company's inveſtment, after adopting all practicable means for that end, ſhall not be ſufficient to furniſh full cargoes for the Company's

The Board's Paragraphs.

freight to be paid by the owners of goods delivered into our warehouſes, and ſhipped from thence upon ſhips taken up in India, or ſent from England, it is reaſonable that the ſame price ſhould, in ſimilar caſes, be charged to all the merchants, and that price ſhould be aſcertained and determined by the freight at which the Company have engaged the ſhips, and apportioned in the manner directed by the 89th, 90th and 91ſt ſections of the act of 1793.

41. In reſpect to the charges that muſt attach in lodging private goods in our warehouſes, and embarking them in ſloops from them, if the goods ſhall not be loaded at Calcutta, perhaps the moſt convenient way of ſettling them would be, by fixing tables of rates, according to which the ſhippers may pay and make out their invoices without further trouble.

42. We muſt here direct, that if, at any future period, the goods provided by the Company's inveſtment, after adopting all practicable means for that end, ſhall not be ſufficient to furniſh full cargoes for the

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The Court's Paragraphs.

Company's ſhips, and recourſe ſhould, in conſequence, be again had to private merchants to ſupply the deficiency, as in the inſtance mentioned in your diſpatch of 9th April laſt, to which we ſhall have occaſion to reply particularly hereafter, the Company's Europe ſhips are to be fully laden before you engage India built ſhips for that purpoſe, beyond the number and tonnage which, by a preceding paragraph, are to be provided for the accommodation of the private trade goods.

25. Fifthly. With regard to the diſpatch of the ſhips. Care muſt be taken, according to the ſecond propoſition, that the ſhips, whether engaged by us or our governments to bring home private trade, ſail at proper fixed periods, and be not detained nor diverted from regularly purſuing their voyages on any account.

It has been already ſaid, that if the ſhips employed to bring home the private trade ſhould not be fully laden with the goods of individuals, the deficiency ſhould be filled up by gruff goods on account of the Company. This reſolution we confirm, meaning to include in it the Indian, as well as European ſhips; and in order to act upon it, it will be proper to have a quantity of gruff articles always in ſtore at the preſidencies: but we have further to obſerve here, in relation to this reſolution, that if the ſhips ſent from Europe, and to engage in India, cannot both be laden at parallel periods, thoſe from Europe, which cannot be diverted to any employment in India, as the country ſhips may, muſt be laden firſt, and no goods put on board them on the Company's account, as long as any private goods are either in

The Board's Paragraphs.

the Company's ſhips, and recourſe ſhould, in conſequence, be again had to private merchants to ſupply the deficiency, as in the inſtance mentioned in your diſpatch of the 9th April laſt, to which we ſhall have occaſion to reply particularly hereafter, the Company's Europe ſhips are to be fully laden before you engage India-built ſhips for that purpoſe, beyond the number and tonnage which by a preceding paragraph are to be provided for the accommodation of the private trade goods.

43. Fifthly. With regard to the diſpatch of the ſhips, care muſt be taken, according to the ſecond propoſition, that the ſhips, whether engaged by us or our governments to bring home private trade, ſail at proper fixed periods, and be not detained or diverted from regularly purſuing their voyages on any account.

44. It has been already ſaid in the ſixth propoſition, that if the ſhips employed to bring home the private trade ſhould not be fully laden with goods of individuals, the deficiency ſhould be filled up with gruff goods on account of the Company. This reſolution we confirm, meaning to include therein the Indian as well as the European ſhips; and in order to act upon it, it will be proper to have a quantity of gruff articles always in ſtore at the preſidencies.

45. If the ſhips ſent from Europe, and engaged in India on permanent contracts, cannot, for want of ſufficiency of private goods in our warehouſe, be loaded at one and the ſame time, they ſhould be laden alternately, firſt a Britiſh and then an Indian ſhip, and ſo in continuation, commencing with that Britiſh ſhip which

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The Court's Paragraphs.

in the warehouſes, or notified for delivery there.

With reſpect to the periods of ſhipping private goods, we would impoſe no other reſtrictions than ſuch as muſt be indiſpenſable for the currency and advantage of the trade. Applications for tonnage may ſpecify any time of ſhipping, from the earlieſt to the lateſt period at which goods can be laden within the fair ſeaſon of diſpatch; and on the requiſition of the owners of the cargo aſſigned to any ſhip, the diſpatch may be made before or after the limits of the fair ſeaſon, provided they will come under the uſual covenant, of being liable to all conſequent damage. It will, however, be neceſſary, for the due currency of the trade and the regularity of diſpatch, that ſtated periods be aſſigned for the ſailing of the ſhips; that previous notice be received from the merchants, of the ſorts and quantities of goods they wiſh to lade, and of the times at which they will be ready, and that cargoes be arranged and allotted accordingly. Thus both the Company's agents and the merchants will proceed with certainty; and the latter need be at no loſs to order inſurances, and engage for drawing bills on their conſignments.

It will contribute to the currency and regularity of this whole ſyſtem, if

The Board's Paragraphs.

which ſhall have reached India the earlieſt, and with that Indian ſhip which ſhall have been firſt engaged by our government abroad; or if circumſtances, which we are not aware of, ſhall make any other rule more impartial, we deſire you will adopt it, our wiſh being that no undue preference ſhould be given to either.

46. With reſpect to the periods of ſhipping private goods, we would impoſe no other reſtrictions than ſuch as muſt be indiſpenſable for the currency and advantage of the trade. Applications for tonnage may ſpecify any time of ſhipping, from the earlieſt to the lateſt period at which goods can be laden within the fair ſeaſon of diſpatch; and on the requiſition of the owners of the cargo aſſigned to any ſhip, the diſpatch may be made before or after the limits of the fair ſeaſon, provided they will come under the uſual covenant, of being liable to all conſequent damage. It will, however, be neceſſary, for the due currency of the trade and the regularity of diſpatch, that ſtated periods be aſſigned for the ſailing of the ſhips, which we direct may be, as far as practicable, thoſe moſt convenient to the merchants; that previous notice be received from the merchants, of the ſorts and quantities of goods they wiſh to lade, and of the times at which they will be ready, and that cargoes be arranged and allotted accordingly. Thus both the Company's agents and the merchants will proceed with certainty; and the latter need be at no loſs to order inſurances, and engage for drawing bills on their conſignments.

47. It will contribute to the currency and regularity of this whole

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The Court's Paragraphs.

if we are annually informed of the actual demand of the current year for private tonnage, and of the probable demand of the next year. We desire, therefore, that as soon as returns are made to your advertisements requiring applications to be given in for tonnage, you will forward to us a statement of their nature and amount, accompanied with an estimate of the occasions of the following year.

26. As connected with the present subject, and in itself a point of great importance, we think it necessary to recur here to an idea already mentioned, that we shall be ready to give every facility in our power to the building of ships in India for the service of the royal navy, should such a plan be at any time deemed advisable by his Majesty's ministers; and in case any ships of war are thus built in our ports, it is probable that they will, in the first instance, be laden home with cargoes of merchandize, either from India or China.

27. In the third of the original propositions of the 4th of February, it is stated, "that the rate of freight from India, on ships engaged to bring private goods, shall, during war, be as low as that at which Indian ships, in the *present season*, are chartered to the Company."

Although the war is happily terminated, and this is one of the propositions that has been changed, yet lest it should, on any future occasion, mislead, you will observe, that the shippers of goods from India, both in peace and war, are to pay three-fourths of the freight contracted for by the Company, whether the ships be Indian or British, and that the shippers of goods from Europe are to pay the remainder of the said freight.

The Board's Paragraphs.

whole system, if we are annually informed of the actual demand of the current year for private tonnage, and of the probable demand of the next year: we desire, therefore, that as soon as returns are made to your advertisements requiring applications to be given in for tonnage, you will forward to us a statement of their nature and amount, accompanied with an estimate of the occasions of the following year.

48. As connected with the present subject, and in itself a point of great importance, we think it necessary to recur here to an idea already mentioned, that we shall be ready to give every facility in our power to the building of ships in India for the service of the royal navy, should such a plan, at any time, be deemed advisable by his Majesty's ministers; and in case any ships of war are thus built in our ports, it is probable that they will, in the first instance, be laden home with cargoes of merchandize, either from India or China.

49. In the third of the original propositions of the 4th of February, it is stated, that the rate of freight from India, on ships engaged to bring private goods, shall, during war, be as low as that at which Indian ships, in the *present season*, are chartered to the Company.

50. As there is every prospect of the war being happily terminated, and this is one of the propositions that has been changed, yet lest it should, on any future occasion, mislead, you will observe, that the shippers of goods from India, both in peace and war, are to pay three-fourths of the freight contracted for per ton by the Company, whether the ships be Indian or British, and that the shippers of goods from

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The Court's Paragraphs.

28. Our governments in India have, upon ſome occaſions, judged it expedient, rather to grant licenſes of reſidence to perſons who had irregularly entered the country, than to adopt the meaſures reſpecting them. It could never be intended, however, that this ſhould become a practice, becauſe ſuch a practice would fruſtrate all the laws enacted to prevent the illicit ingreſs of Europeans into our poſſeſſions; we think it better, therefore, in the view of the preſent changes, which render precaution more important, to guard againſt any future reſort to ſuch a mode, by directing, as we now do, that no licenſe of this kind be henceforth granted by any of our governments in India, unleſs our expreſs permiſſion ſhall, upon the view of any particular caſe, be firſt granted; and we direct, that liſts of the licenſed perſons out of the ſervice, reſiding at the different preſidencies, may be annually ſent us.

29. Having thus given our inſtructions upon the enlargement of the trading privileges of Britiſh reſidents in India, it becomes neceſſary for us, in the next place, to deliver our ſentiments upon the ſubject of clandeſtine trade. Whether the materials which have come before us have, or have not, been ſufficient to enable us to form an accurate idea of what the extent of that trade has lately been, they ſeem clearly to import, that it has been carried on with little ſolicitude about concealment, and that its tranſactions have been frequently mentioned in official reports, coming under the eye of government, as if they

The Board's Paragraphs.

Europe are to pay the remainder of the ſaid freight according to the quantity of the goods laden.

51. Our governments in India have, upon ſome occaſions, judged it expedient, rather to grant licenſes of reſidence to perſons who had irregularly entered the country, than to adopt other meaſures reſpecting them. It could never be intended, however, that this ſhould become a practice, becauſe ſuch a practice would fruſtrate all the laws enacted to prevent the illicit ingreſs of Europeans into our poſſeſſions. We think it neceſſary, therefore, in the view of the preſent changes, which render precaution more important, to guard againſt any future reſort to ſuch a mode, by directing, as we now do, that no licenſes of this kind be henceforth granted by any of our Governments in India, unleſs our permiſſion ſhall, upon the view of any particular caſe, be firſt granted; and we deſire that liſts of the licenſed perſons out of the ſervice, reſiding at the different preſidencies, may be annually ſent us.

52. Having thus given our inſtructions upon the enlargement of the trading privileges of Britiſh ſubjects in India, it becomes neceſſary for us, in the next place, to deliver our ſentiments upon the ſubject of clandeſtine trade. Whether the materials which have come before us have, or have not, been ſufficient to enable us to form an accurate idea of what the extent of that trade has lately been, they ſeem clearly to import, that it has been carried on with little ſolicitude about concealment, and that its tranſactions have been frequently mentioned in official reports, coming under the eye of government, as

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The Court's Paragraphs.

they were matters of no particular attention. The ſtrongeſt apology lately offered for the clandeſtine traders, and offered with a forwardneſs which ſeems to imply even ſomething more than a palliation of their conduct, is, that "having ſhips, they muſt employ them;" but ſurely no one can doubt that this ſort of explanation does not convey a juſt view of the caſe. At the laſt renewal of the charter, ſome individuals, acting upon unauthorized ſpeculation, may have been induced to build ſhips in Calcutta, in the hope of being allowed to freight them to England. But ſhips had been built there previous to the exiſtence of any ſuch hope, and the clandeſtine trade had been long carried on before ſhip-building was introduced into that ſettlement. Were no ſhips then built for the purpoſe of clandeſtine trade? Since the renewal of the charter many ſhips have been built, which could not depend on being employed in the navigation to England; and it will hardly be aſſerted, that men, in embarking in ſuch expenſive undertakings, would not, in various inſtances, at leaſt reckon upon a trade then carried on, though clandeſtinely, as one means, by which the ſhips to be conſtructed might find employment. If, therefore, it may be ſaid, that in ſome inſtances the trade was reſorted to, becauſe ſhips were in exiſtence, it may, with equal warrant, be believed, that in others ſhips were built, becauſe the trade exiſted; and is it now a proper or becoming account of this matter, to inſinuate, as ſeems to be done, that ſhips have, in effect, been driven into the clandeſtine trade, becauſe the Company did not think fit to licenſe them to come directly to England? and if the poſſeſſing

The Board's Paragraphs.

as if they were matters of no particular attention.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

poſſeſſing of ſhips will apologize for entering into that trade, what more probable than that the ſhips will be built to reap the benefit of this apology?

30. The inconveniences and diſappointments to which the merchants would have been expoſed, in depending for tonnage on the Company's ſhips, will probably be thought the faireſt general excuſe that can be made for their reſorting to irregular channels; and ſuch is the value attached to any increaſe of commerce in a country, that poſſibly this ſuppoſed reſult of their irregularity may cauſe it to be viewed by ſome as on the whole a venial fault; but when conſidered in its juſt bearings and relations, it muſt be found to merit very ſerious diſapprobation. In the firſt place, the complaints of the want of accommodation in the Company's ſhips, partly aroſe from the merchants ſtretching their trade beyond what was in contemplation when the privilege was granted them in 1793, namely, a remittance trade. This kind of trade might, in time of peace eſpecially, have been accommodated, though the other trade mixed with it, founded on foreign capital, might not. In the ſecond place, the complaints of the merchants were urged with the view of obtaining the introduction of their own ſhips, and conſequently an independent trade. In a dominion ſo circumſtanced as that of Britiſh India is, we muſt, for reaſons already ſtated, be of opinion, that the riſe of ſuch an independent intereſt there is not an object to be deſired; but what we would more particularly point to here, is the moral and political effects of an habitual, and in fact open violation of the regulations of the governing

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraphs.

power. To correct this evil was one avowed end of the privilege conceded to the private merchants in 1793; but it appears ſtill to continue, and if the extenſion of trade, or greater convenience of the trader may be admitted as an extenuation of it, a cure can hardly be hoped for. In a country diſtant from the ſeat of ſupreme authority, an habitual diſregard of the laws enacted by that authority is, in any caſe, eſpecially to be deprecated, not only becauſe it may pave the way for deviation in other inſtances, but becauſe the connexion of popular abuſes muſt be more difficult under a remote delegated government, liable to frequent changes; and as ſuch abuſes get firmer footing, the power of that government may be ſaid to be in effect proportionably impaired.

81. It muſt be impoſſible for us, conſiſtently with our duty, to remain paſſive under the continuance of a trade, which all agree ought to be extinguiſhed. About the means of its extinction, a language has ſometimes been held, which to us appears unguarded, and more likely to encourage than to diſcountenance the trade. It is ſaid, that reſtrictive meaſures will never ſuppreſs it; we, on the other hand, ſee very ſerious reaſon to be of opinion, that a ſyſtem of indulgence and conceſſion would by no means be ſure of its end. If every facility which private traders might from time to time require were to be granted, in order to induce them to abſtain from clandeſtine purſuits, might not ſelf-intereſt, the great mover in all this buſineſs, induce them to go on aſking, as we have already obſerved, whilſt any thing remained to be given, and after all the object of the Company be unattained? It cannot

The Board's Paragraphs.

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The Court's Paragraph.

cannot be expedient for any government to be on a footing of perpetual compromiſe and conceſſion with thoſe who derive their protection from it; nor has it ever appeared certain to us, that it could be made the intereſts of traders at all times to ſend their conſignments directly to the mother country. But to make for the ſuppreſſion of the clandeſtine trade conceſſions involving the hazard of objects yet more important, our duty will not permit us. The moſt mature conſideration of a very momentous ſubject has led us to a fixed determination reſpecting the limits by which the trade of individuals with the mother country ſhould be bounded, and the Legiſlature has regulated the intercourſe which may ſubſiſt between Britiſh ſubjects, reſident in India, and Foreigners. When we have done every thing that the ſafety of the preſent Indian ſyſtem will, in our judgment, allow, for the accommodation of thoſe reſidents, we truſt it cannot be unreaſonable or abſurd to expect, that men who, if they have any right to be in the country at all, are there under particular ſtipulations, on the obſervance of which their right alſo to continue in the country depends, ſhall not go in a pertinacious diſobedience to the laws and to our authority, becauſe they have not all the licenſe they would chooſe for commercial ſpeculations, a licenſe, to their renunciation of which was the very condition under which they were permitted to reſide.

82. When this queſtion is ſoberly conſidered, we hope no reaſonable man can be at a loſs to determine which ſide ought to prevail, the authority of the laws and government, or the contumacious will of

The Board's Paragraph.

68. We cannot admit the law to be thus openly derided, nor can we ſubmit to ſee a ſyſtem of regulations, intimately connected, in our opinion, with the ſafety of our Indian intereſt, continually diſregarded,

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The Court's Paragraphs.

of certain individuals. We have no desire to restrain their legitimate exertions in a much larger field than private merchants ever before possessed in India, nor can we have pleasure in resorting to any coercive measures; but neither can we sacrifice our conviction to clamour and prejudice which their activity has made popular, nor submit to see a system of regulations, intimately connected, in our opinion, with the safety of our Indian interest, continually disregarded, without any exercise of those powers which are vested in us for the prevention of such abuses; and if any person should determinately persevere in in setting our regulations and warnings at defiance, they must take those just consequences which we have no doubt may be brought home to them.

33. The foreign trade is an important branch of this general subject, upon which it is our purpose to bestow a more mature consideration, than the pressure of other affairs has yet permitted us to give it. During the continuance of war, we thought that it was not practicable to introduce any material ameliorations; but now that peace is at length restored, we shall wish seriously to deliberate on the measures, which this change of circumstances, and the state of the foreign trade, render proper on our part, and shall be glad to receive your sentiments on the subject by the earliest opportunity.

34. Our resolutions and instructions having thus been explicitly communicated to you, respecting both the privilege and the clandestine trade; it only remains for us to require the cordial co-operation of our governments abroad, and especially of the government-general, for

The Board's Paragraphs.

without any exercise of those powers which are vested in us for the prevention of such abuses. We therefore most earnestly enjoin you to use the utmost vigilance to prevent all clandestine trade for the future, and to bring to punishment all those whom you shall discover to be concerned in it. We shall be equally vigilant on our part; and if any persons shall determinately persevere in setting our regulations and warnings at defiance, they must take those just consequences which we have no doubt may be brought home to them.

54. The foreign trade is an important branch of this general subject, upon which it is our purpose to bestow a more mature consideration, than the pressure of other affairs has yet permitted us to give it. During the continuance of war, we thought it was not practicable to introduce any material amelioration; but in the hope of the return of peace, we wish most seriously to deliberate on the measures, which this change of circumstances, and the state of the foreign trade, render proper on our part, and shall be glad to receive your sentiments on the subject by the earliest opportunity.

55. Our resolutions and instructions have thus been explicitly communicated to you, respecting both the privilege and the clandestine trade. It only remains for us to require the cordial co-operation of our governments abroad, and especially of the government-general, for

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The Court's Paragraphs.

for carrying the whole into complete effect.

East-India House, 11th Feb. 1802.

The Board's Paragraphs.

for carrying the whole into complete effect.

Whitehall, 20th March 1802.

Approved by Order of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

W. BRODRICK.

No. XLVII.

Whitehall, 25th March 1802.

GENTLEMEN,

The board are of opinion, that drafts of the tenor of those herewith enclosed (marked A and B) should be transmitted to India, together with draft No. 45, and recommend them to the adoption of the court of directors.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,

W. BRODRICK.

The Hon. Court of Directors of the East-India Company.

No. XLVIII.

(A)

In the letter from the Governor-general in council to the secret committee, of the 9th of April 1801, which has been communicated to us, and to which we shall apply more fully hereafter, we observe, "that in order to guard against the evils which might attend a sudden and considerable reduction of the Indian investment, the advances for which issued throughout the country furnish ultimately a resource for the payment of the land revenues, and by withholding of which difficulties might occur in realizing the revenues, that it had been found necessary to afford the public an assurance, that the arrangement adopted in the first year, by the order in council of the 19th September, for allowing the export of goods to England on private ships, would be continued in the ensuing season."

We perfectly agree in the sentiments expressed in that letter, in regard to the evil consequences likely to ensue, when the Company's investment is much curtailed, if the public were not allowed to fill the chasm. The class of manufactures, as therein remarked, is entitled to the constant protection and encouragement of the state, otherwise that useful and valuable body of men might experience distress, the fabrics be debased, valuable branches of manafacture, now supported by the Company, wholly abandoned or materially injured, and the country suffer from the diminution of that supply of specie, which is now regularly through the channel of the Company's advances.

"We were glad to find, that the Governor-general in council had taken care to prevent the operation of those evils, or to alleviate the effects, and that with this view, it was deemed necessary to afford every possible encouragement to the private merchant, in order that he might be enabled to supply the place of the Company in the market, and to furnish that support to the manufactures which could not proceed from the Company's funds."

Whitehall, March 25th, 1802.

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No. XLIX.

(B)

We have not, at preſent, engaged any large ſhips fit for the conveyance of the cotton in private trade from the weſtern ſide of India; and what tonnage may be required for it annually, appears to us ſo uncertain, that we wiſh for further advice upon the ſubject, both from your preſidency and from the governor in council of Bombay. In the mean time, it is of ſo much importance to the manufactures of Great Britain, to have as much of this raw material as poſſible imported from time to time, that we muſt rely upon you to make ſuch an arrangement of tonnage for the conveyance of it to the port of London, as ſhall not only prevent this valuable trade from falling into the hands of foreigners, but ſhall inſure its coming to the river Thames, as often as the ſtate of the markets in India will admit. You are aware how neceſſary a large ſhare of this trade is to the furniſhing of ſupplies to our ſupra-cargoes in China, and that will of courſe be duly conſidered by you, in any reſolution you may come to on this important ſubject.

Whitehall, March 25th, 1802.

No. L.

THIRD REPORT *of the* SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

INTRODUCTION.

In the beginning of the month of November, the Special Committee of the Court of Directors had made conſiderable progreſs in preparing a Report, under an apprehenſion that ſome meaſure might be adopted injurious to the Company; but which they kept in ſuſpenſe until the motion of Sir William Pulteney, in the Houſe of Commons, had been decided. The manner in which that motion terminated, induced them to believe that the conteſt was over, and that the Company's paramount rights would be maintained. The diſpoſition recommended by the Miniſter to aſſiſt the private trade in a reaſonable manner, without prejudice to the Company, has been manifeſted by the Committee; and inſtructions, drawn up on the moſt conciliatory principles, containing conceſſions of great importance to the private trade, have long ſince been tranſmitted to the Board of Commiſſioners; from whom, after a long delay, they received an anſwer, communicated in an official letter which has been laid before the Court.

The annual election for Directors approaches when their members muſt be changed; whilſt the activity of private traders, and the exertions of private intereſt, are ever on the watch to promote their own end. When many publications appear on one ſide, and no arguments are uſed on the other, the minds of men muſt naturally become biaſſed: and when once opinions are formed, even truth finds a difficulty to penetrate. For theſe reaſons, your Committee think it their duty to ſubmit to the Court the Report (with ſome variations) to which they have alluded, that they may not be accuſed of having been inattentive to the intereſt of the Company on this important ſubject.

March 25th, 1802.

After an attentive peruſal of the papers ſubmitted by Mr. Dundas to the court of directors, reſpecting the trade with India, and his letter to the ſhip-builders, which is connected with the ſame ſubject, every perſon who reads them muſt be ſatisfied that his ſyſtem for the future management of the commercial concerns of that quarter of the globe, amounts merely to this—That a ſecond monopoly in favour of Indian capital and Indian ſhips ſhall be ingrafted upon the Company's exclu-

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five charter; or, in other words, he propoſes, that the trade of the Company with India (with the exception only of piece goods) ſhall be opened to the capital, and the ſhips of this deſcription, whilſt it ſhall remain cloſe to thoſe of the mother country.

In their former report, your committee endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to explain the dangerous conſequences that are likely to follow from ſuch a ſyſtem; ſince which time, Mr. Scott, your late chairman, and the only advocate for this ſyſtem, has retired from his ſituation, which induced your committee to fear that their endeavours to avoid the ſtorm by conciliatory means, would not ſucceed; they therefore concur in opinion with the court, that further attempts ſhould be made, and that not only the truth, but the whole truth, ſhould be ſubmitted to the conſideration of his Majeſty's miniſters, the proprietors, and the public. In performing this arduous, but indiſpenſable taſk, your committee dare not yield to their own feelings and diſpoſition, either as they may regard men or meaſures:—what would be decorous, prudent, and deſirable on almoſt every other occaſion, would be culpable, and even criminal, at preſent. It is a ſacred duty impoſed on the court of directors, and by them devolved on your committee, to defend the exiſtence of the Company, and the rights of the Public, againſt private intereſt; and it is a duty from which your committee will not ſhrink.

In the former report your committee entered very fully into the ſubjects of conteſt, with a view to meet ſuch arguments as in their opinion could be urged; and for the purpoſe of introducing reſolutions, to be tranſmitted to India, for the regulation of the government there, relative to the private trade of individuals, and to Indian built ſhips.

It is not intended to recapitulate what was then advanced, except in a ſlight degree, and when the cauſe of the Company, with the facts introduced to ſupport that cauſe, may render ſuch repetition unavoidable: the object of the committee at preſent will be, to endeavour to give the ſubject a different form, and to refer to their former report for elucidations, which they cannot improve, as the beſt means to accompliſh that comparative conciſeneſs they will endeavour to aim at on the preſent occaſion. One general principle appears to be almoſt univerſally admitted, namely—

"The neceſſity of maintaining *unimpaired* the *excluſive* commerce of India in the hands of the *Company*."

With ſuch an admiſſion by the late and preſent miniſters, and flowing from almoſt every pen, (Indian merchants and agents excepted,) your committee cannot underſtand why another word becomes neceſſary; for the object of the Indian agent is avowedly to deſtroy, and not to maintain, the excluſive commerce of the Company. The truth is, the parties themſelves have manifeſted, in a courſe of years, ignorance of their own wants, or rather of the means of making their own fortunes. They have conceived that reſtrictions on the Company muſt prove beneficial to themſelves; for this reaſon they prevailed to have 3000 tons allotted for certain purpoſes, which are diſtinctly deſcribed by Mr. Dundas, in his letter dated the 16th of February 1793, when he mentions "what he calls the *regulated monopoly* to be for the purpoſe of enſuring to the merchants and manufacturers the certain and

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ample means of exporting to India, to the full extent of the demand of that country for the *manufactures* of this; and likewiſe a certainty that, in ſo far as the produce of India affords *raw materials* for the manufacturers of Great Britain or Ireland, that produce ſhall be brought home at a rate as reaſonable as the circumſtances of the two countries will admit of."—Not a ſyllable appeared on that occaſion about the *ſurplus* produce of India, nor about Indian built *ſhips*. And in his letter dated the 22d of March 1793, he mentions the opinion of Mr. Pitt as well as himſelf, "that all perſons reſident in India ſhall be allowed to ſend, *in the Company's ſhips*, ſuch goods as they pleaſe, (limited afterwards to 3000 tons,) paying freight for the ſame, not exceeding 15*l.* per ton, or ſuch further ſum as, with the freight paid on the goods exported to India, ſhall amount in the whole to 20*l.* per ton, to and from India, in *time of peace*."—And in another letter, dated the 23d of March 1793, he ſays,—"I have uniformly diſcountenanced every ſuggeſtion which tended to ſet aſide the preſent valuable capital employed in the ſhipping ſervice of the Eaſt India Company."

Mr. Dundas was then told that he was miſtaken, for his regulations would not anſwer the purpoſe repreſented to him. The parties (ſome of whom appear at preſent,) perſiſted in their demand, and declined the offer of the Company to provide 6400 tons, and which was reduced by Mr. Dundas himſelf to 3000 tons. They are equally in an error at preſent; for if their requeſt ſhall be granted, there will ſtill be ſomething remaining, upon which they will want to try an experiment: for we are warranted to call it an experiment, under a clear, unequivocal conviction, that it will be impoſſible for the Legiſlature, by any regulation whatever, to bring to the river Thames, in time of peace, the ſame quantity (in bulk and value) of the produce and manufacture of India, which has been brought here in time of war.

In addition to this circumſtance, the objects of purſuit have ſhifted in ſuch a manner that it is impoſſible for the committee to underſtand the whole of the views of the parties; and, however difficult it may prove, they have no better mode to purſue, than to clear away the old ground, which in ſome degree is diſtinct, for the purpoſe of bringing forward, in a general point of view, the propoſition which the Company contend againſt for the preſent—namely, "to allow the ſurplus in India to be ſent home by *Britiſh merchants reſident there, in ſhips built in that country.*"

During the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, and for ſeveral years after that event, the Company never heard of any other expectation on the part of government, or of the public, than what may be compriſed under four heads.

1ſt. To realize the tribute or ſurplus of the revenue of India in Europe.

2d. To remit the fortunes of individuals acquired in India to Europe.

3d. To enable private individuals to export Britiſh manufactures and produce to India.

4th. To furniſh the means of remittance in return for Britiſh manufactures and produce exported by individuals.

Under theſe heads every expectation was compriſed; and it was underſtood by the Company, as it was admitted

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admitted by Mr. Dundas, to leave the reſt of the trade to Foreigners, from an opinion that it could only be returns for a very few articles of their manufacture, and of ſilver ſent from Europe and from America.

There is not a ſyllable to be found in the voluminous papers which appeared on the renewal of the charter, tending to encourage the trade of *Britiſh merchants reſident in India*, further than as it was connected with the four points before mentioned; nor is there an expreſſion which can apply, in the moſt circuitous, indirect manner, to *Indian built ſhips*: and particular ſtreſs has been laid on every occaſion by Mr. Dundas, againſt permitting *Britiſh* capital to be employed; on which ſubject your committee will have ſome remarks to make. Under ſuch circumſtances, it muſt aſtoniſh every impartial perſon to hear the Indian agents accuſe the court of directors with having wilfully obſtructed the operations of the act of 1793; whilſt your committee aſſert, that the preſent pretenſions of the Indian agents were never mentioned at that period in the memorial they preſented, nor by Mr. Dundas, nor by any other perſon; and which is confirmed by the act itſelf.

If it be intended to deprive the Company of the rights they enjoy, it is neceſſary to prove that thoſe rights have been miſmanaged or abuſed. It is not ſufficient to urge, that perſons, however elevated their rank may be, have changed their opinion, or that they have objects in view different from thoſe entertained when the compact was made. The compact was between the Company and the Public, and not with miniſters as individuals, whoſe opinions are always liable to change. The Company have complied, and are in the conſtant courſe of complying, with every expectation that exiſted in the year 1793; in which caſe, the aſſumption of any part of the privileges granted to the Company without their conſent, would be a violation of the public faith.

The Company are willing to undergo the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny on every point or condition expected from them in the year 1798; for which purpoſe they will make ſome ſhort obſervations on thoſe before-mentioned.

1ſt. To realize the tribute of India in Europe.

It is true that, in the year 1793, there was a ſurplus or tribute in India of 1,159,000*l.* per annum, to be brought home through the medium of commerce; but that ſum has been exhauſted either in eſtabliſhments under the authority of the board of commiſſioners, or in political expences, neither of which were incurred by, or belong to, the commerce of the Company.

2d. To remit the fortunes of individuals.

Individuals have not complained of the want of means to remit their fortunes to Europe ſince the year 1793. It is the Company who complain that *Britiſh merchants reſiding in India* are competitors for thoſe funds, and who intercept a conſiderable portion, which would otherwiſe flow into their treaſuries, to enable the Company to purchaſe their own inveſtment.

3d. To encourage the export of Britiſh manufactures and produce.

The readineſs which the Company have manifeſted, and the facilities they have offered, on every occaſion, for ſo deſirable a purpoſe, have never been denied. If any doubts ſhall ariſe on the ſubject, the Company are, and always will be, anxious to remove them.

4th.

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4th. To furnish the means of returns for manufactures, &c.

This article is completely answered in reply to the second. The Company do not wish to annex any limit as to the extent; whatever may be the amount, they are ready to receive it at their treasury in India, and to pay for it in Europe, at a rate of exchange very beneficial to the parties, who may be in want of such a remittance.

The objects of the private traders in the year 1792-3 were, in reality——

1st. To obtain an act of oblivion in regard to the illicit trade in which they had been concerned prior to that period, and to which no objection was made.

2dly. To participate in the trade to and from India, under the *pretence* of encouraging the export of *British manufactures.*

A very long memorial was produced by the private traders, in which they introduced calculations of a very flattering description. To these suggestions Mr. Dundas acceded, as the Company yielded, by appropriating 3000 tons annually for the service; and the following is the result of a plan, which has shared the fate of many other projects of a similar description, and justified the opposition made to it by the court of directors at the time.

In 1793-4, 919 tons were occupied, of which 822 tons were shipped by one house (Messrs. David Scott and Co.)

	Tons.	
1794-5	40	
1795-6	31	
1796-7	252	
1797-8	none	
1798-9	374	
1799-1800	195	
1800-1	150	
1801-2	27	applied for, but not shipped.

The greater part of what was occupied in the first year, was by the same house, who may have discovered soon after what was no secret before—namely, that the privilege granted by the Company to their captains and officers, was amply sufficient to enable individuals to export British manufactures to India, and very probably even at a lower rate of freight than 5*l.* per ton.

It thus appears that the Company are obliged, by the act of 1793, to provide annually 3000 tons for the exportation of British manufactures, and which for nine years amount to - - tons 27,000

There have been applied for only - 1,988

Remain - tons 25,012

The Company have therefore been exposed to unnecessary inconvenience, by providing 27,000 tons for the accommodation of the shippers of 2,000, and which is a complete refutation of the projects formed by the private traders in 1792-3. But, in order to shew that the clamour in favour of *British manufactures* at that time was a cover to other views, the following particulars of the goods shipped by one of the most considerable houses of agency, (Messrs. David Scott and Co.) in 1793-4, may be useful:—

	Tons.
Beer - -	116
Cochineal - -	19
Carriages - -	80
Cordage - -	24
Cabinet Ware - -	16
Canvas - -	20
Floor Cloths - -	2
Glass Ware - -	30
Carry forward -	307

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Brought forward -	307
Hardware - -	15
Horſe Hair - -	1
Ironmongery - -	16
Lamps - -	3
Iron - - -	250
Lead - - -	174
Lines and Twines - -	2
Mahogany - -	28
Marble - -	14
Oil and Paint - -	9
Plated Ware - -	2
Pictures - -	1
Saffron - -	3
Tin - - -	1
Woollens - -	1
Total -	822

We thus perceive 424 tons of metals, but of the great ſtaple article of *Britiſh manufacture, woollens*, one ton, and no more;—the remaining articles formed, more or leſs, the private inveſtment of the captains, and which they have always exported. That the public may underſtand more diſtinctly the comparative exertions of the Company, the following eſtimate of the export of *Britiſh woollens* for 1801-2, may be uſeful:—

	Tons.	Value.
Bombay -	335	£94,100
Madras -	230	120,100
Calcutta -	212	94,350
China -	2,750	1,101,970
Total	3,527	£1,410,520

In addition to which, it muſt be obſerved, that the Company never expect to derive a profit on the export of woollens; they are well ſatisfied if they can be conſumed with a ſmall loſs: for this reaſon, if the Company's rights and privileges ſhall be diſturbed, private traders will never follow this branch; and diſtreſs, as well as diſappointment, muſt fall on the moſt valuable branch of Britiſh manufacture.

Theſe were the prominent features of the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, and which concluded by granting the 3000 tons of ſhipping for the uſe of individuals, notwithſtanding the repreſentations made to Mr. Dundas, by the directors, that he was miſtaken. He now acknowledges that the meaſure has proved nugatory, which is the only conſolation the Company can expect to receive for the ſacrifices they have made, and the expenſe they have been at.

Having thus cleared away (as we preſume) the old ground, by which we mean to have proved that the Company have fulfilled every expectation that was raiſed, as well as every condition which was ſtipulated, previous to the renewal of the charter; we ſhall next proceed to conſider the new pretenſion, or project, which is brought forward, namely, "to allow the ſurplus produce of India to be brought home by *Britiſh merchants reſident there, in ſhips built in that country.*"

Whatever opinions may be entertained on this ſubject, or whatever regulations may be made, they cannot in juſtice affect the exiſting charter of the Company. In the year 1793 they were not heard of, but may have formed parts of the numerous, various, and even diſcordant intereſts which were melted into one maſs, for the purpoſe of giving greater power, energy, and effect to the adminiſtration of the political and commercial affairs of the Company, and of the Britiſh empire in India. Thoſe merchants remained quiet, and their ſhips were unnoticed for ſome time after the renewal of the charter; and it would be injuſtice in the extreme to diſturb the Company's rights upon ſuch pretences: nay, what is, if poſſible, worſe, it would eſtabliſh a precedent

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in favour of a set of men who are certainly entitled to no such preference.

Before your committee proceed with the further details which attach to the subject, they must recal to the recollection of the court, the manner in which a plan has been pursued that developes itself by degrees.

Until Mr. Scott appeared as a candidate for the direction in 1788, the public were satisfied with the state of the trade between India and Europe, and the manner in which it was carried on: gradual, but regular improvements were made, and making, that whilst every endeavour was used for the benefit of the commerce of Britain and India, chimerical attempts were avoided, and the growing prosperity of both rested on the most solid basis; by which means the commercial arrangements and advantages were subservient, and highly useful to the preservation and security of the British empire in India. The first alarm commenced in the year 1787, in a letter from David Scott, esq. to the court of directors; and which was mentioned by Mr. Dundas, in the house of commons, in terms of the highest encomiums and applause. This letter contained a proposal from Mr. Scott, in which he says, "For many years they have not sent out above one quarter of their tonnage in goods; so that, in place of their ships loading with British manufactures, they have gone chiefly *in ballast.*" To occupy this tonnage, (confined to India,) he offers to engage as follows:—

	Tons.		£.		£.
1st year to occupy	6200	to ship	500,000	value in goods, and to pay freight	30,000
2d - ditto -	7000	-	550,000	- - ditto - - -	35,000
3d - ditto -	8000	-	600,000	- - ditto - - -	40,000
4th - ditto -	9000	-	650,000	- - ditto - - -	45,000
5th - ditto -	10,000	-	700,000	- - ditto - - -	50,000

He agrees, at the same time, that the privilege granted to the captain and officers of the Company's ships should remain without alteration.

To such a proposal, one single fact was opposed by the court of directors—namely, that at the time Mr. Scott made the proposal, returns were received of the draft of water of each ship, as the only means to enable the court to ascertain whether the ships were not too full to perform the voyage from Europe to many parts of India with security; and on several occasions ships were not suffered to proceed until some part of the cargo was taken out, in consequence of the ships being overloaded. Such a decisive proof of the want of any basis on which a project of so much importance could rest, gave the Company a short respite until the years 1792-93, when it appeared in another form, and to which, in consequence of the decided support of Mr. Dundas at the time, the Company were compelled to submit—namely, "to increase the exports of British manufactures and produce, and to bring home the fortunes of individuals." Some years after that, we heard of bringing to Europe "the surplus produce of India." Still, however, the public remained under a delusion: they had heard so much about *British manufactures and surplus produce*, that they never perceived, nor ever could believe that other objects were in view; at last, however, the mask fell off, and the truth appeared to be a trade in "Indian-built ships." But although the parties

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parties have acknowledged this to be their primary object, yet their friends in this country are aware that Britiſh ſhips cannot be ſacrificed for ſo flimſy a pretence. They have therefore perſiſted in their clamour about "the ſurplus produce of India," and attempt to prove that "Indian-built ſhips" are the neceſſary and *only* means of bringing that ſurplus produce to Europe. For theſe reaſons, although it becomes indiſpenſable to enter fully into the queſtion about ſurplus produce and private trade, yet your committee are able to prove that the ſhips are the real object, by the admiſſion of one of the firſt Britiſh merchants in Calcutta, (Mr. Fairlie;) and amongſt the owners of thoſe ſhips will be found the name of a Britiſh merchant reſident in London, whoſe houſe (Meſſrs. David Scott jun. and Co.) has taken a very active part on the preſent occaſion. In which caſe it will diſtinctly appear, that the privileges contended for have not, nor cannot be confined to Britiſh merchants reſiding in India; but that ſome Britiſh merchants, aided by *Britiſh capitals*, and reſiding in London, have, and will participate. Under ſuch circumſtances, the court feel themſelves compelled to become the advocates for the Public, as well as for the Company; and if they cannot ſucceed to preſerve their own rights, it is their duty to endeavour to introduce Britiſh and Iriſh ſubjects, ſhips, and ſeamen, to an equal chance of ſharing with the Indian agents in the temporary ſpoil which will reſult from the deſtruction of the Company's excluſive trade.

In their laſt report, the committee have analyzed the nature and extent of the private trade, and, in a great degree, the foundation upon which it reſts. They have alſo diſcuſſed, at ſome length, the nature and extent of the trade between India and Foreign Europe and America; the reſult of which proves, that the principles upon which the Indian agents raiſe their arguments, are without foundation. They are compelled to aſſert that the *funds* with which they trade are *Indian*, in order to avoid the obſtacle which their too zealous friends have created on a former occaſion by their decided unequivocal objections againſt *Britiſh capitals* being employed; whilſt your committee truſt they ſhall prove that the larger part of the capital employed in this trade is *Britiſh*, and not *Indian*.

One great and ineſtimable advantage to ariſe from the government of the empire in India being adminiſtered through the medium of an excluſive company under the control of a ſuperior board, is, the means which are thereby created to unite, for one common cauſe, and for the benefit of the whole, every power and every reſource commercial as well as political. During the adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings, the combination of thoſe powers, and the beneficial conſequences which reſulted to the empire at home and abroad, were boundleſs; but the name of an Indian agent at that time was ſcarcely known. Under marquis Cornwallis their number and influence had increaſed; the commercial funds, as a reſource to government, were proportionably diminiſhed, and the Company was obliged to ſend ſilver to India. At this moment they are far more numerous:—the diſtreſs of the Company abroad is great, and increaſes in proportion as they are deprived of thoſe reſources, which proved

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of such infinite use to our governments in India on former occasions, which are now absorbed by individuals, and applied to the purposes of their private trade. Still, however, they are not content; they strive to become paramount, to render the East India Company subservient to their private interest, and at the same time to exclude every other British subject. At this period of a long and expensive war, when the current resources of the Company are exhausted, they are naturally disposed to look to every aid for the purpose of assisting the political operations of government with vigour and effect; they are particularly anxious to look to those means which have proved so useful on former occasions, and have therefore opened their treasuries to receive every rupee that can be remitted from India to Europe, in order to assist the public service. In this arduous situation, and for purposes so laudable, and even indispensable for the safety of the empire in India, and for the existence of the Company at home, they are stopped short by a new description of men, who intercept these funds in their way from individuals to the public treasury, in order to employ the same for the purposes of their *private trade*. Your committee must confess that it is beyond the reach of their understanding to comprehend how a few persons (for the number is very few,) can possess the influence or the means to obtain such sacrifices. The usual and current resources of the Company are absorbed by the war; but instead of receiving assistance to enable them to bring every commercial aid, and the fortunes of individuals, into the treasury, for political purposes, they are called on to yield, and to sanction to private traders, the benefit of those resources in India for the use of their private commerce, and to call upon their constituents in Europe for the enormous additional sum of 4,000,000*l.* sterling!

The Indian agents, in every representation, have been disposed to exaggerate very much the amount of remittances to Europe for the fortunes of individuals. They advert to what was the real state of the case soon after the acquisition of the Dewannee; and combining the large sums which were brought home annually through the medium of clandestine trade about that period, they found their arguments upon facts that do not exist at present. Whatever may be the amount of Indian or British capitals employed in the trade between India and Foreign Europe and America, it must be very trifling, from the nature of the case, and from the usual course of commerce:—there is no occasion at present to conceal fortunes, and to convey them to Europe in a clandestine manner, more particularly when the rate or price of exchange on London is so very high. And we are persuaded that, when we discuss the foreign trade, we shall make it appear that the foreign means or capitals are nearly sufficient for the purposes of their own trade; consequently the fortunes of individuals, (whatever may be their amount,) which do not come home through the medium of the Company, are remitted through the private trade of British merchants residing in India, who thereby absorb a resource which would be of great utility to the Company, and is very much wanted for the political interests of the empire. On a question which, in

in its progress, produces such very important and serious consequences, mere opinions, drawn from inferences and speculative calculations, ought not to be admitted. We think the rights of the Company ought not to be infringed, without correct distinct proofs shall appear to support the whole of the unfounded allegations of the Indian agents; and we assert, without the fear of contradiction by proof, that the British capitals employed at present in the trade between India and Foreign Europe and America, are very trifling indeed.

From materials which are unquestionable, your committee have been able to ascertain that the whole of the trade carried on from the river Hooghly to Foreign Europe, America, and the Thames, is nearly as follows:

	£.
The Company's investment	1,131,000
The private trade to London	783,000
To Foreign Europe and America, only	765,000
On an average of five years, and valuing the sicca rupee as usual, (2s. 6d.)	2,679,000

These facts are extracted from official documents: they were not compiled with a view to the present question; and the author has intimated, on some occasions, opinions which, if viewed abstractedly, may be considered as favourable to the side of the Indian agents. Whatever inference, therefore, can be distinctly and correctly drawn from these documents, must be allowed by the opponents of the Company to be fair and impartial. It was for this purpose that your committee proceeded to the further investigation of the exports by Foreigners, and which amounted to ..... £ 765,000

They find, by the same documents, that Foreigners imported, on an average of five years 542,000

Remains to be accounted for 223,000

The Committee having thus accounted for 2,456,000l. out of 2,679,000l. being the whole of the exports, they considered the remaining sum of 223,000l. as too trifling to merit further explanation or attention, it being *impossible* for *British Indian capitals* to be embarked in the trade between India and Foreign Europe and America to a larger amount.

They find, however, that advantage has been taken of this concession, which renders it necessary for your committee to explain themselves. However trifling the sum may be, it was never meant to insinuate that British Indian capitals were employed at all; only that a sum remained, for which they could not account. It does not appear, however, in *proof*, that any part of this sum has been furnished by British subjects to Foreigners, to enable them to carry on their trade; and since their last report, your committee have discovered some information on the records of the governments of Bombay and Madras, which tends very much to explain this part of the subject.

The number of ships from Foreign Europe and America, which arrived at Bombay and Madras in a period of four years, was as follows:

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	Ships.	
1795-6 arrived.....	20	56
1796-7	13	
1797-8	10	
1798-9	13	
The total departures to Foreign Europe and America in the above period were..	16	
Remain, and ſuppoſed to have ſailed coaſtward -	40	

The American ſhips are uſually (but not always) very ſmall in point of ſize:—the following are mentioned in the laſt reports:

	Tons.
The *Recovery* 250	
The *Winthorp*.....107	
The *Waſhington* 165	
The *Hannah*.....140	

And although there are no documents to aſcertain the future deſtination, nor the value of their cargoes, yet thoſe forty ſhips muſt have brought funds of ſome deſcription from Europe or America, otherwiſe they would not have gone to Bombay or Madras previous to their ultimate deſtination, and which muſt have been in a great meaſure to diſpoſe of the inveſtments imported by them from Europe and America.

We have, therefore, part of the cargoes of ten ſhips arriving annually from Europe and America, which muſt be placed in reduction of the ſum unaccounted for; and when it is conſidered that foreign ſhips poſſeſs much greater means to carry on a clandeſtine trade, it is poſſible that the whole of the ſum of £23,000l. is *bonâ fide* foreign capital; at leaſt it ought to be conſidered as ſuch, until the Indian agents ſhall prove the contrary.

Your committee are inclined to entertain this opinion ſtill more, in conſequence of the facilities granted to Britiſh traders and capitals by the Act of 1793; as it does not occur to them what advantage reſidents in London can derive from the trade between India and Foreign Europe and America, which they cannot equally obtain by a direct trade to and from India to the river Thames. The clandeſtine traders, who exiſted before the Act of 1793, were either reſidents in India, or perſons who had acquired fortunes there, and were bringing home thoſe fortunes in a ſecret manner through the medium of foreign commerce.

Although more powerful or concluſive arguments relative to the private trade of individuals, cannot be urged than what will appear in the firſt report, yet this part of the ſubject is of ſo much importance, and of courſe neceſſary to be underſtood, in conſequence of miſrepreſentations, that ſome further obſervations become neceſſary.

To bring the whole of the trade of India to the river Thames, are captivating words; but which will require more commercial ſkill and capital than the Indian agents poſſeſs to accompliſh, as well as the exerciſe of a degree of political power which Mr. Dundas has diſclaimed: in ſhort, it is in direct oppoſition to the wiſer and avowed plan of encouraging Foreigners to trade to the river Hooghly. Both, however, cannot ſubſiſt together, for they are diametrically oppoſite. We muſt, therefore, take for granted, (in conſequence of the uniform ſyſtem which the Company have purſued hitherto,) that the firſt is a plan of mere words; but that the laſt, on a ſcale of moderation and reaſonable reſtrictions, is the real plan, or ſyſtem, by which the court of directors ought to ſhape their conduct.

When we pauſe for a moment, and

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and consider in what manner the whole of the export trade from Bengal is divided, the present contest surprises us still more.

	£.		£.
The Company send	1,131,000	to the Thames	1,914,000
British Traders	783,000		
The whole of Foreign Europe and America	- - - - -		765,000

If Foreigners are admitted at all, they cannot receive a less proportion; it is unwise to attempt to reduce it. And in contemplating such an immense fund of wealth and resource for the mother country as well as for India, strong apprehensions naturally arise about the dangerous consequences which must follow the fruitless efforts and pursuits of private avarice. It cannot be repeated too often, that it is impossible for the Indian agents to bring the foreign trade to the river Thames: and no man has been bold enough hitherto (although your committee fully expect to hear such language hereafter,) as to assert that the whole of the trade between India and the rest of the world ought to be carried on by private traders.

It is, moreover, proper to ask whether India can forego those wants which are supplied by Foreigners? —Again—Can Indian agents, or even the Company, supply those wants without the aid of Foreigners, which are almost indispensable for the empire in India? Then, why are these men encouraged to make attempts which are impracticable, or, if they were practicable, would produce such destructive consequences?

The pretence on which their plea rests, is, the supposition that British capitals are employed, and which, if they are to be credited, will be brought to the river Thames. This point has been explained in such a manner as to satisfy the court that they are incorrect in point of fact—that they cannot affect the foreign trade if they would—and that it would be highly injurious to India, the Company, and to the British empire, if they could. But it may be necessary to draw the attention of the court to the state of the trade which is now in the possession of the Indian traders, as it can be proved that it already exceeds the extent of Indian capital—that it interferes with the Company, and intercepts, in a distinct manner, those funds which the Company want for their own investment, and for the political service of the empire abroad.

Whatever is truly Indian capital, must return to India; the remainder cannot be Indian, and must be either British capital, or the fortunes of individuals remitted, thro' the medium of private trade, to Europe.

	£.
The total amount exported from Bengal to London, by private traders, was - -	783,000
The total amount imported by them into Bengal only - -	303,000
Remains on an average of five years - -	483,000

A British merchant resident in India will never suffer his capital to remain dormant in Europe, the quickest possible return being the soul of trade. His capital therefore cannot exceed 303,000l. the remainder belongs to others, and of course the residents in India carry on already a trade above twice the amount of their own *bonâ fide* Indian capital. The remaining 483,000l. consists either of British capitals, or the fortunes of individuals remitted to Europe. Mr. Dundas may therefore discontinue

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his search after British capitals in the hands of Foreigners; and if he be serious in his objection to their being employed, and in which no doubt he is well founded, the remedy is very easy, by checking the trade of Indian merchants. Such a check will not operate to the prejudice either of India, the Company, or the Public; because such part of the 488,000l. which is not British capital, would be paid into the Company's treasury in India, and invested in produce and manufacture, to be exported to the river Thames. At the same time, the money, when it enters into the Company's treasury, forms a part of the general circulation of the empire, and thus contributes to the political as well as the commercial operations of the supreme government, which have been considerably embarrassed by withdrawing annually so large a sum as 488,000l. from the mass of political circulation.—The more this subject is considered and investigated, the more it will appear that the charges and suspicions thrown out by Indian agents against Foreigners, recoil distinctly on themselves. If any doubt shall arise in consequence of the smallness of the sum which remains for Indian capital, it must be remembered that very large advances are made in India to manufacturers, planters, &c. also for the cost of their ships, amounting in the aggregate, perhaps, to more than the capitals of British merchants residing in India; the whole of their trade with Europe, or at least what may exceed 330,000l. being carried on with borrowed money, which Mr. Dundas reprobates on every occasion: for the merchant in India draws on the agent in London for the amount or value of the goods which he sends to Europe; in which case he trades with a *British capital*, which is advanced for the purpose by Indian agents resident in London. But the Indian agents and their friends, aware of the inferences which must be drawn from facts of so conclusive a nature, dispute the accuracy of the accounts, offering their own unauthenticated papers in their room, and complain that the trade from Bombay and Madras is not noticed at all.

The trade to these places is comparatively small, and the Company have no regular return. The fact is, that the committee were desirous, when it could be done, not to hazard conjecture, but to confine themselves to regular official returns. What they contend for is, that these accounts should stand till their insufficiency be shewn; and that, in the mean time, the unauthenticated representations of the persons who are interested in depriving the Company of their trade, be not taken as a basis upon which any argument whatever can be built.

These facts are additional proofs of what was asserted in the first report—namely, that the trade is the means, and the ships are the true end; which will be further confirmed hereafter.

If those merchants were only traders, the part of a ship would suit their purposes as well or better than the whole. For instance, if the goods in which one description of persons trade, are light or roomy, the owners of ships will find others who want to send to Europe heavy goods, for the purpose of making an assorted cargo; all parties are accommodated in this manner, and each pursues the line which belongs to him. In London, Amsterdam, or the great commercial places in Europe, the instances are very rare of the ship and cargo belonging to the

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the ſame perſon, or of the owner purchaſing a large part of the cargo, to be ſold afterwards at a loſs, for the purpoſe of employing the ſhip; and yet this appears to be at preſent the practice of the merchants in India. Such a trade cannot laſt—it is defective, and rotten in its principle; there can be no apprehenſion, therefore, to contend this point with the Indian agents: and the Company truſt that their adverſaries ſhall be compelled to prove that the trade they propoſe to carry on is in its nature likely to be permanent.

This, however, is impoſſible; for, in a very ſhort time, the natural progreſs of trade will produce its own level, and revert back to an almoſt general principle—namely, that the traders in goods, and the owners of ſhips, will become in India, as they are in other parts of the world, different perſons. In the interval, however, the parties concerned (to the excluſion of every other Britiſh ſubject, and Britiſh ſhips,) may acquire immenſe fortunes, whilſt the Company's charter for the excluſive trade will be deſtroyed.

It is found by experience, that private traders cannot fill their ſhips without a large quantity of ſugar for dead weight; whilſt it is alſo aſcertained, from experience, that, if ſugar is charged with the whole of the freight for the voyage, it frequently leaves a loſs, which loſs will probably be increaſed when the rate of freight and charges from the Weſt Indies are reduced to their former level in conſequence of peace. It may therefore become a queſtion for conſideration hereafter, how far the importation of ſugar from the Eaſt, which leaves a loſs to the importer, and the firſt coſt of which is paid for by the publie in ſilver from hence, ſhall be encouraged, to the prejudice of the Weſt India ſugar, the coſt of which is either ſpent by the proprietor in the mother country, or paid for by the manufactures and ſtores exported from home: for ſilver is often received *from* the iſlands, but ſeldom ſent thither.

The balance of trade is, as it always muſt be in future, in favour of India: it is therefore highly important to probe the queſtion which relates to the cultivation and importation of ſuch an article as ſugar from the Eaſt to the bottom. The value of every rupee inveſted in ſugar, and imported from the Eaſt, is an additional rupee to the balance of trade againſt the mother country. Some able and well-intentioned perſons have made it a queſtion, whether ſugar may not be ſupplied from India to an almoſt indefinite amount; but they are not aware that the ſucceſs, or, in other words, the benefit of India in this inſtance, would prove the deſtruction of the mother country, which cannot exiſt under the immenſe drain of bullion that muſt follow. If the Eaſt was in the ſame predicament with the Weſt Indies, when the coſt of the ſugar was either ſpent in Great Britain and Ireland, or paid for in manufactures and ſtores, it would be conſiſtent with the ſoundeſt principles of political arithmetic to encourage the importation by every poſſible means. Theſe obſervations are offered, becauſe private traders can load ſo very few ſhips without ſugar, that any material increaſe of the importation of the *produce* of India by them muſt be in ſugar. It is, therefore, neceſſary to aſcertain whether the general intereſts of the Imperial empire, and the intereſts of a very numerous deſcription of perſons,

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West India planters and merchants, ſhip-owners, Britiſh manufacturers, &c. &c. &c. will not ſuffer to a greater degree than the Eaſt India Company, without producing any additional benefit commenſurate to the evil, either to the empire of India, or to the mother country, if the requeſt of the Indian agents ſhall be complied with.

The article of cotton alſo requires ſome obſervation, as much ſtreſs is laid on it, in conſequence of its being a raw material. The laſt advices from India mention, that there was not ſufficient to ſupply the demand for the manufactures of the country. The Company, however, have abandoned the importation, in conſequence of the loſs which has been ſuſtained; but they are ready to grant free permiſſion to the manufacturers in Lancaſhire and elſewhere, to ſend out ſhips, and to import for their own account, on the uſual regulations for private trade, provided the ſhips to be employed are Britiſh or Iriſh built.

In concluding their obſervations upon the private trade of India previous to the laſt returns from thence, your committee are deſirous to exculpate themſelves from a ſuggeſtion which has been induſtriouſly circulated by their opponents—namely, that they had refuſed to avail themſelves of the opinion of thoſe reſpectable perſons who had filled the high ſtation of Governor-general in India. That they refuſed to refer a queſtion, whether the excluſive trade ſhall remain in the hands of the Company, or be transferred to a few Indian traders, is true; but it would have been negligent in the extreme, indeed highly culpable, if the directors had not peruſed with attention what has appeared from ſuch high authority on their records.

As the name of Sir John Macpherſon had been frequently mentioned, more than uſual attention was given to what he has recorded in his letters of the 9th of April 1785, and 10th of January 1786. His object (no doubt highly laudable) was to transfer the foreign trade to the river Thames, which he ſtates to have been—

Eighteen ſhips from Bengal,			
Ten ſhips from the Coaſt,			
With cargoes of about eight lacks each,		or	£2,240,000
He makes the imports in bullion	£240,000		
In goods - - - - -	260,000		
			500,000
Remains - - -			£1,740,000

As there are no documents to which reference can be had to aſcertain this fact, it is preſumed that Sir John muſt have relied on the information of others. But as this ſum very far exceeds the amount of the whole of what is exported by Foreigners and Britiſh private traders at preſent to Foreign Europe and America, as well as the river Thames, and as the exports from India are conſiderably increaſed and not diminiſhed, it will follow that the information which Sir John Macpherſon received was erroneous.

Marquis Cornwallis has never diſcuſſed this queſtion with the ſame objects in view; but in his lordſhip's letter of the 1ſt of November 1788, many obſervations appear which apply generally to the ſubject,

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ject, and corroborate the ſentiments entertained by the court, of the danger which will reſult from too much encouragement being given to private traders. His lordſhip obſerves on one occaſion,—"The merchants would combine to keep up the price; the more wealthy would overbid and beat out the inferior dealers; *and the Company would be always more in their power, than they would be in the Company's.*" On another occaſion, —"The abſence of every degree of influence and reſtraint muſt in theory be deſirable, but it is not likely to be produced by this project; to give which a probability of ſucceſs, a different ſtate of ſociety, more vigour in the nation, a more enlarged and efficacious ſyſtem of laws, muſt be ſuppoſed; and it ſeems in effect to provide for little more than *that the Company ſhould transfer to a certain number of individuals here, the vaſt machine of their commerce here, and become dependent on them.*"

When the private traders made a moſt ſcandalous attack on the character and conduct of Mr. Bebb in 1788-89, his lordſhip, after a complete vindication of Mr. Bebb, adds, —"He cannot conclude without remarking the indecorum with which the regulations of government have been arraigned by the free merchants, as well as the principle of regulating commercial matters at all, as if the free merchants conſidered themſelves authoriſed to carry on their commercial concerns without rule or regulation, and agreeable to their own conceptions of a free trade."

A ſhort extract from the proceedings of government, and the board of trade, on the 14th of January 1789, may be further uſeful on the preſent occaſion. Mr. Bebb writes,—"Illegal impriſonments, exactions, and coercions, of which I have lately had proofs, and been able to lay before you, have been exerciſed by *private European traders.* Corruption has, I have little doubt, had conſiderable influence, at leaſt among the inferior ſervants of the Aurungs, &c."

In a letter from Lord Cornwallis, dated the 7th of November 1794, his lordſhip ſays,—"I am ſtrongly impreſſed with a conviction that it will be of eſſential importance to the intereſts of Britain, that Europeans ſhould be diſcouraged, and prevented as much as poſſible from colonizing and ſettling in our poſſeſſions in India."

If the Company cannot quote an opinion preciſely in point, from a character which every true friend of his country looks up to with reſpect and veneration, they can at leaſt produce his lordſhip's ſentiments on the conduct of thoſe who have been uniform and inceſſant in their endeavours to wreſt from the Company the vaſt machine of her commerce, and to render the Company dependent on themſelves.

The determination of Marquis Cornwallis at that period, and the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, prevented (as it is preſumed) much further diſcuſſion of the ſubject under Lord Teignmouth. This is to be regretted the more, from the experience the Company have had of his lordſhip's profound knowledge and zeal for the intereſts of the Empire abroad, and thoſe of the Company at home. On one occaſion, he obſerves, that the ſubject embraced many *extenſive* conſiderations, which would *be better diſcuſſed in Europe*; but concludes, that he gave his countenance to the plan, "ſo far as to declare his

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opinion that it was practicable." On another, however, speaking of ships, his lordship remarks, that "if ships can be furnished at the rates proposed by the merchants, they can be furnished at the same prices from the foreign settlements on this river;" of which notice will be taken hereafter.

After this the Company heard for several years about the necessity of bringing the surplus produce of India to the river Thames—a proposition they never understood, as they had constantly and uniformly offered to furnish the means themselves: till, at last, under the administration of Marquis Wellesley, the truth appeared; and the object has been distinctly avowed to be no other than to introduce ships built in India, and to give them a preference over ships built in Great Britain or Ireland.

Whatever the Indian agents may insinuate to the contrary, it is absurd to suppose that the directors have not read, with extreme attention, whatever has been produced by the noble marquis, relative to a measure which threatens the existence of the Empire abroad, and of the Company at home. But having read, not only the opinions entertained by his lordship, but also the documents on which those opinions are founded, the directors do not hesitate a moment to protest most solemnly against any such authority or decision. What would be thought of a judge, who pronounced judgment against a corporate body, after hearing evidence on the side of the plaintiff only? and yet it is precisely the case with regard to Marquis Wellesley: with numerous documents, and persons who appear on the records, on the present occasion, there is no trace of a single paper or person on behalf of the Company.

The observation of an anonymous writer appears but too true—"From small beginnings, when capital and enterprise exist, the greatest consequences flow. The Company have now a rivalship to contend against, formed of their own servants, or their protégés."

When questions arise of this magnitude, and pregnant with such extensive and important consequences, it would be criminal to bow to name or rank, however elevated, without full consideration and a thorough conviction. The committee, therefore, feel themselves compelled to examine how far those principles, which appear to have governed the conduct of Marquis Wellesley, are well founded; for the authority of his lordship has proved the cloak to cover all the misrepresentations of the agents. In order, however, to avoid too wide a field for discussion, your committee will confine themselves as much as possible, and begin with observations which arise in consequence of a letter written by his lordship, and dated the 29th of November 1799, of which the following is an extract:—

"In addition to the bullion exported by the court of directors to India, large quantities have been imported by individuals; and the Portugueze have brought to Calcutta, within a short period of time, a very considerable amount of silver. It is an important *fact*, that the *exports* of Portugal from Bengal, in the present year, will be *nearly equal* to those of the Company. You will draw the natural conclusion from this *fact*, and I leave it to your judgment without comment."

Let us first examine the *fact*, and which is easily ascertained.

The export from Bengal of the Portugueze, in the season 1799, 1800, was no more than £.418,000

The

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The export from Bengal to London was, by private trade, the same season,	£.845,000
By the Company - -	944,798

These *facts* require no comment.

The other parts of Marquis Wellesley's letter call for more explation and detail.

It is admitted that the *bonâ fide* trade of Foreigners ought to be encouraged; in which case, that branch of the foreign trade which is most beneficial for India, and the least injurious to the British manufactures, merits a preference. The noble marquis, however, not only proscribes the aid of Foreigners generally, but the Portugueze are brought forward in a prominent manner.

What is the *fact* on this occasion?

The season 1799, 1800, the Portugueze imported bullion -	£ 574,000
They exported, the same season, goods - -	418,000

The reason why the exports fall short of the imports is mentioned by Mr. Brown to arise from one ship being left behind for want of goods. It is at the same time remarkable, that Marquis Wellesley should have objected pointedly to that part of the foreign trade most beneficial to India, and which never can interfere with the export of the British manufactures from hence.

To render a comparison more intelligible, it may be necessary to state the amount of silver imported, and of goods exported from Calcutta in 1799, 1800, as follows:

	Silver imported.	Goods exported.
Portugueze	574,000	418,000
Americans	357,000	472,000
British private trade - -	204,000	845,000

It thus appears that the private traders, who, in their own opinion, are capable of increasing the commerce of the East to an indefinite extent, after drawing from thence 845,000l. for their private advantage, could make no greater exertions towards relieving the distresses of India, than by sending thither 204,000l. in silver; leaving a large sum to be drawn from means which interfere in the most pointed manner with the resources of the Company, both political and commercial. On the other hand, we find Marquis Wellesley labouring under the greatest difficulty for want of money, and looking to every part of the Company's extensive territory and connexions, from the Cape of Good Hope to China, without success, calling on the court of directors to take effectual measures to guard against the Portugueze; and which follows so close upon his plan to promote private trade, that his lordship could not be aware that silver in return for produce, and not visionary plans, was the only real relief for the distress which his lordship's government laboured under.

A few words more may be necessary about the Portugueze trade, as a proprietor, who has taken an active part about the affairs of the Company, insinuated, in a general court, that the silver imported by the Portugueze was *probably* British capital. In consequence of the immense increase of cotton imported from the Brazils of late years, the balance of trade is much against (Portugal) the mother country, which possesses no direct means to pay for the same; it is very natural that, in a warm climate like Brazil, with inhabitants that are rich and luxurious, they should be disposed to receive the manufactures of India in return for their own products.

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This is the true cauſe of the increaſed trade of the Portugueze in India; and if Marquis Welleſley ſhall be inclined to ſhut the port of Calcutta againſt the importation of Portugueze ſilver, under ſuch circumſtances, it will be a phenomenon in the commercial and political world.

When the exports from India exceed the amount imported from Europe, it furniſhes room for ſpeculation and conjecture; but when a foreign nation ſhall import more than the value of their exports, it is impoſſible that Britiſh capital ſhould be employed. At all events, the court of directors rely more confidently on the ſilver imported by the Portugueze, Americans, &c. to increaſe the trade, and promote the proſperity of India, than upon the viſionary projects of the private traders and their friends. It is further remarkable, that Lord Welleſley appears to be ignorant of the general principle admitted by Mr. Dundas, in the encouragement to be given to the foreign trade, where he is aware that *ſome* Foreign European manufacture may be introduced; but the noble marquis proſcribes a trade where the exports are almoſt wholly paid for in ſilver.

The returns, which are in poſſeſſion of the court, ſince the laſt report from your committee, prove diſtinctly, that, whilſt the export of private traders from Bengal is increaſed, it has not contributed to leſſen the exports to Foreign Europe and America.

Exported by private traders.	To the river Thames.	To Foreign Europe & America.
1797-8	£870,000	£485,000
1798-9 -	520,000 -	292,000
1799, 1800 -	845,000	1,017,500*

The argument, therefore, of the Indian agents, or their friends, that, in proportion as their own exports to the river Thames increaſe, the exports to Foreign Europe and America muſt diminiſh, has been proved by the returns of 1799, 1800, to be wholly without foundation. It is further proved, that the increaſe of private export bears no proportion to the increaſe of foreign export; but it cannot be denied that they riſe on the decline of the trade of the Company, which proves beyond a doubt that the real rivalſhip is between the Private Trader and the Eaſt India Company. How far their exports will increaſe, if thoſe to Foreign Europe and America diminiſh, or ſhall be annihilated, is a queſtion of a very different deſcription, and at all events cannot be decided in their favour, until they ſend out more ſilver, and employ more Britiſh capital than they have been able to do hitherto.

Having thus aſcertained, as your committee humbly preſume, by *facts*, that the arguments of Marquis Welleſley, thoſe of the Honourable Proprietor alluded to, and of the Indian agents, ſo far as they relate to the employ of Britiſh capitals in the foreign trade, and the probability of bringing the foreign trade to the river Thames, are without foundation; they will next proceed to the conſideration of the queſtion about "Indian-built ſhips."

After it had been fairly avowed, that the real object of conteſt was for "the Indian-built ſhips," care was taken to keep the commercial part of the queſtion out of ſight; and in conſequence of a temporary ſcarcity

* The advices received by the *Georgina* mention, that the inveſtment from Bengal for the Company will be reduced to 894,000l.; the funds uſually applied for that purpoſe muſt therefore have been abſorbed by political expences, and to private traders for rice and indigo, whilſt the fortunes of individuals are intercepted by the ſame perſons, inſtead of aiding the Company's inveſtment.

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ſcarcity of timber for the conſtruction of large ſhips, the agents contrived to raiſe a clamour about the reſource which the foreſts of India could afford to the maritime ſtrength of Great Britain. The directors had not entered into a ſerious conſideration of this point abſtractedly; they had viewed the queſtion of Indian ſhips generally, and entertaining a decided opinion that it was found policy to look with a jealous eye on any other deſcription of naval or military ſtrength, or the ſeeds of any naval or military ſtrength to ariſe in India that was not Britiſh, they were not prepared to meet this part of the ſubject at an early period. A very little reflection, however, was neceſſary to ſatisfy the directors that his Majeſty's miniſters ought to decide; and if they are diſpoſed to adopt the policy of placing any part of the naval reſources of this country beyond their reach, and at ſo great a diſtance from home, the court of directors are ready, not only to ſacrifice their own judgment, but to uſe their beſt endeavours to carry into effect any plans which may be adopted by his Majeſty's miniſters for the public ſervice. The court, in doing this, are fully aware that in the preſent ſtate of Europe we ought to be on our guard to ſpeculate upon events, and to look for combinations far different from thoſe which have formerly occurred.—France has long conſidered India as one of the chief ſources of the national proſperity of Great Britain; and therefore her exertions will be unabated to injure us in that quarter. Under ſuch circumſtances, the directors cannot appreciate the wiſdom of eſtabliſhing marine arſenals, collecting ſtores, &c. &c. which, in conſequence of a *coup de main*, may be turned againſt ourſelves; although they repeat, that they are ready to ſacrifice their own judgement, and to exert every endeavour to carry ſuch plans as may be recommended by his Majeſty's miniſters for the public ſervice into effect.

If the Company conſent to build, or to the building of large ſhips for the public ſervice, every complaint about the want of large timber muſt fall to the ground. Your committee muſt obſerve, however, that the opinions which the Indian agents entertain on this ſubject, do not agree with thoſe which have been delivered by the commiſſioners on the ſubject of ſhip timber, in their able and voluminous reports, which have been ſo long before the public.

In the eleventh report, after obſerving upon the conſequences which follow from the ſeller being wholly at the mercy of the buyer, for want of competition, they ſay—

"But though theſe meaſures have, during the laſt thirty-four years, occaſioned a conſiderable ſaving to the public, it may be doubted whether they have a tendency to provide a permanent ſupply for the navy; for, though well contrived for obtaining great timber at a reaſonable price, as long as the preſent ſtock ſhall laſt, it is, in part owing to them (the meaſures adopted by the commiſſioners of the navy) that the price of oak is not as high, when compared with the price of corn, as it naturally ſhould be, in conſequence of the lateneſs of the return. It is, in part, owing to them, therefore, that woodlands are diminiſhed, and tillage extended; they muſt, in ſome degree, prove a diſcouragement to the planting of oak, and they have an obvious tendency to prevent more from being allowed to reach the large ſize required for the

navy,

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navy, by making it the intereſt of every perſon who has any timber, to cut it while it is of a ſize for which there is a competition."

There is here much matter in a very ſhort compaſs; but inſtead of liſtening to the wiſe ſuggeſtions of the commiſſioners, by encouraging the growth and preſervation of large timber, it is propoſed to adopt means for leſſening the demand hereafter, and thereby placing the land-owner ſtill more in the power of the commiſſioners of the navy, who made no addition to their price from 1756 to 1792. It is thus that the queſtion becomes extenſive, and embraces the moſt important intereſts of the country. The land-owner, merchant, manufacturer, the Britiſh and Iriſh ſhips and ſeamen, &c. &c.—all muſt be ſacrificed at the ſhrine of about fifty or a hundred Indian merchants and agents.

Having diſpoſed of that part of the queſtion which relates to large ſhips, by referring the deciſion altogether to his Majeſty's miniſters, your committee will next proceed to the part which relates to commercial ſhipping.

Indian ſhips will have two competitions to encounter; the firſt, which they do not ſo readily acknowledge, which is their real object, "*the ſhips of the Company*," built and equipped in the beſt manner: the other, "foreign ſhips;" for unleſs they can ſail at a cheaper rate of freight than foreign ſhips, indeed ſo much cheaper as to compenſate for all the delay and expences of a circuitous voyage, they can never pretend to bring the foreign trade of India to the river Thames.

As the ſhips in the employ of the Company are built for their ſervice, it follows, that the teſt of the compariſon depends on the building and outfit. The following were the rates of building in the river Thames, for a ſhip of eight hundred tons burthen:

Seaſon	£.	s.	d.	
1781 ..	14	14	0	War.
1782 ..	14	14	0	
1783 ..	13	0	0	Peace.
1784 ..	12	12	0	
1785 ..	11	17	6	
1786 ..	12	10	0	
1787 ..	12	10	0	
1788 ..	12	16	0	
1789 ..	12	16	0	
1790 ..	12	10	0	
1791 ..	12	10	0	
1792 ..	12	10	0	
1793 ..	14	0	0	War.
1794 ..	15	0	0	
1795 ..	16	13	0	
1796 ..	17	6	6	
1797 ..	16	16	0	
1798 ..	17	10	0	
1799 ..	15	15	0	
1800 ..	19	10	0	
1801 ..	21	15	6	

Your committee have no means to enable them to furniſh ſo correct a liſt of the rates of building in India; they will ſtate, however, what the Company's ſhips, the *Britannia*, and *Sir Edward Hughes*, coſt, with two accounts produced by a director, for the information of the court, which are to be found in Nos. 1 and 2 of the Appendix.

			River Thames.				
Britannia - -	1779	£.18	0	0			
Sir Edward Hughes	1785	21	14	0	as above	1785	£.11 17 6
An eſtimate - -	1793	16	7	0	——	1793	14 0 0
Ditto - - -	1797	16	10	0	——	1797	16 16 0

Although the committee have not ſufficient evidence to enable them to judge correctly, they are perſuaded that building has been, and

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and muſt be, on the whole cheaper in the river Thames than in India, for ſhips of the beſt deſcription; and as the materials for fitting thoſe ſhips out in India muſt in a great meaſure be ſent from Europe, there will be a much greater diſproportion in the coſt of the outfit than the rate of building, probably a difference of 40 or 50 per cent. in favour of Europe ſhips. But a much greater difference would ariſe, if thoſe Europe ſhips were built and equipped by private merchants, free from the rigour of the Company's inſpection and ſurvey, and which rigour has been found, by long experience, to be indiſpenſable for Indian voyages. There is alſo another heavy burthen which attaches to ſhips built in India, and which is ſufficient in itſelf to compenſate for the difference in duration between thoſe ſhips and ſhips built in Europe; we mean the Indian rate of intereſt for money, which is more than double the intereſt of money in Europe.

Theſe circumſtances, added to the low rate of freight at which the court have lately hired ſhips for the Company's ſervice, induce your committee to entertain a decided opinion, that Indian ſhips cannot be navigated at ſo cheap a rate of freight as thoſe of Great Britain.

If this compariſon between Indian and Britiſh ſhips is ſo much to the diſadvantage of the former, what will be their ſituation when compared with thoſe of Sweden, Denmark, America, &c. &c.? Timber, iron, hemp, and other materials, are liable to heavy duties in Great Britain, whilſt they are free from duties abroad, and exempted from the freight and charges of tranſporting moſt of the raw materials; at leaſt, it is the caſe with all the materials for ſhip-building in Europe. Labour is alſo cheaper on the continent, whilſt the rate of intereſt for money is rather lower than in England. Thoſe ſhips muſt ſail, therefore, at a rate of freight from 30 to 50 per cent. cheaper than the cheapeſt of the teak ſhips. But if the *pretence* of a cheap rate of freight is applied for the purpoſe of deſtroying ancient ſyſtems, and the Company's rights, why not extend the principle generally?—There can be no doubt but that the Company can obtain Swediſh, Daniſh, American, &c. &c. ſhips at a much lower rate of freight than thoſe of Great Britain or India. The navigation act can have no ſtronger claim on the public than the Company's charter; and if Britiſh ſhips and ſhip-building are to be abandoned, and the Company's charter is to be infringed for the benefit of a few, there is leſs reaſon to heſitate about the navigation act, as the conſequences would be infinitely more extenſive.

When the teak ſhips are repreſented as good and durable, the language is intelligible, and acknowledged by your committee; but when it is attempted to compare them, for "cheapneſs," with thoſe of Great Britain, and ſtill more with foreign ſhips, the committee are aſtoniſhed. They cannot avoid recollecting the ſtrong ſolicitations which were made to the court of directors, when Britiſh ſhips were taken up, during the American war, to carry out naval and military ſtores, to ſuffer thoſe ſhips to be *ſold* in India. Under ſuch permiſſion the freight was very low, as the owners conſidered the *ſale* of the ſhip in India, as the certain means of realizing a little fortune; and theſe applications have been repeated, from time to time, to the preſent day. Such a ſale, however, would have been impoſſible, if teak ſhips could have ſailed at as cheap a rate as the Britiſh. If theſe facts

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required further proof, it will be found in the proceedings of the marine committee at Bengal, in 1793. They say, "The Americans actually build ships with a view to dispose of them here, and *get a large profit*, because they can afford to sell cheaper than we can build." And they say,—"Shipbuilding can never flourish, except by prohibiting the sale of foreign bottoms."

It therefore appears,

That building is cheaper in Europe.

That the outfit is also very much cheaper.

That the interest of money, which is five per cent. at home, is twelve per cent. at present in India, on government security.

The only remaining article of importance is wages; and which brings this part of the question to the preference due to British seamen or lascars.

As British merchants and shipowners do not even expect so large a profit as seven per cent. which is the difference between the rate of interest in the two countries, it is ridiculous to assert that residents in India can carry on a competition under such obvious disadvantage.

Your committee trust that they have done more than enough to reply to the assertion about the *cheapness* of teak ships, otherwise they have ample materials to extend their observations much further; but from what has been said, it must appear evident to the court, that if the intention is serious, to attempt to bring the foreign trade to the river Thames, such an attempt would become impracticable, if teak ships are employed as the *means*. The best and *only means* consistent with the combined and extensive interests of land commerce, manufacture, and navigation, at the same time that the public faith will thereby be preserved inviolate, will be to employ *British* ships.

After drawing this conclusion, your committee are aware that further explanation becomes necessary, in consequence of some advantage which the teak ships have enjoyed during the war. That advantage does not arise from cheapness; but being the property of private persons, they are free from those restraints which naturally attach to the ships of the Company, who, from precaution, do not choose to suffer their ships to sail without company and convoy. Whilst the Company are preparing a fleet, it is for the interest of a teak ship to sail before, and being single, the voyage is performed in a much shorter time; and by arriving so much earlier at her port of destination, the cargo is sold to great advantage, whilst the market is forestalled before the Company's fleet can arrive. Great numbers suffer from this circumstance, which is conceived to be an undue advantage: but if the interests of the Company, and of those who trade in the regular ships, are not thought of equal importance with those of the private traders, at least no superior powers can be attributed to the ships; for the same service may be performed, and the same advantages obtained, whether the ships are built with teak or with oak.

This undue advantage is the more distressing, as the late advices from India state, that the Company's exports cannot be sold, because the private traders have forestalled and destroyed the market by their previous importations from Europe.

The Company's investment has been usually provided from three sources:

Surplus revenue, which is now absorbed by the State.

The

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The fortunes of individuals to be remitted home.

The ſale of the Europe exports in India.

As the private traders have intercepted the ſecond, and foreſtalled the third, it is but juſt, on behalf of the Company, to call on them to point out what ſtill remains.

There can be no doubt that, before any deciſive meaſure ſhall be taken, hoſtile to the intereſt of the Company, his Majeſty's miniſters, in whoſe moderation and juſtice your committee have every reaſon to repoſe their confidence, will be thoroughly ſatisfied that the employ of the teak ſhips, if once admitted, will become permanent. It has already been proved, that they cannot fail ſo *cheap* as thoſe of Britain; and, now that we are reſtored to the bleſſings of peace, there can be no fear of their foreſtalling markets, in competition with the Company's ſhips, when ſailing ſingly. The foreign ſhips only remain, therefore, for conſideration.

If, to a low rate of freight, are farther added the charges of the river Thames, the duties paid to government, and a ſecond freight inſurance and charges to the ultimate place of deſtination, it is impoſſible to conceive in what manner a conſiderable part of the trade from India to Foreign Europe and America, can be brought to the river Thames in time of peace, either in Indian or Britiſh ſhips. The ſpeculative plans of projectors never reach the counting-houſe of the practical merchant, who attaches far more importance to the additional charge of a few ſhillings, which he muſt pay for the hire of a boat on the river Thames. If, however, it is admitted, for the ſake of argument, that the teak ſhips can perform the wonders attributed to them, it is impoſſible to make London the general *dépôt*, ſo long as the preſent or any duties are levied. The Company muſt import, and muſt ſell, even if a loſs ſhall enſue; but when a loſs ariſes to the private trader, if he is prudent, he will diſappear.

At the ſame time, your committee muſt concur in the obſervation already quoted from ſo reſpectable an authority as Lord Teignmouth, that if teak ſhips are cheaper, or poſſeſs any ſuperior advantages, Foreigners will build them as well as ourſelves. They have had the option either to build, to purchaſe, or to hire; and yet teak ſhips have very rarely been employed by Foreigners. And we may further add, that if permiſſion ſhall once be granted to Indian ſhips and their owners, what ſecurity can the Public have, that theſe ſhips will be ſent to the port of London, and not employed by their owners in the trade they now reprobate? One of the reaſons for the conceſſions made in the year 1793, was the clandeſtine and illegal trade prior to that period. If ſuperior advantage can be obtained from the foreign trade, is there any reaſon to expect thoſe whom acts of parliament could not then bind, to be governed by any other principle than that of their own intereſt? Such was the caſe when ſhips were engaged in Bengal, by perſons, whoſe names appear on the preſent occaſion, to go to Batavia, to carry the property of the enemy to Europe. But in order to illuſtrate this point more clearly, we ſhall ſoon have an opportunity to diſtinguiſh between the zeal and patriotiſm of Britiſh and Indian ſhip-owners, when it will appear that the latter have availed themſelves, in a very

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very extraordinary degree, of the neceſſities of the Public, whilſt the Britiſh ſhip-owners have always manifeſted, on ſimilar occaſions, a moderation which entitles them to a better fate. The Indian agents, whoſe plans are directed to their own aggrandizement, are well aware that a competition with Britiſh induſtry and Britiſh ſhips muſt ſoon end to the diſadvantage of Indian bottoms, and drive them out of the trade. This apprehenſion, and not favour to the Eaſt-India Company, makes them contend that the indulgence ſhall be confined to Indian ſhips.

In addition to numerous facts and circumſtances which ſerve to develope the views and plans of the parties, there are others of collateral deſcription, which are not only deep and extenſive, but in ſome reſpects unfathomable. When the conteſt in India was about the *means* to convey to Europe the ſurplus produce, Mr. William Fairlie, one of the firſt merchants in Calcutta, in a letter to the board of trade, dated the 26th day of December 1797, writes as follows:—"*It is true that the Company offer us tonnage for our goods at this time;* but the *great object* is, being permitted to ſend them in our *own ſhips*, by which means we obtain the profit of freight, and have an opportunity of being otherwiſe ſerviceable to our friends." After this diſtinct avowal on the part of Mr. Fairlie, that Britiſh ſhips ſhould return empty to Europe, in order that he might employ his own, we truſt that it will be no longer contended that the ſhips are the *means* and not the *end*. We have further to obſerve, that Mr. Fairlie was a partner in the houſe eſtabliſhed under the firm of David Scott and Co. and it is probable, is, or was, a partner in the houſe of Meſſrs. David Scott jun. and Co. of which Mr. Lennox was the avowed manager and a partner. This circumſtance naturally calls for another obſervation on the following fact. The 1ſt of March 1800, Meſſrs. Fairlie, Gilmore and Co. offer to the board of trade in Bengal, four ſhips; and according to the regulations of that board, they mention the names of the owners of thoſe four ſhips.

Ships.	Tons.	Owners.	
Mornington	742	Fairlie	Calcutta.
Eliza Ann	480	Gilmore	
Aurora	555	Ferguſſon	
Exeter	503	Lennox,	London.
	2280.		

We have thus two facts diſtinctly proved, which apply to almoſt every part of the queſtion, and deſtroy, in every inſtance, the ſpeculative reaſoning and viſionary projects of the Indian agents. We ſee diſtinctly Britiſh capital employed in India, and, what is more important, who are the parties prepared to riſe up and enjoy the excluſive trade to India on the ruins of the Company. We wiſh that we could, at the ſame time, penetrate the whole of the plans, and foreſee the extent of the miſchief; but that is impoſſible.

Having thus aſcertained that the ſhips are the *end*, and not the *means*, it may be neceſſary to ſhew the extent and importance of thoſe Indian-built ſhips, which dwindle into inſignificance, when compared with any maſs or deſcription of Britiſh ſhips they are attempting to rival or diſplace.

By a return from Calcutta, dated the 30th of December 1799, it appears that the ſhips built and building, fit for the Engliſh trade, and ſailing from that port, were no more than 26 ſhips, burthen 19,695 tons.

There

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There is no occasion, to mark the insignificance of these ships, by a comparison with the total mass of British shipping; it will be sufficient to state, that the number employed by the Company consists of 122 ships, burthen 106,048.

The Company advertised for offers from builders and owners, for a few ships they wanted in the month of July last, when no less than 110 ships, burthen 69,250 tons, were offered, of which the Company could employ at that time no more than 14 ships, burthen 8,700 tons. This exhibits a proof, that neither timber, capital, enterprise, nor artificers, are so much wanted as to render it necessary to look to India for teak ships, to supply the wants of the Company or of the Public.

If there is any well-founded claim of government at this time, it is the fair and just claim of British ships and seamen, to provide (and not to deprive them of) the means of employment, in return for the great and meritorious services rendered during the war. British ships of four or five hundred tons and upwards, are fallen above thirty per cent. in value, in consequence of peace. There are few services, except that of the East India Company, in which they can be employed; nor is there a chance for their being sold, unless there shall be a demand for the commerce of France and Holland, and they are precisely the description of ships with which those built in India will interfere. The number which are now unemployed must be increased very considerably, when the transports, and other private ships in the navy, are discharged; and yet these must give place to Indian-built ships. The views of the Indian agents are still more conspicuous, in that part of their plan wherein they propose to *confine* the trade of their own ships; that is, after having robbed the British ships and seamen of their birthright, they desire to have those British ships excluded, *for the benefit and advantage of the Company's exclusive trade.*

If enough has not been said to refute the private traders, your committee will beg leave to state a short comparison between the general conduct of the owners of British and Indian ships. When the exigencies of Government, in 1795, required the large ships of the Company for the public service, the owners surrendered them with cheerfulness, at the request of the court, on the most moderate terms; and this at a moment when the directors, in concert with the board of commissioners, were taking the most active measures to reduce their advantages. The same readiness and liberal conduct were manifested when ships were wanted as transports to carry troops to the West-Indies. When the late expedition to Egypt was fitting out, Marquis Wellesley took up ships of the Country, as well as those of the Company. His lordship had not communicated the slightest information to the court of directors in the month of November; but there are ample advices on the subject, and particularly to the Indian agents. Under these circumstances, your committee are obliged to have recourse to private information, from the want of official documents. We are informed,

The *Gabriel*, of 815 tons, manned with lascars, was engaged at 12,000 sicca rupees per month.

The *Cuvera*, of 982 tons, manned with lascars, was engaged at 14,000 sicca rupees per month. And ships that carried no more than 150 military, have been engaged for 6000 to 7000 rupees per month.

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The Company was to bear all risks on some of them, to employ the ships a certain time, (in some cases nine months,) to pay freight for the dead weight, besides other considerable advantages in favour of Indian ships.

Those ships were in company with the *Rockingham*, one of the Company's regular ships, of 800 tons, which carried 580 troops, and was full of stores, and which we shall take the liberty to compare with the earnings of the *Gabriel*, the nearest in point of size, say

1,500l. per month, for nine months	£. 13,500
The *Rockingham*, 630l. per month, for nine months	5,450
Difference and loss for nine months.....	8,050

If this fact is well founded, (and your committee have no reason to doubt it, nor have they made any selection, as there may be other cases still stronger,) it is the duty of the court to exert every nerve to rescue the Company and the Public from the avarice and extortion of the owners of Indian-built ships.

Every impartial person would imagine that the Indian ship-owners would be content with this enormous profit: unfortunately for the Company, this is not the whole. Whilst Lord Wellesley acknowledges that he cannot find cargoes for the ships sent from Europe, and that three or four must be sent to China, (where they are not wanted,) his lordship has engaged that those Indian ships shall be suffered to load with cargoes for Europe.

So many facts and arguments arise out of this important question, that your committee are compelled to trespass on the patience of the court with another comparative view of the case between British and Indian ships; for, under the present plan, the Indian ships may be considered as enjoying a bounty, in preference to those of Great Britain. In the year 1792, the *pretended* object of the private traders was to encourage the export of *British manufactures and produce*; and to meet which, the Company consented to divide the supposed rate of freight of 20l. per ton, in the following manner:

The export of British manufactures	£. 5
The import of Indian manufactures and produce.....	15

At this moment the private traders contend, that the imports from India are entitled to every degree of encouragement and protection; and therefore it is proper to examine in what manner their pretensions will bear on the question about the ships; and for this purpose, we will suppose, for the sake of argument, that an Indian and British ship of 800 tons will cost 25,000l. and sail at a freight of 20l. out and home, divided as before-mentioned:

The costs of the British ship	£25,000
Her freight at 5l. per ton	4,000
Will cost in India.....	21,000
The Indian ship, first cost	£25,000
Her freight at 15l. per ton	12,000
Her cost in Europe	13,000

This circumstance merits particular attention, for, in one point of view, it may be considered as a decisive proof in favour of Indian-built ships; but it rests almost precisely on the same basis with the private trade: that is, if they enjoy a *preference* in the first instance, in

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in that case they can trade, &c. to greater advantage. If the Company are at the expence of the eſtabliſhments which are enormous, and will raiſe millions, as a commercial capital, to pay political debts on the one hand, whilſt every other deſcription of Britiſh ſubjects are excluded, on the other, from participating with the Indian agents in their trade, there is no doubt but that thoſe agents will poſſeſs the real monopoly and benefit. So likewiſe with regard to Indian ſhips, if they can earn three-quarters of the whole freight, after performing only half the voyage, they enjoy a decided preference over Britiſh ſhips, and which may operate to the excluſion of the latter. But will ſuch a ſyſtem be endured? And if it ſhall be propoſed to equalize the freight, it is fair to aſk, what is to become of the encouragement held out to *Britiſh manufactures*, by the act of 1792-3? Muſt we impoſe an additional freight of 5l. per ton on *all our exports*, in order to meet theſe Indian ſhips and traders on equal grounds? Are the public prepared to pay the ſame additional freight for their troops and ſtores, (which will amount to an immenſe ſum,) as in time of war? In ſhort, the public intereſt, Britiſh manufactures, and Britiſh ſhips, muſt all yield to the intereſt of theſe individuals. With ſuch extenſive conſequences in view, your committee can never perſuade themſelves that the chartered rights of the Company will be violated.

In this part of the ſubject, your committee muſt again notice what relates to Britiſh ſeamen and Indian laſcars; and ſtill more, when they view it as contributing to the introduction of the colonial ſyſtem in India. Every new light which can be thrown on thoſe truly important queſtions, induce your committee to believe, that the fatal conſequences which they contemplated in the former report, but too juſt and too well found—they will not repeat what they have before urged, but refer the reader to their former report on thoſe facts. The cauſe of humanity, however, requires that ſome addition ſhould be made, in conſequence of an attempt to prove that laſcars are dearer than Britiſh ſeamen. The attempt is curious; but although the fact is denied by your committee, they will not waſte the time of the court by much diſcuſſion on that point, they will only obſerve, that *if* it were true, it would be for the *intereſt* of the owners of Indian ſhips to diſcharge the laſcars at the firſt European port at which they arrive, and where they muſt inevitably periſh. The country where the ſhip is built, where the owner reſides, and where the voyage originates, muſt furniſh ſailors who are natives of that country in the firſt inſtance. When the ſhip returns to India, after having performed her voyage with European ſailors on board, is it likely that the owners will keep thoſe ſailors on wages, while the ſhip earns nothing? It is for the *intereſt* of the owner that the ſailors ſhould deſert, which they will do, and, by rambling over the country, diſgrace the Britiſh name, and weaken the hands of government. But when the ſhip is again fitted out, they muſt again employ laſcars; and the manner in which theſe poor wretches are treated cannot be explained more feelingly than by the declaration of the Governor of Bombay, "that the *mortality* had been ſo great on board the country ſhips, that no more ſhould ſail without European ſurgeons on board;" and the Company, upon this occaſion, were obli-

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ably will be the case in
ged, as furnish surgeons at much
future ence from their regular
incor ment.
eftal

e are shocking reflections;
e following statement of the
tality on board two ships lately
ived, may place this part of the
uestion in a more correct point of
iew*.

	Lascars embarked in India.	Died on their passage.	Sick on their arrival in England.
Lucy Maria	86	22	20
Surat Castle	123	36	45
	209	58	65

In consequence of the inclemency of this climate, the diseases they are exposed to, and the voyage back to India, the mortality will be greatly increased; whilst the few who revisit their native shore may become cripples for life. These ships are selected from a list of six, as having the greater number of men on board, and much the larger proportion of mortality; they are, however, by no means unusual cases.

The almost innumerable channels through which these fatal pretensions of the Indian agents flow, render it impossible to embrace them within the compass of a report or a volume; but if your committee decline, for the sake of brevity, to extend their observations and arguments on many parts of this subject, they feel themselves compelled to take notice of a letter from Mr. Dundas, which he has printed, under date the 30th June 1801. The right hon. gentleman, on retiring from office, has represented India, and the affairs of the Company, in the most prosperous situation; and, in the event of peace, capable of reducing the debt in India within reasonable and proper bounds, many years before the expiration of the Company's charter.

The letter above referred to, being in the nature of an appeal to public opinion, unwillingly forces itself upon your committee's notice. That Mr. Dundas has not properly appreciated the importance and extent of the claims of the Indian agents, your committee trust they have distinctly proved in this and their former reports; and they have too much reason to fear that the exclusive trade, as regulated by the act of 1793, is not only necessary, but indispensable, as a resource to save the Company from destruction. It must always be remembered, that every part of Mr. Dundas's plan, whether it relates to the flattering prospects held out to the Company at home, or to the relief and prosperity of the empire in India, depend wholly and solely upon the Company's commerce; but whilst the means of applying every commercial aid with speed and effect are far beyond what we could have expected on the 30th of June last, in consequence of the peace; yet the few months which have intervened have been more than sufficient to convince the court, that Mr. Dundas was mistaken as to the real situation of the Company's affairs in India; for the whole of his estimates are completely destroyed, in consequence of the advices since received from thence.

Mr. Dundas (we quote his own words) says—"When I saw the amount of the debt rise to above ten

* This melancholy subject is beyond the reach of the court and of the committee to penetrate, as the Company have no return nor control over the lascars; the statement above must therefore be considered as imperfect, and short of the truth. The committee desire, however, to annex communications which have been laid before them this day, at the moment they sign this report.——*See also Appendix, Letter A.*

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ten millions bearing intereſt, and ſtill likely to increaſe, I thought it my duty to ſtate to you the propriety of reſtoring to India, from your treaſury at home, a part of that balance," &c. Again,—"And this led me to ſtate, that I was ready to meet the Indian debt, even at the large amount of fourteen millions."

Every perſon converſant with the affairs of India, will concur with Mr. Dundas, that the ſafety of the empire depends (amongſt other things) upon the comparative magnitude of the debt. He was alarmed, and with reaſon, when the amount was ten millions; but as an exertion, and with a reſponſibility of which he appears to have felt the weight, he was ready to meet it, on the 30th of June 1801, *at the large amount of fourteen millions!* and although peace was not then made, he calculated *upon peace*, and upon the debt not exceeding *fourteen millions*. In the firſt point he has been fortunate:—with regard to the laſt, we ſhall now proceed to examine.

The Indian debt, on the 30th of April 1800, was as follows:

	At Intereſt.	Intereſt due.	Arrears & other Debt.
Bengal *	£8,512,298	£419,701	£1,342,014
Madras †	2,325,173	80,000	198,432
Bombay ‡	1,263,263	54,731	179,188
Bencoolen	16,675	———	41,292
	£12,117,409	554,433	1,760,878

Total..... £14,432,717

From a curſory view of the accounts and eſtimates received within a few days from India by the *Georgina* packet, it appears that the increaſe of debts at Bengal and Bombay for twelve months, and Madras for ſix months, amounted to 2,100,000

That Bengal propoſes to borrow more than will be paid off in the enſuing year 600,000

That Bombay purpoſes to do the ſame for 400,000

And that the letter from Madras, dated the 2d September 1801, ſtates that they had borrowed 30 lacks of pagodas, or 1,200,000

After an addition of this magnitude to the eſtimate made by Mr. Dundas, it is unneceſſary for your Committee to purſue their inquiries further on this ſubject at the moment; but they truſt that they have demonſtrated the opinion they entertain of the ſanguine eſtimate formed by Mr. Dundas; and ſtill more, that the difficulties which the Company have to encounter, will require the aid of every reſource to enable them to ſurmount. However diſcouraging this proſpect may be, it is aggravated by circumſtances which never exiſted before. The eſtabliſhments are increaſed, the political reſources are abſorbed, and it is further intended to deprive the Company of a material part of the reſources they actually poſſeſs, under the pretence of contributing

* 2s. the current rupee. † 8s. the pagoda. ‡ 2s. 3d. the rupee.

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tributing towards the prosperity of the Indian empire. The last time that the Company appeared before parliament, *in forma pauperis*, was in the year 1783. In consequence of the war, debts had been incurred, and the resources of the Company had been absorbed in such a manner as to require parliamentary relief. The relief they solicited on that account, was to suspend the payment of 924,862l. due to the public for duties on the Company's goods, for a further time, and to prolong the payment of bills drawn from India, until the goods, for which those bills were drawn, could be sold; but no new money was raised, either by the Public or the Company, on the occasion: and trifling as that relief may appear when compared with the wants of the present day, it was sufficient to extricate the Company from every difficulty at home and abroad.

It cannot, however, be denied, that the distress of the Company, in the year 1783, was great. At that time Mr. Dundas took upon himself the administration of Indian affairs; and therefore we will venture to make a comparison between the period of distress in which he began his administration, and the state in which he has left the Company's affairs on retiring from office.

The report of the court of directors, dated the 23d January 1784, and laid before the house of commons, (which was approved and defended by Mr. Dundas,) states distinctly the revenues and debts of India, according to the last accounts which could be obtained at that period.

The net revenue of India, exclusive of the profit on salt and opium, was - - - - -	£1,091,546
The salt and opium, although they have produced much more, was at that time estimated at only - - - - - -	£ 400,000
Net surplus at that time - -	£1,491,546

This surplus was subject to charges, and particularly to the interest of the debts in India. The salt and opium are estimated at no more than 400,000l. but produced, for an average of above twenty years, 800,000l. per ann.

By the accounts laid before the house of commons the 5th of May 1801, the surplus net revenue was - - -	£ 664,397
It appeared, at the same time, that the interest upon debts bearing interest, was - - -	1,082,203
Leaving a deficiency of	£ 417,806

Your committee are aware that the deficiency is much larger, not only from additional interest on debts, but for expences which are not included; but the difference against the annual *political* income of the Company, between the periods of 1783-4 and of 1801-2, is very considerable.

If objections are made against this comparison, there can be none when a comparison is made between different periods of Mr. Dundas's own administration. In 1793, on the renewal of the charter, the directors estimated the final surplus in India, as applicable to investment, to be..... £ 1,409,127
Deduct the proceeds of the Europe exports 350,000

Remains a political surplus of..... £1,159,127

It is true that Mr. Dundas objected to this estimate, which in his opinion was much too low; but if to that sum shall be added the present deficiency of .... £417,807 there will appear against the Company,

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pany, in their annual political income, a difference of a million and a half, which may eaſily be ſwelled to two millions ſterling annually, when the arrears of debt are funded, and bear an intereſt.

The differences of opinion which may ariſe on the queſtion of income, in conſequence of the numberleſs details neceſſary for the purpoſe of forming an eſtimate, cannot exiſt on the ſubject of debts which are compriſed within a few lines. By the returns alluded to before, the debts at the three preſidencies were ſtated, the 23d January 1784, £4,521,685.

At that time there was a large arrear not known in Europe, the exact amount of which it is difficult to aſcertain; but ſuppoſe that it ſwelled the debt to £10,000,000.

In the letter from Mr. Dundas, and in the budget which he delivered in the houſe, the debt in India is admitted to be £14,432,717.

A very conſiderable augmentation has been aſcertained by the advices received by the *Georgina* packet; and if there was an arrear of five millions and a half upon a debt of four millions and a half, in 1783-4, the apprehenſions of your committee cannot be conſidered as overſtrained. The more ſo, as we find that the treaſury, for want of money, has been obliged to iſſue notes, payable nine months after date, with an intereſt of 12 per cent. In ſuch a predicament, the aid of the fortunes of individuals to be remitted to Europe, and which are intercepted by the private traders, would have been of great public utility.

In contemplating the real ſituation of the Company in the year 1783-4, we find one ſource of revenue created, and another improved by the ſuperior talents and profound local knowledge of Mr. Haſtings, which have more than compenſated for the whole of the expence of the war under his adminiſtration. In twenty years (including the eſtimate for 1800-1,) the duty on ſalt has produced, net £14,143,400
The profit on opium 2,577,800

Total.... £16,721,200

We have, unfortunately, no ſources of this deſcription to look to at preſent. The ſubſidies and general improvements have been abſorbed in extenſive additional eſtabliſhments.

When Marquis Cornwallis, with that wiſdom and magnanimity which have diſtinguiſhed his conduct through life, ſtopped ſhort under the walls of Seringapatam, the conſequences were comparative eaſe, ſecurity, and proſperity to the affairs of the Company and to the empire in India; whilſt the brilliant deſtruction of a formidable rival, under the adminiſtration of Marquis Welleſley, has been followed by circumſtances of difficulty and diſtreſs.

Theſe diſcuſſions and compariſons are painful in the extreme; but when the Company find that attempts are made, and ſupported by ſuch powerful intereſt, to deprive them of the only means to reſtore their affairs, under unfounded pretences, it is indiſpenſable for your committee and for the court to diveſt themſelves of their private feelings, in order to do juſtice to the Company and to the Public. Every perſon muſt, however, admit the extreme patience and forbearance of the court of directors, who have uſed every endeavour to obtain time for the ſole purpoſe of conciliation. They cannot yet perſuade themſelves that their rights will be deſtroyed, as every aſſurance, and

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every diſpoſition which your committee can reaſonably expect, they have experienced from his majeſty's preſent miniſters.

In this ſituation, which Mr. Dundas repreſents as proſperous, he thinks that, with the aſſiſtance, and through the medium of her commerce, the Company will ſurmount every difficulty in the courſe of a few years; but inſtead of being relieved by delaying the payment of about a million ſterling due to government for duties, as was done in 1783-4, he is aware that much more ſubſtantial means are neceſſary. Without the benefit of the growing produce of the revenue from ſalt and opium, or any thing ſimilar thereto, with more than double the amount of political debts to diſcharge, and groaning under the enormous increaſe of military expence and eſtabliſhments, he propoſes to call on the proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock, to raiſe no leſs a ſum than four millions ſterling, for what he calls commercial purpoſes, but which, in truth, is to diſcharge political debts. Your committee humbly conceive that, before the court of directors can conſent to recommend ſuch a meaſure to their conſtituents, they will ſatisfy themſelves, not only about the propriety and correctneſs of the propoſal, but that it will produce the effect intended; and that the ſubject may appear more diſtinctly before the court, your committee ſubmit the following ſtate of the preſent capital of the Company:

			Per Cent.	
Original capital		£ 3,200,000	.. 87½	£ 2,800,000
Additional	1786.....	800,000	.. 155	1,240,000
Ditto	1789.....	1,000,000	.. 174	1,740,000
Ditto	1793.....	1,000,000	.. 200	2,000,000

The firſt, or original capital, was ſufficient to enable the Company to carry on their trade, when it was truly excluſive, for near a century; the three laſt ſums have been added during the adminiſtration of Mr. Dundas, for commercial purpoſes.

The propoſition will appear ſtill more extraordinary, when it is conſidered that the Company are called on to raiſe four millions, and at the ſame time to admit the Indian agents to a participation, indeed to the eſſence of their excluſive trade: for it never can be denied that the four millions are to be raiſed for the expreſs purpoſe of diſcharging *political* debts. It would, therefore, have been more equitable and juſt to have called on the ſecond Company, the Indian agents and traders, to have raiſed the four millions in queſtion. Hitherto the commercial profits of the Company have been more than ſufficient to pay the dividends to the proprietors; a conſiderable ſurplus has ariſen from the commerce, although that ſurplus has not appeared ſo large as it ought to have been, from the Company's adherence to the old forms of making up their accounts; and every rupee which has been received from that ſource, as well as from the revenue, has been applied towards the expence of the war in India. Will the Indian agents and traders ſubmit to a limitation of their profit in the ſame manner as the Company? Will they pay what they get over and above 5 per cent. (for the proprietors, upon the price they have paid for their ſtock, divide little more,) into the public treaſury, for the benefit of the ſtate? And what is more extraordinary, whilſt every ſubject of his majeſty may participate in the commercial

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commercial ſtock of the Company, if he has the means, the object of the private traders is to preſerve the privilege and preference which they ſolicit, entirely to themſelves. If, however, the ſtate participates in the profit, a trade ſo carried on is more truly beneficial to the public in their collective capacity, than if it were abandoned to individuals, even in the event of their ſucceſs; for though individuals might be enriched, government would ſuffer.

Theſe advantages, and many others which the public enjoy at preſent, will vaniſh when private traders are admitted to excluſive privileges. Much may be done, and the Company are ready to exert every endeavour, and to employ every means for the purpoſe; but if ſucceſs is expected from them, they may deſire, in return, that ſuch reſources and powers as they now poſſeſs, ſhall remain unimpaired—that the excluſive trade to India, under the regulations of the act of 1793, ſhall be maintained—and that the conduct and management of their commercial concerns ſhall reſt with the executive body of the Eaſt India Company.

The proſpect of peace gives a new turn, and a much greater degree of importance, to the whole of this queſtion; whilſt the enemies of the Company will preſs with more than uſual earneſtneſs, and exert every nerve for a ſpeedy deciſion, under a pretence that delay is dangerous.

There can be no difficulty to aſſert, that delay will be dangerous, nay, fatal to their cauſe; for the experience of one, or at moſt two ſeaſons, will refute every argument they have uſed, and deſtroy thoſe fallacious, chimerical plans and eſtimates, by means of which they have obtained ſo much credit.

The foreign trade muſt revive, and there are good reaſons to think will increaſe, which is much to be deſired, ſo long as foreigners pay for the manufactures and produce of India in ſilver, or in ſuch a manner as ſhall not interfere materially with the avowed policy of this country. And your committee have no doubt, that if the private traders were compelled to export Britiſh manufactures, and reſtrained in their exportation of ſilver, that their imports in India will be greatly reduced.

Every nation will endeavour to employ their own ſhips; in addition to which, foreign ſhips can be navigated cheaper than thoſe built either in India or Great Britain.

Theſe two points are deciſive againſt the Indian agents. It is impoſſible to bring the whole of the foreign trade to the river Thames under ſuch circumſtances, or to prevent a conſiderable diminution of the foreign trade which has been brought to the river Thames during the war; in which caſe, the Indian agents cannot increaſe their own trade, but at the expence of the Company. And as the Indian trade to the river Thames muſt be conſiderably diminiſhed in the event of peace, whether that reduction falls on the Company or on private individuals, it muſt operate to leſſen the means of employing thoſe Britiſh ſhips which are already in the ſervice.

On many occaſions the Indian agents appear to over-rate their knowledge of foreigners and foreign trade; their principles and arguments are often purely theoretical, contradicted by facts and the experience of practical merchants. They cannot abandon the idea, that, if they can deprive the Company of any part of their rights, the whole of

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what is ſo taken muſt fall *excluſively* to themſelves. It is for this reaſon that, whilſt they are ſtruggling to wreſt the whole monopoly from the Company, they are equally anxious and clamorous to preſerve inviolate what they call the name, and conſequently the *odium of monopoly*, to the Company;—whilſt themſelves, their Indian ſhips, and laſcars, muſt (as they pretend) enjoy every advantage, they are ſtrong advocates for every other deſcription of excluſion; that they will not ſuffer any other Britiſh merchant, Britiſh ſhip, or Britiſh ſeamen to interfere with what they are pleaſed to call the *excluſive* trade of the Company. They contend, that the commerce of India cannot be carried on under the reſtrictions impoſed by the Company; they propoſe, therefore, to free themſelves from thoſe reſtrictions, whilſt they would leave them impoſed on thoſe who, they think, might be their competitors in turn. But they are not aware, that, whilſt they contend to deſtroy the part of an ancient, firm, extenſive fabric, over which they have no legal right or claim whatever, the ancient, real proprietors, finding themſelves deprived of that broad ſhield, which has hitherto protected and preſerved inviolate, under the Britiſh conſtitution, all corporate bodies, may ſpurn at the ruin which will remain.

During a war of about nine years, the commerce of the world has flowed into the lap of Great Britain, in conſequence of the ſeas having been covered with her fleets. The Indian agents have blinded the eyes of ſuperficial obſervers, by propoſing to ſubſtitute their *enterpriſe* after the peace, in order to produce the ſame effect which the Britiſh cannon has done during the war. If it ſhall be thought right to deſtroy a corporate body, and a ſyſtem held ſacred above two centuries, it ſurely merits due conſideration, and ought not to be the work of a moment of delirium; for the Company will venture to aſſert, that the increaſed trade has not been in conſequence of the enterpriſe of individuals alone, but may be attributed diſtinctly to Britiſh valour and unprecedented naval ſucceſs.

Two years (a very ſhort period indeed, when compared with the importance of the ſubject,) is fully ſufficient to convict the Indian agents of error and fallacy in every point which they have advanced on their ſide of the queſtion; for it is ſuppoſed that foreigners cannot immediately take advantage of the peace, and therefore it may require that time to judge of the effect which will be produced by their appearing once more as free traders and navigators in the Indian ſeas. But every motive and every reaſon calls on his majeſty's miniſters to pauſe before they deſtroy the chartered rights and ancient ſyſtem of the Eaſt India Company. When it was propoſed in the general court to refer this queſtion to opinions of high authority, it was declined in the then ſtate of the queſtion, as not conſiſtent with the dignity of the Company; at the ſame time that it would have proved extremely invidious to the great and reſpectable characters whoſe names were mentioned on the occaſion. If the buſineſs ſhall again be brought into parliament, this circumſtance will give it a complexion totally different; and your committee hope, therefore, that before any deciſive meaſure ſhall be adopted, his majeſty's miniſters and the public may be aided by the opinions of Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Teignmouth, and Mr. Haſtings, relative to the views and

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and conduct of private traders; as their profound knowledge and extenſive experience of the paſt, will enable them to form a more competent judgment how far the pretenſions of thoſe traders are conſiſtent with the rights of the Company, and more particularly with the ſafety of the Britiſh empire in India.

The conceſſions made in the year 1793, are the ſource from whence the preſent claims ſpring. If thoſe claims are granted, they will ſerve as the means to introduce others hereafter—if they do not, at an early period, ſubſtitute a few favoured individuals on the ruin of the Company:—it is therefore incumbent on the court of directors, when they find the danger inevitable, to declare to their conſtituents and to the public, that it is preferable to open the trade with India to every Britiſh ſhip, and every Britiſh ſubject, rather than ſuffer the Company to remain as a flimſy veil, to reward the intrigues, and to gratify the avarice of a few Indian agents and traders. Your committee muſt inſiſt, that the *real* enemy of the Company is the private trader, when he ſteps beyond the bound preſcribed by law. Foreigners have a *bonâ fide* trade:—almoſt the whole of their exports are paid for in ſilver, which contributes to the proſperity of the empire in India, without prejudice to the mother country. On the other hand, private traders encroach every where on the Company: they abſorb thoſe funds, which are wanted for political as well as commercial purpoſes: their intercourſe and connexions with the interior of India tend to ſhake, and muſt ultimately deſtroy, the authority of the Britiſh government; whilſt their attempt to introduce the ſhips of India, to the excluſion of the ſhips of Great Britain and Ireland, crowns the whole.

There appears to be an apprehenſion about the foreign trade, which no practical foreign merchant can underſtand. It is but fair to aſk for a ſingle inſtance wherein it has ſucceeded? With regard to foreign companies, they ſtood before the war in the following ſituation:—

That of Sweden traded to China only, and was almoſt annihilated by the Commutation Act.

The Daniſh China Company nearly in the ſame predicament.

The Daniſh India Company ruined.

The Embden India Company was trifling, but ruined.

The Dutch Company was in great diſtreſs, ſince ruined.

The Trieſte Company ruined, with the loſs of almoſt the whole of her capital.

Thoſe of France have been numerous, but unfortunate.

Portugal never had a regular company, and thoſe of Spain are not worth notice; except that no inſtance appears of ſucceſs.

All the maritime ſtates of Europe have at times looked to India as a ſource of ſtrength and riches. Only two nations, however, have been able for any long period to make their intercourſe with India productive of great national benefit. Great Britain and the late United Provinces: both have combined conſiderable territorial acquiſitions, with excluſive commerce, and thro' the medium of an excluſive company.

Private merchants on the continent were ſucceſsful until the preſidencies in India were permitted to draw on the Company at home for the liquidation of debts in India. Since that period, numerous failures have happened abroad, and thoſe merchants

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merchants who carried on the trade formerly, are at this time comparatively insignificant. These observations apply much more pointedly, when it is considered that the private traders build the whole of their speculation on a *cheap rate of freight*; that the Company's rate of peace-freight, (which was high before the war,) has been considerably reduced, and that the rate of freight for Indian ships has been, on some occasions, very much increased.

It is further remarkable, that, in France, where the company was abolished, in consequence of the clamour of individuals, the government there, after having been witness to the ruin which followed, and after the most mature deliberation, determined to re-establish the Company. Amidst this wreck of general and individual enterprise, the English East India Company alone was able to rear its broad front with a proud and envied pre-eminence; and although year after year she was threatened with incumbent ruin, yet every year seemed to add something to her strength and her power.

Some time since an attempt was made to establish a rival bank, under the specious pretence of the advantage which would result from competition. There could be no doubt about the additional facility which a few enterprising men would derive for a short time, to assist their wild extensive projects:—the public immediately saw through the delusion, and the first attempt to bring the measure forward in the house of commons was instantly crushed. It is remarkable, however, that the attempt at that time to invade the charter of the bank of England, and that which is now making to destroy the East India Company, spring from the same source.

The monopoly of the exclusive trade has continued, since the year 1600, with slight variations. The exigencies of government, and that prudence, which sometimes prescribes a temporary sacrifice to popular prejudices, have at some periods seemed to favor the views of individual adventurers; but those appearances lasted no longer than the necessity which extorted them. It was rather a connivance than a licence; nor does it appear that those individuals succeeded in their speculations. They bought, at a high price, from the poverty of the state, or the venality of its members, a permission to ruin themselves.

There occurs only one instance that forms an exception to the uniform opinion of government on this great and important commercial point; it is the attempt of Oliver Cromwell, about the year 1655, to lay the trade open. This bold experiment terminated as might have been expected; it confirmed the protector in the wisdom of that policy which he doubted. The monopoly was re-established, and the Company's temporary abolition became, in its consequences, their triumph.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, two rival companies existed, (the object contended for at present by the private traders, who would enjoy every advantage, free from the restraints and the expense of a corporate body,) when it was found that the success of either was impossible, and the ruin of both was probable:—an union was therefore loudly called for, and accomplished, under the arbitration and award of Lord

Lord Godolphin. The charter, which was passed on the 12th of April 1686, concludes with energetic words on the subject of the Company's exclusive trade; and with which your committee will beg leave to terminate their labours, viz. "Being fully satisfied that the trade cannot be maintained and carried on to national advantage, but by one general joint stock; and that a loose and general trade will be the ruin of the whole."

Having thus brought to a conclusion the observations which your committee have to offer to the court, on the abstract questions of trade and ships, they beg leave to observe, that they have not discussed the fatal consequences which must arise from establishing the first and most dangerous principle of colonization; as they have demonstrated in their former reports, that the plans of the private traders (if admitted) must terminate in the destruction of the British empire in India.

Nor have they touched on the commercial rights of the Company to regulate and to transmit dispatches to India on this subject; for although the Commissioners have expressed their doubts, yet they do not deny the rights of the Company. But as a proprietor in the general court has manifested a disposition to agitate this question, your committee have annexed extracts from two letters, *(vide Appendix*, B,) the one dated in 1787, not long after the establishment of the board of commissioners, the other dated so late as the 21st of March 1801, in both which the rights of the Company are expressly acknowledged.

CHARLES MILLS,
J. ROBERTS,
F. BARING,
JACOB BOSANQUET,
HUGH INGLIS,
JOSEPH COTTON,
ABRAHAM ROBARTS,
EDW. PARRY.

East India House, 25th March 1802.

No. 1.—BOMBAY, 1795.

Abstract of Statement of the Hull of a Ship of 630 Tons, built at Bombay.

Materials for the hull - -		64,385
With the 20 per cent interest, as there appears no charge of the kind.		
Men's wages - - -		18,824
Lead - - - -		470
Mud dock - - - -		1,133
Dock bill - - -		1,083
		85,895
Deduct remaining stores -		3,405
		82,490
		£.10,311

Or 16l. 7s. per ton.

No. 2.—BOMBAY, 1797.

Abstract of Statement of the Hull of a Ship built at Bombay of 740 Tons,

Materials for the hull	64,939	
20 per cent charge on country stores	12,987	
Pay of artificers -	19,360	
Builder's attendance -	2,640	
Lead - -	770	
Payah oil - -	1,781	
Oakum and junk to make ditto	1,221	
Sheds for artificers -	800	
Iron work for capstan	250	
Interest of money -	559	
		105,407
Ded. Europe spars	3,951,3,50	
Add surplus stores	1,862,1,98	
		5,817
		99,590
		£.12,448 15

Or 16l. 10s. per ton.

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A.—No. 1.

East India House, 24th March 1802.

SIR,

It having been intimated to the committee of shipping, that several of the lascars belonging to some of the rice and India built ships lately arrived, are extremely ill, that many of them have died, and that proper care and provisions are not afforded those now on board; and the committee, understanding that the lascars belonging to several of the above ships have been attended by you, the committee direct me to desire that you will please to state to me, for the committee's information, such particulars as may have come under your own observation, or may appear to you to be founded in fact, respecting the state of those persons, and their treatment since their arrival in this country.

The committee further direct me to desire that you will transmit me an account of the number of lascars who have been attended by you on the Company's account during the last twelve months, describing therein the number who have died.

I am, Sir, &c.

J. COGGAN.

Mr. Wm. Docker.

A.—No. 2.

St. Mary Axe, 24th March 1802.

SIR,

In reply to your letter, dated East India House, this morning, requesting me to state to you, for the information of the committee of shipping, such particulars as may have come under my own observation respecting the health, care, and treatment of lascars on board rice and country-built ships lately arrived from India, and also those of the Company for the last twelve months:

Within this fortnight, nine sick lascars were ordered from on board the *Union*, Captain Luke. As they were removing them from on board, one died—the rest appeared to me exceeding ill: three of those are dead. I waited on the Captain to inform him in what manner the East India Company's men were attended, and offered my service to those on board. His answer was, they were all well; and when any were taken very ill, they should be sent on shore. I understand most of them were ill when those left the ship I have under my care.

I have also received nine from the *Ganges*, Captain Brown; two of those are dead. The day before those lascars were sent on shore, I waited on the owners, and was informed the men were all in good health. From the state they appeared to me, that could not be the case.

By particular request of my brother, who has attended the *Perseverance*, Captain Dowlick, I visited that ship on Friday last, and found four or five lascars dying for want of proper food, and the rest looked exceeding ill. I mentioned the reason of my paying that visit to the then commanding officer. On Saturday morning the sick were removed on shore; one has died since. My brother lost two, three or four days before I went on board. Within these ten days I know of fifteen lascars that have died, belonging to country and rice ships.

I understand some of the ships have surgeons, others none. However, I cannot help remarking very great neglect and inattention rest with either owners, captains, or surgeons, or the men would not be in the state they are, if properly treated.

I do not wish any man's feelings to be hurt by seeing such deplorable objects; yet at the same time I lament there is not some person regularly appointed to see justice done them. No man of the least feeling or

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as humanity can witneſs ſuch treatment as I have related without being ſhocked.

If it is in your power, I truſt and hope you will render your aſſiſtance in adopting ſome regulation; otherwiſe many in a ſhort time will fall victims.

As to the Company, within theſe laſt twelve months I have had under my care from 350 to 400 Chineſe and laſcars. Seven have died.

I am, Sir, &c.

W. DOCKER.

J. Coggan, eſq.

A.—No. 3.

St. Mary-Axe, March 24th, 1800.

SIR,

Since I wrote you this morning, I have recollected, I forgot to mention twenty laſcars had been ſent on ſhore from the *Lucy Maria*, on Sunday laſt, moſt of them very ill.

This evening I have examined ten ſent from the *Counteſs of Sutherland*: moſt of them are in a *ſhocking ſtate to behold*. I ſhould wiſh ſome perſon from the Houſe to go with me to ſee them, if you ſhould think proper.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) W. DOCKER.

J. Coggan, eſq.

(B)

The Court of Directors having expreſſed themſelves too ſtrongly in a diſpatch to Bengal, in conſequence of the privilege goods by the *Winterton*, in the year 1785, received the following juſt obſervations from the Commiſſioners for the affairs of India:

Extract of a Letter from the Commiſſioners of the Affairs of India to the Court of Directors, dated Whitehall, 27th January 1787.

"In the tenth paragraph of your commercial draft, No. 272, we have altered one word, by ſubſtituting *unwarrantable* in place of *ſhameful*. The ſenſe is equally preſerved, notwithſtanding the alteration; and we are ſure it muſt be your diſpoſition, as much as ours, to treat the members of your ſupreme government in India with every poſſible reſpect; for, in preſerving their dignity, you in truth are preſerving your own. Where diſapprobation of a meaſure is neceſſary, it muſt be conveyed to them pointedly and intelligibly; but unleſs you mean to recall them from your ſervice, it will certainly be your diſpoſition to apply no mode of expreſſion to them, which almoſt renders it incompatible with their feelings as gentlemen to remain in their ſituations. We are the more anxious that this diſpatch ſhould not contain one exceptionable word; becauſe, having peruſed it with great attention, it is impoſſible for us not to feel the higheſt ſatisfaction from the attention and ability with which you have treated the ſubject: and we are perſuaded that a continuance of the ſame attention to your commercial adminiſtration will redound greatly to your own honour, and the benefit of your conſtituents. We feel ourſelves at liberty to ſay this with the more freedom, as we are ſpeaking of a *department of your buſineſs* where the *adminiſtration*, and of courſe the credit reſulting from it, is excluſively your own.

W. PITT,
HENRY DUNDAS,
MULGRAVE."

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, to the Chairman, relative to the preſent Queſtion about Private Trade;—dated Wimbledon, 21ſt March 1801.

"It is ſcarcely neceſſary for me to obſerve, that in all the diſcuſſions

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tions I have had on this ſubject with the court of directors, I have not been entitled to exerciſe any authority in the determination of the ſubject. *It is a ſubject over which the commiſſioners for the affairs of India have no control;* and whatever I have ſtated, or now ſtate, or may hereafter ſtate, muſt be received from me in my individual capacity; and therefore, if either my reaſoning and judgment, or the reaſoning of your government abroad, has not the effect of varying the opinion of the court of directors, I truſt you will not delay acting upon the principles detailed in the reſolutions you have done me the honour to communicate to me; for the worſt reſult that can ariſe from the diſcuſſion, is any further delay in coming to a deciſion upon it."

PAPERS

Preſented to the HOUSE *of* COMMONS *from the* EAST INDIA COMPANY *concerning the late* NABOB *of the* CARNATIC.

(Ordered to be printed 21ſt and 23d of June 1802.)

No. 1.

INSTRUCTIONS *to Lieut. Colonel* MACNEIL, *dated 5th and 6th of July* 1801.

To Lieutenant Colonel MACNEIL.

SIR,

1. The precarious ſtate of his highneſs the nabob's health being ſuch as to indicate the probability of his highneſs's early diſſolution, the right honourable the governor in council has judged it expedient, for the preſervation of order, to ſtation a party of troops at the palace of Chepauk; and his lordſhip, relying on your prudence and diſcretion, has been pleaſed to appoint you to the command of the troops.

2. The detail will conſiſt of three companies of his majeſty's Scotch brigade, five companies of the 1ſt battalion 4th regiment of native infantry, a ſubaltern, and thirty Europeans, and one company of native artillery with four ſix pounders, and thirty troopers from the governor's body guard. A farther portion of the garriſon of Fort St. George will be held in readineſs to join you, if occaſion ſhould render that meaſure neceſſary.

3. The principal object of your care being the preſervation of order within the palace of Chepauk, at the period of the nabob's diſſolution, the governor in council directs you, after ſecuring the firſt gate of the garden, to march the detachment to the principal gateway of the palace, and take poſſeſſion of it.

4. A communication of this intended meaſure will be made to the nabob ſufficiently early, it is hoped, to prevent any alarm in his highneſs's mind; and the expedition and ſecrecy with which it will be executed, will probably prevent any oppoſition or confuſion.

5. Having taken poſſeſſion of the principal gateway, it will be neceſſary to make a diſpoſition of your force for maintaining that poſition.

6. In carrying this part of your orders into effect, the governor in council deſires you to uſe every degree of conciliation and reſpect towards the immediate family of the nabob, and towards the confidential officers of his highneſs's government. By an adherence to that mode of conduct, the governor in council expects that no difficulty will

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will occur; but if, notwithstanding this moderation, you should be opposed in the execution of these orders with respect to possessing the gateway, you will, after making the best explanation of your orders, which circumstances will admit, to the nabob's officers within the gateway, remain thirty minutes, and if, after the expiration of that time, you shall have received no communication from Major Grant, the military secretary of the governor, you will obtain possession of the gateway by force.

7. After having established yourself at the gateway of the palace, you will consider the best means of restraining the intercourse of persons with the interior of the palace; but as it is impossible to describe, with sufficient accuracy, the different passages through the external wall of the palace, I am directed to inform you, that when the event of the nabob's death shall occur, it will be your duty, to the extent of your power, to prevent the introduction of any partizans into the palace, to restrain any apparent commotion, to protect from violence the persons of the nabob's immediate family, and to provide the best practicable means for preventing his highness's property and treasure from being removed from the palace. In executing this part of the order, you will observe that the governor in council does not consider the brothers of his highness to constitute any part of his immediate family; and you will endeavour to restrain them, by force if necessary and practicable, from entering the palace until some arrangement of affairs shall be made.

8. As soon as may be practicable, after taking possession of the gateway, you will endeavour to ascertain what number of armed or unarmed men may be within the walls of the palace, and you will cause that number to be so far diminished as you shall judge necessary to the tranquil execution of these orders; you will particularly endeavour to expel, from within the walls of the palace, all such armed men as may not be in the immediate service of his highness the nabob; upon this point you will make an early report, and it is the intention of the governor in council to furnish you, at the earliest possible period of time after the death of the nabob, with more detailed instructions for the guidance of your conduct.

9. It will be obvious to you that the governor in council considers the trust now reposed in you, to involve considerations of the greatest delicacy and importance; and his lordship directs me to express his confident expectation, that your conduct in the discharge of it will be such as the nature of the conjuncture, and the situation of his highness's family, demand from the liberality and dignity of the British government.

10. During this service, you will address immediately to the governor such communications as may become necessary, and obey such orders as you may receive directly from his lordship.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) J. Webbe,
Chief Sec. to Govt.

Fort St. George, 5th July 1801.

To J. Webbe, *Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.*

Sir,

I request you will be pleased to inform the right hon. governor, that, agreeably to his lordship's instructions, I marched the troops placed under my command for the preservation of order at Chepauk, through

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through both the gateways leading to the palace; of these gates I took possession, and I have placed guards at three other gates leading through the exterior wall.

The communication which the right hon. governor was pleased to make of his lordship's intentions, seemed to have considerably reconciled the nabob to the measure itself; but he was very much averse to guards being placed within the interior gate. The space there in front of the palace is very small, and the immediate entrance to the palace is quite close to the gate.

As there seemed to be no immediate necessity for stationing guards within, and as the nabob was so much averse to any being placed there, I judged it fit to accommodate his highness's inclinations as far as possible: I have, therefore, placed sentries only at the gate, and the body of the troops close to it on the outside.

There is no kind of commotion whatever within the palace walls, and there is every appearance of tranquillity being preserved.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) D. MACNEIL, *Lieut. Col.*

Chepauk, 5th July 1801.

To Lieut. Colonel MACNEIL, *commanding a Detachment at Chepauk.*

SIR,

I have received your letter of this date; and am directed by the right hon. the governor in council, to express his lordship's entire approbation of your consenting, under the circumstances you have stated, to withdraw the guards from the interior part of the gateway of his highness the nabob's palace. It being the intention of the right hon. the governor in council, that every degree of attention and conciliation should be shown to the personal wishes of the nabob, his lordship is desirous that you should be studious to meet his highness's wishes in every point not involving the security of the great object entrusted to your care.

In addition to the general instructions contained in my letter of yesterday, I am directed to desire that the greatest degree of caution may be used in your communication with the nabob, or with his highness's family and ministers, to avoid the appearance of any concurrence on the part of the British government in the arrangements which his highness may be desirous of making with respect either to his immediate property, or to the general affairs of the Carnatic; for the same reason you will abstain from giving countenance to any party which may be formed in the palace in favour of any part of the nabob's family, or of his highness's ministers.

It is understood that the principal part of the nabob's treasure is deposited in the apartments of his highness's sister, the Boody Begum; and I am directed to communicate this intelligence to you, in order that your attention may be particularly directed to those apartments, in carrying into execution his lordships orders for preventing the removal of the treasure from Chepauk.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. WEBBE,

Chief Sec. to Gov.

Fort St. George, 5th July 1801.

To J. WEBBE, *Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.*

SIR,

I have the honour of your letter of this date, and I beg leave to assure the right hon. the governor in council, that every part of his lordship's

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ship's orders shall be duly observed and executed.

I have taken such precautions as I think will render it altogether impossible for treasure (unless in very small sums, or in covered doolies) to be carried out of any part of the palace. May I request the honour of his lordship's permission to apprize the nabob, that conveyances of that description are not expected to be sent from the palace?

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) D. MACNEIL, *Lieut. Col.*

Chepauk, 5th July 1801.

To Lieut. Col. MACNEIL, *commanding a Detachment at Chepauk.*

SIR,

In reply to your letter of last night, I am directed to acquaint you, that until his highness the nabob shall expire, the right honourable the governor in council does not consider it expedient to impose any restraint on the egress of covered palankeens from the palace of Chepauk; but after that event shall have happened, you will prevent the issue of covered palankeens from the palace, until you shall have received farther orders from the governor in council.

In issuing these instructions, the governor in council confines the operation of them to the period of time during which order shall prevail in the interior of the palace; but if any commotion should arise previously to the death of the nabob, you will take effectual measures for restraining the issue of treasure, by any mode of conveyance whatever, until you shall receive the farther directions of the governor in council.

If, previously to the death of the nabob, you shall have reason to suspect an attempt to carry treasure from the palace, without his highness's consent, you will also in that event restrain the issue of it, until the nabob's consent shall be obtained for the passage from the palace.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) J. WEBBE,
Chief Sec. to Govt.

Fort St. George, 6th July 1801.

No. 2.

INSTRUCTIONS *to Lieut. Colonel* BOWSER.

To Lieut. Col. BOWSER.

SIR,

The right hon. the governor in council having judged it expedient to assemble a small force, consisting of 5 companies of the 2d battalion 17th regiment of native infantry, five troops of the 2d regiment of native cavalry, and two six-pounders, with a proportion of artillery, I am directed to inform you, that the right hon. the governor in council has selected you to command it; you will accordingly proceed to join the detachment, which is now encamped in the bed of the Long Tank, and take whatever measures may be necessary for keeping it ready to move at a short notice.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. WEBBE,
Chief Sec. to Govt.

Fort St. George, 11th July 1801.

No. 3.

INSTRUCTIONS *to Messrs.* WEBBE *and* CLOSE, *when they proceeded to the Palace of the late Nabob,* OMDUT UL OMRAH.

To J. WEBBE, *Esq. and Lieut. Col.* CLOSE.

GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of the death of his highness the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, it is my earnest desire, founded on the instructions of his excellency the governor-general, that a complete adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic should be made with the least practicable delay.

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The nature of the evidence which has been obtained of the violation of the alliance by the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, and the courſe of reaſoning upon the condition in which the family of their highneſſes has, by that diſcovery, been placed in relation to the Britiſh government, are ſubjects ſo familiar to you, that any particular inſtructions from me with regard to the principles, or to the detailed conſiderations of the queſtion, appear to be ſuperfluous. It will be ſufficient for me therefore to ſtate, that the death of the nabob has produced no change in the principles by which it will be proper to regulate the conduct of the Britiſh government towards the family of his highneſs: but in the application of thoſe principles to the actual ſtate of affairs, I judge it to be of the greateſt importance to the national character, as well as to the critical ſtate of our affairs, that the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic ſhould be adjuſted by an amicable negociation.

I accordingly depute you to conduct this negociation, and hereby authoriſe and empower you to exerciſe your own diſcretion for the purpoſe of carrying into effect my intentions, and the inſtructions of his excellency the governor-general.

The officer commanding the forces at Chepauk will obey ſuch orders as he may receive from you.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLIVE.

Fort St. George, 15th July 1801.

No. 4.

REPORT *of Meſſrs.* WEBBE *and* CLOSE, *explanatory of their Proceedings at the Palace of his late Highneſs the Nabob, in their Interviews or Negociations with the Regents and* TAJE UL OMRAH.

[N. B. In this document are contained the propoſitions from Taje ul Omrah, and from Najeeb Khan and Juke Ally Khan, required by the 4th and 5th orders of the honourable houſe. *Vide* pages 15 and 17.]

July 15th, 1801.

In conformity to your lordſhip's inſtructions, we proceeded to the palace of Chepauk, having previouſly cauſed a meſſage intimating our approach to be communicated, through the channel of Lieut. Col. MacNeil, to the principal officers of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

On our arrival at Chepauk, we were received by Najeeb Khan, Tukhia Ally Khan, Kadir Nawas Khan, and Mr. Thomas Barrett, who introduced themſelves as the principal officers of the government of his highneſs Omdut ul Omrah. Najeeb Khan appeared to hold no diſtinct office, but to have been a companion of the family ſince the time of Anwar ud Deen Khan, and to have been conſulted generally on all occaſions of intereſt to the nabob of the Carnatic. Tukhia Ally Khan was entruſted with the military affairs of the late nabob. Kadir Nawas Khan ſuperintended the general and internal departments of his highneſs's government. But the moſt important department of his highneſs's government, the adminiſtration of the revenues of the Carnatic, had been entruſted to the charge of Mr. Barrett. As that branch of the nabob's government affected more particularly than any other the rights and intereſts of the Company, we judge it to be proper to explain to your lordſhip, that Mr. Barrett is of the loweſt tribe of native Portugueze, equally deſtitute of education, manners, and knowledge.

We enquired whether any particular

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ular arrangement had been made by the nabob for the adminiſtration of the affairs of his government, in the event which had recently occurred; and having been informed that an authentic will, under his ſeal and ſignature, had been left by Omdut ul Omrah, we deſired that it might be produced. Najeeb Khan, who directed the converſation, made the uſual objections, founded on the recency of the nabob's death, on the neceſſity of allowing a ſufficient interval of time for the ceremonies of the occaſion, and on the decorum of poſtponing to open the will until the heir appointed ſhould be at liberty, in conformity to the uſual practice, to attend to the tranſaction of public buſineſs. We replied, that the Britiſh government was aware of the prevailing uſages obſerved by the profeſſors of the Mahommedan religion on all ordinary occaſions of this nature; that your lordſhip could have no wiſh that thoſe uſages ſhould be unneceſſarily tranſgreſſed; but that the affairs of a great government, on which our requeſt was founded, could not be regulated by the ordinary practice of individual families. Having in conſequence been informed that the nabob had appointed his reputed ſon (Taje ul Omrah, commonly called Ally Huſſain) to be his ſole heir, we again urged the neceſſity of producing the will, and requeſted that the young man ſhould be introduced to us. The khans having retired to conſider this demand, we learnt, during a deſultory converſation with Mr. Barrett, that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah had become acquainted with the intention of Huſſum ul Mulk to employ an armed force at the palace of Chenuk for the accompliſhment of his views, at the expected termination of his highneſs's life; that the meaſure of ſtationing a body of the Company's troops for the protection of the family, had in conſequence been entirely acceptable to his highneſs, and (to uſe his own figurative expreſſion) that the ſecurity derived from that arrangement, had been the means of prolonging his highneſs's life.

The khans having been joined by Mr. Barrett, returned, aſſenting to our requeſt; and, after a ſhort delay, the young man was introduced with the will in his hand. The will having been opened and read by Kadir Nawas Khan, was found to be an authentic inſtrument, expreſſing, in clear, diſtinct, and explicit terms, the will of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, that his reputed ſon (Ally Huſſain) ſhould ſucceed him in the poſſeſſion of all his rights, poſſeſſions, property, and in the ſovereignty* of the Carnatic. The will alſo appointed Mahommed Najeeb Khan, Salar Jung, and Tukhia Ally Khan, to aſſiſt the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah in the adminiſtration of his affairs.

The will having been read, we excuſed ourſelves to Ally Huſſain for an intruſion, which, although unſeaſonable, was indiſpenſably neceſſary; and he immediately retired, returning expreſſions of civility.

On the departure of Ally Huſſain, we requeſted a private conference with the two khans only, who had been appointed by the will of Omdut ul Omrah to aſſiſt the counſels of his ſon. After ſome preparatory obſervations on the importance of the ſubject which we were deſirous of diſcuſſing, and on the conſequent neceſſity of ſuperſeding the ordinary forms obſerved in private families

* The Engliſh word *ſovereignty* is in the will.

on similar occasions of misfortune, we proceeded, with the concurrence of the khans, to state the nature of the written documents discovered at Seringapatam. Najeeb Khan expressed the greatest degree of surprise at this communication, professed his entire ignorance of the subject, and protested that it was impossible for the nabob Omdut ul Omrah to cherish the intentions imputed to his highness. Some of the principal documents having been produced, Najeeb Khan asserted, that they contained none but expressions of civility and compliment; that the Marquis Cornwallis had repeatedly enjoined the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, to cultivate a friendly intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun; that the whole tendency of the correspondence produced was directed to that object, in conformity to the injunctions of Lord Cornwallis; and that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah had recently addressed himself to Lord Cornwallis on the subject of these communications. The particular warmth of the expressions used by Omdut ul Omrah, in his letter addressed to Gholaum Ally Khan on the 14th Mohurrum 1209, having been pointed out to Najeeb Khan, he observed that it was nothing more than an expression of civility which might have been used on any ordinary occasion. The copy of the cypher having been produced, Najeeb Khan took the opportunity of saying, that the moonshy of the nabob was present, and could be examined with respect to the authenticity of the hand-writing; that although the cypher appeared, as was stated by us, to be a paper of a very secret nature, calculated to provide for the transaction of affairs of great importance, it might have been conveyed into the archives of Tippoo Sultaun by the enemies of Omdut ul Omrah; that, upon being furnished with the proofs of the supposed treacherous intercourse between Tippoo Sultaun and the family of the nabob Mahommed Ally, such explanations should be afforded, and such answers given, as the different cases might require, and that, the proofs being compared, the Company might form a complete judgment.

This discourse being apparently intended to confound the object of our deputation, we stated to the two khans, that in cases of disputed points between independent powers, neither party could erect itself into a judge of the conduct of the other party; that on those questions an appeal could be made only to the general practice of the nations of the world; and that such differences could only be decided by the means possessed by each party respectively to provide for its own security; that with respect to the present case, the most abundant proofs were in the possession of the British government, of the violation of the alliance between the Company and the late Nabob, and particularly of the express stipulations of the treaty of 1792; that the British government, being satisfied of the sufficiency of those proofs, had no intention of constituting itself a judge of the conduct of its ally: but that being prepared to appeal, if necessary, to the established maxims of the public law of nations, it had resolved to demand from the late nabob, Omdut ul Omrah, satisfaction for his violation of the alliance, and security for its rights and interests against the future operation of his highness's hostile councils; that the indisposition, which had terminated in the death, of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, had prevented

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vented the execution of the governor-general's orders for this purpose; that although his highneſs's right to the ſupport and friendſhip of the Company had been entirely cut off by his violation of the alliance, the Britiſh government being ſtill deſirous of preſerving the connexion ſo long ſubſiſting, would be diſpoſed to extend thoſe ſentiments to the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah, if an adequate ſecurity could be eſtabliſhed for the rights of the Company in the Carnatic, through the channel of an amicable adjuſtment. The two khans repeated, that they were ignorant of the exiſtence of the ſuppoſed ſecret intercourſe between the nabobs Walajah, and Omdut ul Omrah, and Tippoo Sultaun; and Najeeb Khan in particular ſtated, that from the tenor of his intercourſe with the family of the nabob, as well as from the expreſſions of the will, he did not conſider himſelf at liberty, or in any way authorized to give anſwer upon ſo momentous a queſtion, without conſulting and obtaining the conſent of the family and miniſters of the late nabob.—We proceeded to explain ſlowly and diſtinctly to the two khans the courſe of reaſoning and the propoſitions contained in the declaration tranſmitted from Bengal, which the khans having heard with great attention, they ſtated that they diſtinctly comprehended the object of the declaration and the force of the reaſoning; they admitted the concluſions drawn from the facts, provided the facts ſhould be true; but at the ſame time ſtrenuouſly aſſerted their diſbelief of the hoſtile intercourſe with Tippoo Sultaun, imputed to the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah. After a deſultory converſation on this ſubject, in which the two khans inſiſted on the reaſonableneſs of their entering into the defence of Omdut ul Omrah's conduct in regard to the ſeveral points ſtated in the declaration, and in which we repeated the arguments founded on the practice of nations, and on the right of the Britiſh government to provide for the ſafety of its intereſts, we endeavoured to reduce this very long conference into the reſult of a ſingle propoſition, by demanding to know whether the khans, on the part of Ally Huſſain, were diſpoſed to an adjuſtment of the claims of the Britiſh government through the channel of an amicable negociation? They profeſſed the greateſt degree of reſpect and attachment to the Britiſh government; ſtated that they conſidered themſelves and the whole family to be under its immediate protection; dwelt on the general impoſſibility of their proceeding by any other than amicable means in the ſettlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, or of the exiſting differences with the Britiſh government; but carefully avoided a direct anſwer to the propoſition we had ſtated on that ſubject. The day being far advanced, the khans took an opportunity of urging the neceſſity of their attention to the funeral of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and to the preparations of removing the corpſe to Tritchinopoly. This plea was urged in ſo forcible a manner, upon the grounds of public decorum, and of conſideration for the feelings of the family, that we yielded without further diſcuſſion to the evident deſire of the khans to conclude the conference, without giving a poſitive anſwer to our propoſition. It was agreed, however, that an interview ſhould take place on the evening of the next day, at which the khans aſſured us that they would be prepared to give a ſpecific anſwer to

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our propoſitions, after conſulting the family and miniſters of the late nabob upon the ſubject of this conference.

In proceeding to take leave of the khans, we aſſured them in the moſt unequivocal terms, that on the anſwer which they intended to give to our propoſition would depend, whether the Britiſh government would acknowledge the claims of the reputed ſon of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the ſupport of the Company, or whether the Britiſh government ſhould proceed to take ſuch meaſures as it might deem to be expedient for the ſecurity of its rights and intereſts in the Carnatic.

July 16.—At ſeven o'clock this evening we proceeded, according to appointment, to meet the two khans at the palace of Chepauk. Before we proceeded to the direct object of the conference, we communicated to Najeeb Khan and Tukhia Ally Khan, a Perſian tranſlation of the declaration. After peruſing a conſiderable part of the paper, Najeeb Khan obſerved, that it contained the ſame matter as was explained to him on the preceding day; that he entirely comprehended the courſe of the reaſoning, and that he did not require any farther explanation on the ſubject. He repeated his conviction, that it was impoſſible for Omdut ul Omrah to engage in a correſpondence injurious to the Britiſh intereſts; and ſtated, as a confirmation of his belief, the adherence of the nabob to the pecuniary ſtipulations of his engagements, and the probability that theſe means had been adopted by his highneſs's enemies to injure his reputation.

In order, however, that the concluſion drawn from the propoſitions ſtated in the declaration, and the conſequent determination of the Britiſh government, might be fully underſtood, that paſſage of the paper was read, and diſtinctly explained by us to the two khans.

We proceeded to inquire whether the khans were prepared (according to the reſult of the conference of yeſterday) to enter into a friendly negociation, for the eſtabliſhment of an adequate ſecurity for the right and intereſt of the Britiſh government? The khans replied, that the whole family of Omdut ul Omrah was under the protection of the Britiſh government, and that it could feel none but friendly diſpoſitions towards the Company; at the ſame time, however, they perſiſted in denying the proofs of the violation of the alliance by Omdut ul Omrah, on the foundation of which the demand of the Britiſh government reſted, and, by a ſtrange inconſiſtency, proceeded to inquire the conditions on which we propoſed to eſtabliſh an amicable adjuſtment of our claims on the family of the late nabob.

We proceeded accordingly to ſtate to the khans the inconveniences which had been experienced from the effects of a divided government; the difficulty of applying, under ſuch a ſyſtem, the reſources of the Carnatic to the exigencies of the public ſervice; and the impoſſibility of introducing a regular form of internal government, until the defects of the exiſting ſyſtem ſhould be corrected. We then informed the khans, that the only remedy applicable to the errors of the preſent government of the Carnatic, was the ſubſtitution of one permanent authority, in lieu of the fluctuating authority which had hitherto ſubſiſted; that the appropriation of the reſources of the Carnatic, during the government of the nabob, and under the preſſure

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of actual war, had been found from experience to be incompatible with the objects of the alliance; and therefore the only adequate security for the rights and intereſt of the Britiſh government in the Carnatic, againſt the dangers with which they had been menaced, was the entire and excluſive adminiſtration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic. We accordingly informed the khans, that this condition would form the baſis of the arrangement which it was our intention to propoſe to them. Najeeb Khan obſerved, that ſuch a propoſition was calculated to fruſtrate the profeſſed object of the arrangement; for if the entire government of the Carnatic ſhould be transferred to the hands of the Company, the ſtation of nabob of the Carnatic would be annihilated.—We replied to the khans, that the condition now propoſed actually exiſted in the treaties of 1787 and 1792; and that although the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic had been transferred, under the operation of that condition, to the excluſive adminiſtration of the Company, no doubt was entertained that the rank and dignity of Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, as the nabobs of the Carnatic, had been preſerved: we therefore drew this concluſion, that the rank and dignity of the nabob of the Carnatic could not be injured by extending the operation of that condition; and that the object of propoſing an amicable adjuſtment, inſtead of proceeding to exerciſe the rights acquired by the Britiſh government, was manifeſtly founded in the deſire of preſerving to the family the rank, dignities, and ſplendour of the nabobs of the Carnatic. The khans admitted this argument to be concluſive, but without coming to any determination on the fundamental propoſition ſtated by us, appeared to be deſirous of knowing the general outline of the arrangement which it was in the contemplation of the Britiſh government to eſtabliſh.—We thought it expedient to ſatisfy, by deſcribing the principal parts of the plan intended by your lordſhip and by the governor-general, in the event of an amicable adjuſtment of affairs: but we appriſed the khans at the ſame time, that the intended arrangements, with reſpect to the family affairs and dependants of Omdut ul Omrah, would be regulated by the acceptance or rejection of the fundamental propoſition; for in the one caſe the Britiſh government would be at liberty to conſult the dictates of moderation, liberality and friendſhip, but in the other caſe it would be compelled to adopt ſuch meaſures of precaution, for the ſecurity of its rights and intereſts, as the hoſtile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah had juſtified, and as would be rendered neceſſary by the perſeverance of his reputed ſon in the ſpirit of thoſe councils.

The khans entered into a deſultory converſation on the long ſubſiſting connection between the Company and the family of the late nabob; in which they were more deſirous of referring the pretenſions of Ally Huſſain to the ſtipulations of the treaty of 1792, than to the actual circumſtances which had occurred. We thought it therefore not unneceſſary to ſtate again, that the right of Omdut ul Omrah to the ſupport of the Company was founded on the expreſs letter of the treaty of 1792; that the whole ſpirit of the alliance having been vitiated previouſly to the offenſible concluſion of the treaty of 1792, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah had,

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by his own conduct, annihilated the rights intended to be conveyed to him by that inſtrument; that conſequently he left his reputed ſon in his own condition; that having placed himſelf in the relation of a public enemy, his reputed ſon had ſucceeded to that condition; that although the Britiſh government had ſuſpended the exerciſe of its rights, it acknowledged no other claim on the part of Huſſain; and that therefore in admitting him to negotiate upon any terms, it was actuated by motives of generoſity, unconnected with any right in the family of Mahommed Ally to reſiſt its demand for ſecurity. The khans made a civil anſwer to the ſubſtance of this communication, but at the ſame time indicated, in the ſtrongeſt manner, that they were by no means diſpoſed to accede to the fundamental propoſition of the intended arrangement; they ſtated that it was a ſubject of ſo much importance, as to preclude them from giving an anſwer without a full conſultation with all the branches of the family; they therefore requeſted that they might be permitted to poſtpone until the next day their final anſwer upon the ſubject of the two conferences.

In the actual ſituation of the family of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, we conſidered ourſelves at liberty to accede to the requeſt, under a formal intimation to the khans, that as the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic could not be protracted without material injury to the internal tranquillity of the country, we ſhould expect to receive an anſwer ſo determinate as to enable the Britiſh government to proceed to adopt the meaſures ſuſpended by the preſent negociation. We accordingly took leave of the khans, with an aſſurance that they would be prepared to deliver a final anſwer the next day.

July 17.—We proceeded to the palace of Chepauk at three o'clock in the afternoon, according to the appointment of the preceding day.

Najeeb Khan and Tukhia Ally Khan proceeded to inform us that the whole family, and the miniſters of the late nabob, had been aſſembled for the purpoſe of deliberating on the propoſition ſtated by us on the preceding day; and that the reſult of their deliberation was a conviction in their own minds, that notwithſtanding the decided terms in which our propoſition was communicated to them, the Britiſh government would ſtill be diſpoſed to accept a modification of the terms required for its ſecurity in the Carnatic. They accordingly produced a contra projet, which they deſired might be ſubmitted to your lordſhip's conſideration. A tranſlation of that paper is annexed to the report of this day's conference.

We informed the khans that we poſſeſſed full authority from your lordſhip and from the governor-general, for rejecting, on the part of the Britiſh government, any propoſal inconſiſtent with the extent of the ſecurity already required, and that our propoſition for veſting excluſively in the hands of the Company the entire adminiſtration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic, contained the baſis on which alone the propoſed arrangement could be founded. We reminded the khans of the importance which they had, at an earlier ſtage of the conferences, attached to the extent of this propoſition, and of their conſidering their authority inſufficient to decide ſo momentous a queſtion. We warned them that the interpretation they were about to give to the will of Omdut ul Omrah

Omrah, involved them in a heavy responsibility to his reputed son, which the terms of the will itself did not justify *; and we stated for their consideration, that whatever might be the result of these conferences, the effect to be produced on their own interests could bear no comparison to the effect to be produced on those of Ally Hussain.

The khans replied, that the subject of the evidence discovered at Seringapatam, had been agitated in the durbar for more than twelve months †; that measures had been taken for justifying the conduct of Omdut ul Omrah, which they asserted to be innocent of any treacherous intention towards the British government; that our propositions, containing the fundamental basis of an amicable arrangement, had been fully discussed and debated; that they (the khans) had fully considered the nature of the authority and of the responsibility which the will of Omdut ul Omrah devolved on them; that they were prepared to give a decided answer on the proposition, and that the paper delivered to us contained, finally and unequivocally, the only terms on which they could accede to our arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic by negociation.

Our endeavours to accomplish an amicable adjustment being thus defeated *in limine*, by the formal rejection of your lordship's fundamental propositions, we should have felt ourselves justified in bringing the negociation to an immediate conclusion; but knowing the earnest desire of your lordship and of the governor-general, to obtain the security required for the rights and interests of the British government in the Carnatic by an amicable negociation, and considering the proposal of the khans to be so extravagant as to be undeserving of serious attention, we judged it to be our duty not to exclude the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah from an opportunity of declaring his genuine sentiments upon a point of so much interest to himself, and of relieving himself from the effects of the infatuated or treacherous councils of his appointed advisers. We therefore informed the khans, that in a question which appeared to relate exclusively to the interests of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's reputed son, we were desirous of receiving from himself a declaration, which would determine his future situation, either as the acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, or as a mere dependant on the bounty of the Company. The extreme anxiety which the khans discovered in attempting to evade this demand, confirmed in our judgment the expediency and necessity of persisting in it.

It would be tedious to detain your lordship with a repetition of the various subterfuges urged by the khans to avoid a compliance with this request; all founded on his youth ‡, his insufficiency to conduct a conference, the fears of his mother, and the recency of his father's death. It was not without a very long and tedious conversation, that we obtained from the khans the appointment of a time for our receiving, from the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, his own determination on the proposition communicated to the two khans. The interview was at length fixed for the next day.

APPEN-

* All the authority conveyed by the will to these khans, is contained in the Persian word *Imdad*, which literally signifies 'assistance.'

† This contradicts, in the most direct terms, Najeeb Khan's expressions of surprize on this subject, in the first conference.

‡ He is nearly eighteen years old.

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APPENDIX *to the Third Day's Conference.*

Translation of a Paper delivered by NAJEEB KHAN *Behauder*, SALAR JUNG, *and* MAHOMMED TUKHIA ALLY KHAN *Behauder, to Mr.* WEBBE, *and Lieut.-Col.* CLOSE, *on the 16th of July* 1801.

In as much as we are jointly employed in a business of trust, and are desirous of adhering to the will of our late lord and master, we have accordingly considered, with great attention, the matters which have been stated on each side during our conversations; and although we do not remember, word by word, what has been urged by each party, we yet recollect the substance of what passed. You explained to us that Marquis Wellesley Behauder had shewn himself displeased with the intention of the conduct of the late nabob, in maintaining a correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, the late ruler of Mysore; and that in consequence the son of the late nabob (we mean our present benevolent and gracious master,) had forfeited his right to the protection of the Company. We cannot, gentlemen, speak positively as to the writings alluded to, but from our knowledge of the temper, disposition, and sentiments of the late nabob, we are impressed with a full assurance, that he was incapable of acting contrary to his own dignity, and the engagements of his alliance, which he ever respected; and indeed we ourselves know, that he never corresponded with any power in Hindustan, unless by means of the Company; and the Company were well acquainted with the correspondence which did take place, and which consisted only of letters couched in warm expressions of congratulation or condolence. If, besides the correspondence of this description, any writings have come to light, containing the matters of which you have read to us a short abstract, we apprehend that they have originated with evil persons, for the purpose of shaking the friendship and union so long established between the late nabob and the company. Nor do we believe that the company, on mature consideration, can hold it to be true, that the late nabob engaged in a correspondence contrary to their interests; and, adverting to the amicable and friendly behaviour observed by the company till the last moments of the nabob, the whole world will be impressed that they entertained no such suspicions; and with us it is matter of regret, that at a juncture when the nabob is deprived of the means of justification, his reputation should be publicly injured. But, gentlemen, without dwelling on these matters, we consider ourselves as being honoured with the office of agent on the part of the present heir, according to the will of his illustrious father; and we have to observe, that you, gentlemen, have seen that will, and been made acquainted with the power which it has vested in Sahib Zahah, the present heir. The said heir, according to the law and rules which hold among us regarding succession, is found to inherit the whole of the rights and state of his father, and is in every respect the true hereditary successor of his father. In this case he has specially derived protection from the treaty of 1792 A.D. and we have held ourselves bound on his part by the said treaty from the moment we entered on this great charge, namely, the care of the person and government of the said heir. Gentlemen, without adverting to any of the contents of the above treaty, you have, on the part of the governor-general behauder, demanded of us, who are the agents of the said heir, either to deliver the heir aforesaid and his kingdom, entirely into the hands of the governor-general, or to communicate our inclinations respecting such an arrangement as would be assented to by the governor-general. We were happy, gentlemen, that you did not insist on an immediate answer to your demands; as in the interval that has taken place, we have minutely considered your demands, as well as the trust that has been confided in us; and we apprehend, that when you made the said demand, the treaty of 1792 A.D. was not in your contemplation, for the said heir, successor of the late nabob, is clearly included in the treaty aforesaid. In this case the said heir has become the protector of the agreements and stipulations of his illustrious father, and has succeeded to the right, to benefit by the stipulations of the company contained in the said treaty; and we are ready to abide in the fullest manner to every point that he has agreed to therein. We have not said that we were unwilling to agree to any treaty *besides that above-mentioned*; on the contrary, we are prepared to hear any demands that may be proposed, and to exert ourselves to the extent of our ability for the purpose of adjusting them. We do not perceive much defect in the means long established by the treaty, for promoting the security and union of both sides. In every event, if it can be modified for the interest of the company, the aforesaid

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aforesaid heir will be happy at all times to attend to any wish that you may communicate; nor would we say that we should consider ourselves fortunate in being the means of adjusting so desirable an arrangement. We must infer, that you could scarcely hope that the demand, at which you hinted at the first meeting, and so clearly explained at the second that it could not be misunderstood, would be accepted; as, gentlemen, you well know that, we who are charged with the care of the country, and the affairs of the heir, have no authority to engage in such disaffection and faithlessness, as to deliver up, unconditionally, the whole rights and property of our master, and commit him and his family, in a state of want and subjection, to the company. We cannot therefore comprehend the substance and meaning of your demand, more than that it occurs to us that you have proposed a heavy demand to us, in the first instance, under the idea, that it might be diminished at future conferences; and that you might ascertain our sentiments, touching a fresh agreement for renewing the friendship and union that has so long subsisted between the company and the nabob of the Carnatic.

Gentlemen, with the view to meet the just wishes of the company, we have considered the objects and advantages which were often mentioned to the late nabob, and we have resolved to act in conformity to them to the extent of our ability; and regarding them as the best foundations for an arrangement, we now present a separate paper, containing a few correspondent propositions; and in the event of their being approved, they may be easily inserted in the treaty of 1792 A.D. the happy effects of which have been witnessed by the company and by us. We hope that in these propositions we have strongly demonstrated the will of the heir, as well as ours, to promote the true interest of the company, without entirely sacrificing the rights of the heir, which are committed to our care; and we trust that, considering what we have stated above, our motive for bringing forward the propositions alluded to, must be clear beyond the possibility of doubt. Adverting to the responsibility we sustain, from the great affairs and interests in which we are engaged, we have to request that you will deliver to us in writing, any demands you may wish to state in reply, in order that we may be free from any imputations hereafter. We are confident that you will consider the delicate circumstances which have led us to this request, and allow them to plead our excuse.

(Signed) Mahommed Najeeb Khan.
Salar Jung.
Mahommed Tukhia Ally Khan, Behauder.

Translation of Propositions from the Heir.

Article I.—He cedes to the Company sovereign authority over the Poligars; but the Company shall give credit for two lacks sixty thousand seven hundred and four star pagodas, on account of the Poligar peishcush, in the kists of the nine lacks payable each year.

Art. II.—The heir grants full authority to the Company to collect the revenues, &c. of the following districts:—The revenues of these districts are detailed below, but they amount to more; viz.

	Star Pagodas.
Tinevelly	406,508
Madura	64,945
Ongole	13,534
Palnaad	24,657

The amount of these two articles, including the Poligar peishcush, is 854,848 star pagodas; and this sum being deducted from the nine lacks payable each year, leaves a balance of 45,152 star pagodas.

Art. III.—The sum of 45,152 star pagodas, which is the balance of the nine lacks allotted to defray the expence for the defence of the Carnatic, and the sum of 621,105 star pagodas, which is allotted to discharge the debts of the nabob Walajah, according to the treaty, will be paid to the Company yearly by the heir; and shall be discharged in ten equal kists, from the 1st to the 15th of each month, from the beginning of September to the month of June; and on the debts of the nabob Walajah being discharged, the payment of the sum of 621,105 star pagodas shall cease, and the sum 45,152 star pagodas only shall continue to be paid yearly, agreeably to the stipulations of 1792; and the whole of the contents of this paper shall be considered as referring to the said treaty.

Art. IV.—After the discharge of the above debts, the heir shall liquidate the new cavalry loan, and he will not only acknowledge that debt, but also the interest due on it.

Art. V.—In the event of failure in the payment of the kists stipulated in the third article, then those parts of the treaty of 1792 shall be carried into effect, which relates

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relate to the diſtricts detailed in the ſchedule, No. 2, of the ſaid treaty, and which according to the 2d article of this paper, have not been tranſferred; and with the exception of the matters modified as above, the whole of the articles of the treaty of 1792 ſhall continue in full force.

The heir, out of his regard and friendſhip for the Company, will make over to the Company, as an act of favour, the whole of his rights touching the pearl fiſhery.

July 18.—Having perſonally communicated to your lordſhip our ſuſpicion, founded on the anxiety of the two khans to prevent our interview with the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah, that their conduct might not be conformable to the wiſhes and intentions of that perſon, your lordſhip authorized and inſtructed us to communicate to Mr. Fitzgerald (the confidential phyſician of the late nabob), who had perſonal acceſs to his highneſs's reputed ſon, the actual exiſtence of the governor-general's orders, and your lordſhip's poſitive determination to execute thoſe orders, for the purpoſe of obtaining an adequate ſecurity for the rights and intereſts of the Britiſh government in the Carnatic. Such parts of the governor-general's orders as were ſufficient to remove all doubt on this ſubject, were accordingly communicated to Mr. Fitzgerald, from his excellency's original diſpatches. It being neceſſary, in conformity to this intention, that farther time ſhould be allowed for the operation of this indirect communication, the interview appointed for to-day was poſtponed; and reaſon exiſts for believing that as far as the opinion of Mr. Fitzgerald was allowed to have effect, the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah, as well as his two adviſers, Najeeb Khan and Tukhia Ally Khan, were, in the courſe of this day, apprized of the actual circumſtances in which they ſtood, through the channel of a confidential perſon, who could have no intereſt in augmenting the appearance of the danger which actually menaced the immediate intereſts of Ally Huſſain.

Although this tranſaction forms no part of our public negociation, we have judged it to be proper to include it in the official report of this day. It will demonſtrate that no care was omitted, which could conciliate the mind of Ally Huſſain, and of his appointed adviſers.

July 19.—We proceeded about noon to the palace. We inquired whether a further conſideration of the ſubject of our conferences had created in the minds of the two khans any alteration of their ſentiments delivered at the laſt interview? They replied, without heſitation, that it was not the intention of Ally Huſſain to recede from the terms communicated to us in a written paper at the laſt interview: we then ſtated our belief, that under that declaration they were prepared for the ſerious conſequences of the alternative frequently deſcribed to them. The khans replied, with much apparent compoſure and reſolution, that they were prepared to meet thoſe conſequences, on their reſponſibility, under a perfect reliance on the protection of the Company, and on its adherence to the exiſting engagements. We reminded the khans that it was uſeleſs to recur to the ſtipulations of the treaty of 1792, the vital ſpirit of which had been annihilated, and that the violation of Omdut ul Omrah's engagement had conſtituted the right of the Company to demand the ſecurity now required.

The reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah being, at our deſire, introduced according to the former appointment, we excuſed our intruſion on his grief, by explaining our unwillingneſs

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willingneſs to receive from any perſon but himſelf the final rejection of a propoſition, made with great indulgence to him, on the part of the Britiſh government, and involving conſequences of the greateſt importance to his immediate intereſts. We then ſtated, in a ſuccinct manner, the nature of that propoſition, with the concluſive rejection of it by his appointed adviſers; and expreſſed our deſire of knowing whether the motives of the khans for thus rejecting, at ſuch apparent hazard to his welfare, the friendſhip of the Company, were conformable to his own ſentiments and reſolution. He replied (the khans being preſent) that he conſidered them to have been appointed by his father for the purpoſe of aſſiſting him; and that the object of his own councils was not to ſeparate from that of the khans.

According to the plan previouſly arranged by your lordſhip for this probable event, we made known, without farther delay, your lordſhip's intention of holding a perſonal conference with Ally Huſſain (previouſly to the final adoption of the meaſures then in your lordſhip's contemplation.)—This communication was unexpected, and the khans endeavoured to evade it by repeating the excuſes they had uſed at the former interview; but, being aſſured that your lordſhip's orders in this reſpect admitted of no excuſe, the khans retired at the ſame time for the purpoſe of preparing the equipage of Ally Huſſain. During this ſhort interval, the young man, with much apparent anxiety in his manner, whiſpered in a low tone of voice, that he had been deceived by the two khans. Ally Huſſain accordingly proceeded, without farther communication with the two khans, to the tent of the officer commanding the troops at Chepauk, at which place we had the honour of a perſonal interview with your lordſhip.

After the firſt ceremonies of the meeting had ſubſided, the attendants of Ally Huſſain, including Najeeb Khan, and Tukhia Ally Khan, were directed to withdraw, and the tent was rendered entirely private. Before your lordſhip's intention in this interview could be entirely explained, Ally Huſſain interrupted the converſation by expreſſing his ſenſe of your lordſhip's conſideration. He then proceeded to ſtate, of his own accord, that the conferences had been conducted by the two khans without his participation in their councils; and that he diſapproved the termination which had in conſequence been given to the negociation.

In conſequence of this avowal, the entire ſubſtance of the conferences was recapitulated to Ally Huſſain, the nature of the proofs of the violation of the alliance was diſtinctly deſcribed, and the extent of the ſecurity required by the Britiſh government conciſely explained. Ally Huſſain, after ſtating that he comprehended the whole of this important queſtion, declared himſelf ready to conclude an arrangement with the Britiſh government on the baſis of the propoſition communicated by us to the two khans. He then proceeded to make inquiries into the ſecondary branches of the arrangement in your lordſhip's contemplation, particularly with reſpect to the proviſion for his perſonal expences, and to the extent of his power over the public treaſure of his father, which he conſidered to be large. After a deſultory converſation of ſome length, interrupted by the importunity of Najeeb Khan, Ally Huſſain propoſed that a treaty ſhould be prepared by

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us, upon the basis of vesting the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic in the hands of the Company; and stated, that he would be ready to execute the instrument, with or without the consent of the khans, at another separate conference, which was appointed for the next day, within the lines of the British troops.

July 20.—According to the appointment of yesterday, we proceeded to the palace of Chepauk; and Ally Hussain having been introduced to us, said, in a resolute tone of voice, and with more apparent firmness in his manner than we had before observed, that the two khans had been appointed by his father's will to assist his councils; that he could not adopt a line of conduct inconsistent with their advice; and that therefore any farther interview with your lordship was unnecessary.

These expressions we attributed to Ally Hussain's desire of concealing his real sentiments in the presence of the khans; and proceeded to state, that the conference of yesterday having been interrupted by the importunity of Najeeb Khan, your lordship was resolved to bring it to a termination at the interview appointed for this day. We accordingly attended Ally Hussain to the tent, which having been again rendered entirely private, the young man stated, in the same tone of confidence, that this interview was unnecessary, as it was impossible for him to deviate from the sentiments already expressed by the two khans. This unexpected change of sentiments in the mind of Ally Hussain having excited some surprize, your lordship desired that he should explain himself more distinctly.—In reply he stated, that he was aware the sentiments now expressed by him differed entirely from those expressed on the preceding day; that the truth was, he had seriously reflected on the subject of yesterday's conference; that the whole family had been assembled to deliberate on the state of his affairs; that he had in consequence given a better consideration to the actual circumstances in which he was placed; that he retracted the opinion communicated to your lordship yesterday; and that he considered it to be totally incompatible with his interests and honour to accede to the proposition, on the basis of which he had agreed to conclude the treaty.

We reminded him, by your lordship's direction, of the deception stated by himself to have been used by the khans, and expressed our confidence that notwithstanding this unaccountable change of his ostensible manner, the genuine sentiments of his mind were expressed at the conference of yesterday. He said, that this was not the case; that he had spoken at that time from an hasty impression; but that the sentiments, which he now declared, were the result of serious reflection, and of a conviction on his mind, that by pursuing this line of conduct, he should adhere to the intention of his father and to the real interests of his family. We stated in reply, that he deceived himself, if he encouraged any expectation of securing the interests of his family on any other basis than that of an amicable adjustment, for the alternative choice was either to become the acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, or one of many pensioners dependent on the bounty of the Company; that the choice, which he now appeared to have made, was so inconsistent with prudence, as to justify our considering him to act under some improper restraint.—We proceeded therefore to explain, that

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that he was now actually within the British encampment; and that if he apprehended any consequences of personal danger or inconvenience from the pursuit of the genuine wishes of his heart, your lordship would immediately secure him against any insults he might apprehend, by keeping him under the protection of the Company's forces. He replied, that he acted from no impression of that description; but that the sentiments which he now expressed contained the genuine feelings of his heart.

We expressed your lordship's and our own suspicion, that he had been encouraged by interested persons to disbelieve the existence of the orders from the governor-general, under the authority of which the fundamental proposition of the negociations had been stated to him, and we inquired whether he had received, from Mr. Fitzgerald, any communication on that subject.—Ally Hussain answered, that Mr. Fitzgerald had spoken to him on the subject; and that his determination was not governed by any distrust of our communications relative to the orders of the governor-general. We explained our allusion to the advice of interested persons, by stating, that those who held tunkaws or other claims on the Carnatic, were deeply interested in persuading him to resist an amicable negotiation; because in the event of an amicable adjustment for vesting the civil government in the hands of the Company, they could have no hope of recovering those claims; whereas those hopes would still be cherished as long as he should be persuaded to keep the affairs of the Carnatic in an unsettled state. We further stated, that the principles of persons of that description encouraged every expectation that they would be desirous of sacrificing the permanent interests and honour of his family to the attainment of their immediate advantage: we added, that such persons, as well as the general body of his father's creditors, would feel an interest in persuading him to reject the proposition now offered to him, and to cherish a belief that the measures of this government would be disapproved by the court of directors, and that the arrangement, which he might compel your lordship to adopt, would be reversed. We warned Ally Hussain of the effects of such a fallacy, by assuring him that the orders of the governor-general were founded on a previous communication with the court of directors, and with his majesty's ministers; and on a knowledge that the sentiments of the government at home concurred entirely with those entertained by his excellency and by your lordship, relative to the violation of the alliance.

We were the more earnest in urging this point, with your lordship's permission, on the attention of Ally Hussain; because the projet, delivered to us at the third conference by the two khans, contains manifest proof of having been translated from an European language; and because it is equally manifest, from the tenor of that paper, that the author of it was interested in excluding the executive government in India from participating in the administration of the funds, now allotted by treaty to the liquidation of the consolidated debts of the nabob Mahomed Ally.

Ally Hussain denied that he acted from any motives derived from the persuasion of others, and repeated that his choice was now founded on his determination to adhere to the councils of the khans, appointed by his

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his father's will to affift him, and finally to reject the arrangement which had been propoſed to him. We enquired whether he clearly underſtood the conſequences of that determination with reſpect to himſelf; he ſaid, that it had been clearly explained to him; but that, notwithſtanding the explanation, he aſſured himſelf of the favour and protection of the company, as well as of your lordſhip's paternal care. In proceeding to conclude the conference, your lordſhip deſired Ally Huſſain to prepare himſelf to receive your lordſhip's final and moſt ſerious reſolution. It was then explained to him, that no pains had been omitted, which could warn him of the conſequences he was about to incur; that the duties of humanity towards him, and the duties of attention to the national character of the Britiſh government had been ſatisfied; that he had himſelf determined the ſituation in which he would hereafter be placed, and that your lordſhip, with concern for himſelf individually, now apprized him, that his future ſituation would be that of a private perſon, hoſtile to the Britiſh intereſts, and dependent on the bounty of the Company.

This declaration Ally Huſſain received with a degree of compoſure and confidence, which denoted that he acted from no impreſſion of fear; and a ſmile of complacency, which appeared on his countenance throughout this diſcuſſion, denoted an internal ſatisfaction at the line of conduct he was purſuing. Being aſked if he wiſhed to make any further obſervation, he ſaid that he did not; and being alſo aſked whether he had any objection to the introduction of the khans into the tent, he ſaid that he had none; which being accordingly done, he was directed by your lordſhip to leave the tent.

July 21ſt.—Your lordſhip having communicated to us your intention to open, if poſſible, a negociation with the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah; endeavours were accordingly uſed to eſtabliſh a communication with him, but it was found that ſo a ſtrict watch had been eſtabliſhed over him by the adherents of Omdut ul Omrah, that no means appeared to be practicable for opening a private communication with him; while any attempt to effect it by open means appeared liable to the ſerious objection of precipitating the fate of the young prince.

July 22d.—In this ſituation of things it was reported to your lordſhip, by the officer commanding the troops at Chepauk, that Najeeb Khan and Tukhia Ally Khan had already performed the ceremony of inſtalling Ally Huſſain in a private manner on the Muſnud of Arcot; and that they had reſolved to inſtal him in a public manner on the following day.

Your lordſhip reſolved to prevent a meaſure calculated to produce immediate commotion in the provinces of the Carnatic; for that purpoſe Lieutenant-colonel MacNeil was directed to take poſſeſſion of the palace of Chepauk with the Britiſh troops; and to remove entirely all the guards of the late Omdut ul Omrah, who had been permitted to remain at their poſts during the late negociations. This meaſure eſtabliſhed the immediate means of relieving Azeem ul Dowlah; and a party of the company's troops was ſubſtituted at the hovel in which that prince was confined, in lieu of the guards ſtationed over it by the adherents of Omdut ul Omrah.

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As soon as the first surprise of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah permitted him to receive an explanation, that the guard was intended for his greater security and protection, he expressed his satisfaction at the change, together with the desire of being permitted to explain his situation.

July 22d.—On the morning of this day Lieutenant Colonel MacNeil waited upon the prince Azeem ul Dowlah, for the ostensible purpose of excusing and explaining to him the cause of stationing a party of the Company's troops over the place in which he resided. Lieutenant Colonel MacNeil took this opportunity of informing the prince, that if he should have any desire of representing the state of his affairs to the British government, the means of doing so without danger had now been opened to him.

In consequence of this communication, a time was appointed by your lordship's directions for our meeting the prince Azeem ul Dowlah. At the interview which ensued, the conversation on the part of the prince was confined to a statement of the injuries which he had sustained, and of the hardships he continued to sustain, from the depression of his fortune, and from the poverty of his circumstances. He requested, with much earnestness, that his case might be considered in the general arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, and appeared to limit his expectation to a more comfortable domestic arrangement for his family. Sufficient grounds however appeared in the course of the conversation, to satisfy our judgment, that the prince was capable of sustaining a more important character, and that his sense of his own immediate interests would dispose him to meet, with cordiality, any overture on the part of the British government, for reviving, in his person, the alliance so long subsisting between the Company and his family.

The conversation ended with an assurance, on our part, of your lordship's immediate attention to Azeem ul Dowlah's difficulties, and to the provision of a more suitable accommodation for his family.

July 24th.—An interview having been appointed for communicating to the prince this day the result of your lordship's consideration of his case, we met him at an early hour in the tent of Lieutenant Colonel MacNeil.—The conversation was opened by some distant observations on the state in which the affairs of the Carnatic had been placed by the death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah; and the remarks of the prince continuing, in our judgment, to be favourable to the impression we had received of his understanding and disposition, we proceeded to explain to him the actual situation in which the whole house of Mahommed Ally had been placed, in consequence of the violation of the alliance by that prince, and by his successor Omdut ul Omrah. The curiosity of the prince being naturally excited by this conversation, connected with his previous knowledge of the manner in which the conferences with Ally Hussain had terminated, we proceeded to disclose to the prince the nature of the rights acquired by the Company; the indispensable necessity of exercising those rights for the establishment of an adequate security for our interests in the Carnatic; and the great reluctance with which the British government would feel itself compelled to use its power for the attainment of that object, which could not fail of producing the entire humilia-

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tion of the houſe of Mahommed Ally.

A long deſultory converſation enſued on the different points of this queſtion, the ſubſtance of which has been ſtated in an earlier paſſage of this report, and it ended in a declaration of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah, of his acknowledgment of the right acquired by the Company under the diſcovery made at Seringapatam; and of his readineſs to afford, in the event of his elevation to the muſnud, that ſatisfaction and ſecurity which your lordſhip and the governor general had deemed to be neceſſary to the preſervation of our intereſts in the Carnatic.

Having accordingly deſcribed to the prince the entire outline of the arrangement propoſed for the ſettlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, on the baſis of this propoſition, it was agreed that the arrangement ſhould be prepared in the form of a treaty, to be diſcuſſed at an interview appointed for the next day.

July 25th.—Having accordingly prepared the draft of the treaty, we proceeded to the tent for the purpoſe of diſcuſſing with the prince Azeem ul Dowlah the general principles, and the particular articles of the agreement propoſed by your lordſhip.

The prince having acceded to the fundamental articles, in conformity to his acknowledgment of the preceding day, directed his attention to that article which ſtipulates, that a fund ſhall be appropriated for the expence of maintaining the family of the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah: he ſtated, that although it could not be incumbent on him to interrupt on this account an arrangement ſo beneficial to the different branches of the family, and to himſelf in particular, he yet felt it to be intimately connected with his reputation and honour to urge their ſituation upon your lordſhip's moſt indulgent conſideration. We explained, in conſequence, to Azeem ul Dowlah, that the motives of the Britiſh government for entering into any diſcuſſion for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing an amicable adjuſtment, could be founded on no other wiſh than that of preſerving the family from that ſtate of degradation, into which it was about to have been precipitated, by the faithleſs conduct and by the perverſe ſpirit of the councils of its principal members; and we reminded the prince, that in making him the inſtrument of reeſtabliſhing the alliance, it was neceſſary to furniſh him with the moſt powerful means of ſecuring the attachment of the family, by rendering the amount of the ſtipends or jaghires to be allotted for its ſupport dependant on the pleaſure of the Britiſh government; which communication with his highneſs would proceed to apportion the amount to be appropriated for this purpoſe, according to the merits of the individuals concerned.

In diſcuſſing that part of the treaty which ſtipulates the acknowledgment of the debts due by his anceſtors to the Company, the prince expreſſed his ſenſe of the reaſonableneſs of that ſtipulation; but ſtated diſtinctly and repeatedly, that he did not conſider himſelf involved by that article in any perſonal reſponſibility for the amount of theſe or of any other debts. We expreſſed our entire concurrence in his highneſs's interpretation of the article; and a clauſe was added to the article, for the expreſs purpoſe of obviating any doubt on this point.

The remaining clauſes of the propoſed treaty having been diſcuſſed and aſſented to, the prince affixed his

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his ſignature to a Perſian draft of the propoſed treaty, binding himſelf to execute a more formal inſtrument at the period of his intended inſtallation.

In concluding our report of this conference, we cannot omit to ſtate to your lordſhip, the impreſſion made on our minds by the decorous deportment, moderation, and good ſenſe, by which Azeem ul Dowlah diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon this ſudden elevation from a ſtate of penury and wretchedneſs to the poſſeſſion of princely magnificence, honours, and rank.

July 26th.—This morning we had the ſatisfaction of preſenting his highneſs the prince Azeem ul Dowlah in a formal manner to your lordſhip, and of ſubſequently conducting him, as the oſtenſible future nabob of the Carnatic, to the Ameer Baugh, the reſidence of his highneſs's father the late Ameer ul Omrah.

(Signed) J. Webbe,
B. Close.

No. 5.

Treaty *between the* Company *and his Highneſs the Nabob* Mahommed Ally, *dated in* 1792; *commonly called "Lord Cornwallis's Treaty."*

Treaty *between the honourable* East India Company *and the* Nabob *of* Arcot.

Whereas a certain engagement was entered into between the honourable Engliſh Eaſt India Company, and his highneſs the nabob of the Carnatic, bearing date the 24th February 1787, for the purpoſe of cementing an everlaſting friendſhip with each other, and of contributing mutually towards the defence of the Carnatic, and countries dependent thereon; whereby it was ſtipulated, that the ſaid Company ſhould maintain a military force, and that the ſaid nabob ſhould pay annually a certain ſum of money ariſing from the revenues of the Carnatic, and ſhould furniſh ſufficient and ſatisfactory ſecurity, under certain conditions expreſſed in the ſaid engagement, for the regular payment of the ſum ſtipulated to the ſaid Company: and whereas it appears, by the repreſentation of the ſaid nabob, contained in a certain letter addreſſed by him to the governor general, &c. &c. dated the 9th of June 1792, that the reſources of the Carnatic are not competent to enable him to perform the ſtipulations in the ſaid engagement: and whereas it further appears, that the ſecurity which the ſaid nabob agreed in the above-mentioned engagement to furniſh for the due payment of the ſtipulated ſum to the ſaid Company, is in its nature inadequate to the end intended: and whereas certain agreements have alſo been entered into between the ſaid Company and the ſaid nabob, for the diſcharge of certain debts due by the ſaid nabob to private perſons, it has been mutually agreed, in conſequence of the above written circumſtances, that the engagement aforeſaid ſhall henceforth be conſidered by the contracting parties as annulled, and no longer of effect or in force; and, in lieu thereof, the right honourable Charles Earl Cornwallis, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, governor-general, &c. &c. inveſted with full powers on the part of the ſaid honourable Engliſh Eaſt India Company to direct and control the affairs of the ſaid Company in the Eaſt Indies, in the name of and for the ſaid Company, their heirs and ſucceſſors, on one part, and the nabob Walajah, Ameer ul Hind,

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Omdut ul Mulk, Aſoph ul Dowlah, Unevar ul Deen Khan Behauder, Zuffer Jung, Sepah Salar, nabob of the Carnatic, in his own name, and for himſelf and his ſucceſſor, his eldeſt ſon nabob Omdut ul Omrah, Moyeen ul Mulk, Aſſud ul Dowlah Huſſein, Ally Khan Behauder, Zulficar Jung, and his heirs and ſucceſſors, on the other part, agree to the following articles, which ſhall be binding on the reſpective contracting parties for the purpoſes contained therein, notwithſtanding all or any of the conditions ſtipulated in the engagement dated the 24th February 1787, to the contrary.

Article 1ſt.—The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties ſhall be conſidered the friends and enemies of both.

Art. 2d.—In order to execute the foregoing article in its full extent, the honourable Engliſh Eaſt India Company agree to maintain a military force, and the nabob Walajah Behauder agrees to contribute annually a certain ſum of money hereinafter mentioned, as his ſhare of the expence of the ſaid military force; the ſaid nabob further agreeing that the diſpoſal of the ſaid ſum, together with the arrangement and employment of the troops ſupported by it, ſhall be left entirely to the ſaid Company.

Art. 3d.—It is hereby alſo agreed, that for the further ſecurity and defence of the countries belonging and ſubject to the contracting parties in the Carnatic, &c. that all forts ſhall be garriſoned by the troops of the ſaid Company; and in the event of war breaking out in the Carnatic and countries appertaining to either party, and dependent on the Carnatic, or contiguous thereto, it is agreed, for the better proſecution of it, that as long as it ſhall laſt, the ſaid Company ſhall poſſeſs full authority over the Carnatic, except the jaghires belonging to the family of the ſaid nabob, amounting to ſtar pagodas 2,13,911, which, on condition of the good behaviour of the jaghiredars of the ſaid jaghires, and of their fidelity to the ſaid nabob and to the ſaid Company, ſhall be continued to them, ſubject to the pleaſure of the ſaid nabob only, and except alſo certain charities amounting to ſtar pagodas 21,366, ſubject to the ſame conditions as are mentioned with reſpect to the jaghires, and ſhall collect the revenues thereof, the ſaid Company hereby engaging that, during ſuch war, they will pay to the ſaid nabob one-fifth ſhare of the net revenue ariſing therefrom; and that at the concluſion of the war, the Carnatic ſhall be reſtored to the ſaid nabob, except in certain caſes, which are hereinafter mentioned.

Art. 4th.—The nabob Walajah agrees to pay to the ſaid Company, for the purpoſe of mutual defence, the ſum of nine lacks of ſtar pagodas annually, as his ſhare of the expence for the military force; and alſo in conſequence of certain agreements entered into by him with the ſaid Company, and guarantied by the parliament of Great Britain, for the purpoſe of liquidating certain debts due by the ſaid nabob, a further ſum of 621,105 ſtar pagodas annually, which further ſum of 621,105 ſtar pagodas ſhall ceaſe on the full liquidation of the debts above mentioned, and the ſum of 900,000 of ſtar pagodas only ſhall continue to be paid by the ſaid nabob to the ſaid Company.

Art. 5th.—The ſaid nabob having agreed to pay the aggregate ſum of 1,521,105 ſtar pagodas, as mentioned in the 4th article, determines

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termines that the tributes or peſhcuſh, payable by the poligars, as more particularly mentioned in the ſchedule No. 1, hereunto annexed, ſhall be collected by the ſaid Company, who agree to make the collection thereof, at their own expence and riſk; and that they will not increaſe the demand on the ſaid poligars beyond the ſum mentioned in the ſaid ſchedule, except in the caſe hereinafter mentioned, nor charge to the ſaid nabob, either the expence attending the collection, or any deficiencies that may ariſe thereon, but will give credit to the ſaid nabob annually for the aforeſaid tributes or peſhcuſh, in part payment of the ſum of nine lacks of ſtar pagodas above mentioned, without any deduction whatever; although the contracting parties have, in the preſent inſtrument, agreed that the ſum of 264,704 pagodas 20*f.* 26*c.* be deducted from the ſum of nine lacks of pagodas, as the amount of the tributes or peſhcuſh from the poligars; yet, ſhould it on future inquiry appear that the ſaid poligars ought, by virtue of any exiſting and lawful engagements, to pay a larger ſum, it ſhall be demanded of them; and any addition that ſhall thus be made to the ſums mentioned in the ſaid ſchedule, ſhall be deducted from the ſum of nine lacks, in like manner with the ſum of 264,704 : 20 : 26; and a ſimilar deduction ſhall in conſequence be made in the kiſtbundy hereinafter mentioned. It is however mutually agreed, that the diminution of this aggregate ſum, which ſhall take place on the full liquidation of the debts as ſpecified in the 4th article, ſhall make no change in this article, which ſhall, notwithſtanding ſuch diminution, remain in full force.

Art. 6*th.*—The ſaid Company, deſirous of preſerving the rights of ſovereignty over the ſaid poligars to the ſaid nabob, engage, to the utmoſt of their power, and conſiſtent with the realization of the tributes or peſhcuſh from them, to enforce the allegiance and ſubmiſſion of the ſaid poligars to the ſaid nabob in all cuſtomary ceremonies, and in furniſhing the poligar peons according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom for the collection of the revenues, the ſupport of government, and for the protection of the property of the inhabitants of the ſaid nabob's country, promiſing that all acts of authority ſhall be exerciſed in, and all accounts of revenue (of which accounts the ſaid nabob, if he ſo wiſhes, ſhall be annually furniſhed with copies) ſhall bear his the ſaid nabob's name. For the better execution of this and the 5th article, the ſaid nabob promiſes to furniſh to the ſaid Company, that is to ſay, to their repreſentatives the preſident and council of Fort St. George, the neceſſary orders, under his ſeal and ſignature, addreſſed to each poligar, and to the purport hereof, without delay.

Art. 7*th.*—After deducting from the above-mentioned ſum of nine lacks of ſtar pagodas, which forms a part of the aggregate ſum of 1,521,105 ſtar pagodas, mentioned in the 5th article, the amount of the tributes or peſhcuſh from the poligars, as ſpecified in the ſchedule No. 1, the ſaid nabob agrees to pay annually the remaining ſum, being 685,295 : 15 : 54, together with the further ſum of 621,105 for the purpoſe mentioned in the 4th article, making the ſum of ſtar pagodas 1,256,400 : 15 : 54 —at the following periods:

On the 1ſt September	100,000
1ſt October	100,000
Carry over	200,000

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Brought over	200,000
On the 1st November	100,000
1st December	100,000
1st January	100,000
1st February	100,000
1st March	150,000
1st April	150,000
1st May	200,000
1st June	156,400:15:54
Star Pagodas,	12,56,400:15:54.

And it is mutually agreed, that on the full liquidation of the debts before mentioned, when the payment of the sum of star pagodas 621,105, shall cease by virtue of the 4th article, a reduction in equal proportion shall take place in the above instalments.

Art. 8th.—The said nabob engages to make good to the said Company the payments of the sums, according to the instalments or kistbundy contained in the 7th article; and if, contrary to his sincere intentions and exertions, any of the said sums shall not be fully paid at the expiration of fifteen days from the time limited, in that case the said nabob agrees, that the said Company shall assume the management of and make the collection of the revenues from the districts mentioned in the schedule No. 2, hereunto annexed, according to the following conditions; and for this the present engagement shall be considered sufficient authority, the said Company, through their president and council at Fort St. George, giving immediate and explicit information, according to the tenor thereof, to the said nabob, who shall, on the arrival of the Company's officers in the said district, recal all his officers, except one in each district; which officer shall remain at the Sudder Cutcherry, and shall be furnished annually, by the officer of the said Company, with copies of the Sudder Cutcherry accounts, of the gross collections, and of the net receipts, under the attestation of the officer of the said Company, and of the Sudder Omlah of the district.

First—The said Company shall assume the management of such district or districts, the revenue of which, after deducting the charges of collections, shall equal the amount of the kist which shall have fallen in arrear.

Second—The said Company agree, that a deduction shall take place proportionably from the amount of each of the ten kists above mentioned, equal to the amount of the net revenue of the district or districts which shall have been assumed as above, such deduction commencing from the day that the assumption shall take place. It is also mutually agreed, that an account, called balance account, shall be immediately opened for this and other purposes hereinafter mentioned, bearing an interest of 8 per cent. per annum, between the said nabob and the said Company; in which the said nabob shall be debited for the balance accrued in his above stipulated payments, and also for the amount deducted as above from the ten kists, and shall be credited for the net revenue collected from the said district or districts, the said Company continuing to exercise authority in, and to make the collections from the same, until, in consequence of the full liquidation of the debts and diminution of the annual sum, to be for that purpose paid by the nabob to the said Company, according to the 4th article, the said balance account shall be equal on the debit and credit side, and nothing shall remain due to the said Company;—then the said district or districts shall revert to the management of the said nabob.

Third

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Third—Whenever the ſaid diſtrict or diſtricts thus aſſumed ſhall be reſtored, according to the above condition, it is agreed, that in caſe of any of the kiſts for the ſum remaining (after the deduction of the ſum of 621,105 ſtar pagodas; that is to ſay, for the ſum of pagodas 635,295 15*f.* 54*c.*) be not paid fifteen days after the expiration of the time limited, the ſaid Company ſhall poſſeſs equal power to aſſume the diſtricts mentioned in the ſaid ſchedule, No. 2, as in the firſt inſtance, and ſhall accordingly aſſume ſuch diſtrict or diſtricts, the revenue of which, after deducting the charges of collection, ſhall equal the amount of the kiſt which ſhall have fallen in arrear, from which they ſhall realize the balance that ſhall have ariſen in the payment of the kiſts, and ſhall give credit to the ſaid nabob for the ſurplus and ſubſequent net revenues, in part payment of the ſum of ſtar pagodas, 635,295, 15*f.* 54*c.* And in this caſe the management of the diſtrict or diſtricts thus aſſumed ſhall for ever continue in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid Company; any thing contained in the 3d article of the preſent engagement to the contrary notwithſtanding: and the ſaid Company agree to give the nabob credit for the revenue ariſing therefrom.

Fourth—In order to prevent any loſs ariſing to either party from this meaſure, it is mutually agreed, that the diſtrict or diſtricts which ſhall thus be aſſumed by the ſaid Company, ſhall be entire, as mentioned in the ſaid ſchedule, and not parts of diſtricts.

Fifth—In conſequence of this meaſure, whereby the diſtricts mentioned in the ſchedule No. 2, become reſponſible for any arrears that may accrue in the payment of the above ſtipulated kiſts, the ſaid nabob agrees that he will not grant tunkaws or aſſignments on any account on the revenues thereof; and if, contrary to this condition, any tunkaws or aſſignments ſhould exiſt, where the ſaid diſtricts or any of them ſhall be aſſumed by the ſaid Company, ſuch tunkaws or aſſignments ſhall be declared by the ſaid Company and the ſaid nabob to be of no value, nor ſhall they remain in effect.

Sixth—It is agreed between the contracting parties, that the above deſcribed balance account ſhall be annually adjuſted, and a committee, conſiſting of four reſpectable and capable perſons, of which two ſhall be nominated by the ſaid Company, and two by the ſaid nabob, ſhall aſſemble on the 1ſt day of Auguſt of every year, commencing with 1793, for the purpoſe of adjuſting and drawing out a fair and equitable ſtatement thereof.

Art. 9th.—In caſe the ſaid nabob ſhall, at any time, have occaſion for any number of troops for the collection of his revenues, the ſupport of his authority, or the good order and government of his country, the ſaid Company agree to furniſh a ſufficient number of troops for that purpoſe, on public repreſentation being made by the ſaid nabob to the preſident and council of Fort St. George, of the neceſſity of employing ſuch troops, and of the objects to be obtained thereby. And the ſaid nabob agrees to defray the additional expence of ſuch troops, ſo long as they may be employed at his requeſt; this additional expence being the ſum over and above the expence of ſuch troops while in garriſon or at fixed quarters; and it ſhall be at the option of the ſaid nabob to reimburſe the ſaid ſurplus expence, either on the concluſion of the ſervice on which ſuch

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troops may have been employed, in money, or to add it to the debit side of the account called balance account, and more particularly explained in the second condition of the 8th article.

Art. 10*th.*—The said nabob shall receive regular information of all negociations which shall relate to declaring war or making peace, wherein the said Company may engage, and the interest of the Carnatic and its dependencies may be concerned; and the said nabob shall be considered as an ally of the said Company in all treaties which shall in any respect affect the Carnatic and countries depending thereon, or belonging to either of the contracting parties contiguous thereto; and the said nabob agrees, that he will not enter into any negociation or political correspondence with any European or native power, without the consent of the said Company.

This treaty, consisting of ten articles, and having two schedules annexed thereto, marked No. 1 and No. 2, shall be in force and have effect from the 12th day of July 1792; and the contracting parties having affixed their respective seals and signatures to two counterparts on the date undermentioned; that is to say, the right honourable Charles Earl Cornwallis, K. G. Governor-general, &c. &c. &c. shall affix his seal and signature to one counterpart, on the part of the Honourable English East-India Company; and the nabob Walajah Behauder, nabob of the Carnatic, shall affix his seal and signature to another counterpart, shall be exchanged.

(A true copy.)

(Signed) G. F. CHERRY,

Per. Transl. to the Gov. Gen.

Signed and sealed at Chepauk-House, this 12th day of July 1792.

SCHEDULE No. 1.

LIST *of* POLYGARS, *with the Amount of their respective Tributes or Peishcush, as mentioned and referred to in the 5th Article of the accompanying Treaty, in force from the 12th Day of July* 1792, *corresponding with the 22d Day of Zekhaida,* 1206 *Hejirah.*

									St.	*Pag.*	*F.*	*C.*
Canaar Yackum Nair,	—	—	Vencategherry	—					21,673	10	64	
Vencataput Nair,	—	—	Caleshe	—					10,775	0	0	
Juppaty Rammanaud,	—	—	Sydapoor *Mad. P.*		6,000	0	0		6,600	0	0	
Bomrauze	—	—	—						32,586	9	0	
Princewafs Row	—	—	— Arnee	*Rupees*	10,000	0	0		2,857	5	11	
Butchey Naik	—	—	— Marangapoory		12,093	12	0					
Lingama Naik	—	—	— Nallum	—	8,598	12	0					
Zongama Naik	—	—	— Comavandy	—	10,483	12	0					
Sammy Naik	—	—	— Ramgunny	—	11,731	4	0					
Mootea Naik	—	—	— Petta Molingy	—	9,556	4	0					
Combia Naik	—	—	— Venamatapotam		6,400	0	0					
Bofamopa Naik	—	—	— Youmula	—	642	2	0					
				Rupees	60,505	14	0		16,154	26	20	
Maduram Sing Pettaputty Ramnautporam	—	—	—						62,857	5	11	
Warriar Tarvar, Mapilla in the room of the Ranee and infant Heirefs of								Shevigungo —	50,000	0	0	
Polygars of the Diftrict	—		— Madura	—					3,751	0	0	
Varayoo Narama Vunnyan			— Shevigeruy	—	11,176	0	0					
Yefrapa Naik	—	—	— Ellaporam	—	11,176	0	0					

Madurapah

Madurapah Taven — —	— Wootamaley —	8,128	0	0	*St. Pag.*	*F. G.*
Cootala Tawen — —	— Nadoorvarcoocky	1,574	8	0		
Indera Talwen — —	— Talwencotta —	609	6	0		
Saule Talewen — —	— Soumden —	508	0	0		
Tade Talewen — —	— Cadombar —	1,016	0	0		
Nulla Cooty — —	— Lingumputty —	314	0	0		
Chaturoyen — —	— Woorcad —	304	8	0		
Choca Tulovan — —	— Maucuhy —	1,016	0	0		
Cutaboon Naik — —	— Pandlem Country	11,176	0	0		
Androoconda Vunnyan —	— Ellyarumpuny	6,096	0	0		
Numja Naik — —	— Malemondy —	1,016	0	0		
Erapa Naik — —	— Negataporam —	6,604	0	0		
Sevemaul Naik — —	— Caudelloody —	1,320	8	0		
Pedenna Naik — —	— Attingherry —	1,727	2	0		
Chinnum Naik — —	— Munnarcotta —	2,540	0	0		
Avalapa Naik — —	— Pawaly —	1,168	4	0		
Reddy Coody Vunnyan —	— Alligoopoory —	108	7	0		
Geokillapa Naik — —	— Gettaputty —	1,168	5	0		
Colingada Gundou —	— Callarputty —	6,604	0	0		
Chinnamunga Tavers —	— Chocumputta —	6,604	0	0		
Comar Naik — —	— Saupetoor —	5,791	2	0		
Golapa Naik — —	— Laudioor —	1,930	4	0		
Ena Chinnama Naik —	— Zelmurry —	1,016	0	0		
Totta pa Naik — —	— Chinnulgoody —	1,696	5	0		
Annechy Naik — —	— Colatoor —	1,016	0	0		
Tomichy Naik — —	— Parvor —	3,332	3	0		
Triffennada Tawen —	— Shatoor —	5,080	0	0		
Paule Taleren — —	— Ovideahporam —	1,224	3	0		
Vanda Tawen — —	— Gollingundon —	365	8	0		
Chuckrums, — — — —	—	103,409	5	0	57,450	0 0
	Total, *Star Pagodas*				264,704	20 26

Signed and sealed at Chepauk-House, this ——
(A true copy.) (Signed) G. F. CHERRY,
Perf. Tranſl. to the Gov. Gen.
Signed and sealed at Fort-William in Bengal, this ——

SCHEDULE, No. 2.

LIST *of the* DISTRICTS, *with the Amount of the Net Revenues from each, at which they ſhall be eſtimated and aſſumed, according to the 8th Article of the accompanying Treaty, in force from the 12th of July* 1792.

Timevelly (net revenue)	406,508	Palnaad — —	24,657
Madura — —	64,945	Northern Diviſion of the Arcot Province — —	169,404
Trichinopoly, including Warriore, Pollom, and Arrialore	251,139		
Nellore — — —	331,783	*Star Pagodas*	1,341,770
Ongole — — —	93,334		

By the firſt condition of the 8th article of the ſaid treaty, it is agreed, that the ſaid Company ſhall aſſume the management of ſuch diſtrict or diſtricts, the revenue of which, after deducting the charges of collection, ſhall equal the amount of the kiſt which ſhall have fallen in arrear. The ſaid Company therefore, by virtue of this condition, ſhall aſſume a diſtrict or diſtricts from among the above named, the net revenue of which ſhall be as near as poſſible equal to the amount of the kiſt which ſhall have fallen in arrear.

Signed and ſealed at Chepauk-Houſe, this ——
(A true copy.) (Signed) G. F. CHERRY.
Perf. Tranſl. to the Gov. Gen.
Signed and ſealed at Fort-William in Bengal, this ——

No. 6.

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No. 6.

TREATY *between the* COMPANY *and* AZEEM UL DOWLAH, *dated 31ſt July* 1801.

TREATY for ſettling the Succeſſion of the Subahdarry of the Territories of Arcot, and for veſting the Adminiſtration of the Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut, in the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies.

Whereas the ſeveral treaties which have been concluded between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies, and their highneſſes, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, have been intended to cement and identify the intereſts of the contracting parties: and whereas in conformity to the ſpirit of this alliance, the ſaid Company did, by the treaty concluded on the 12th of July 1792, with the late nabob Walajah, relinquiſh extenſive pecuniary advantages acquired by the previous treaty of 1787, with the view and on the condition of eſtabliſhing a more adequate ſecurity for the intereſts of the Britiſh government in the Carnatic; and whereas ſubſequent experience has proved that the intention of the contracting parties has not been fulfilled by the proviſions of any of the treaties heretofore concluded between them: and whereas the munſub of the ſubahdarry of the territories of Arcot has now become vacant: and whereas the right of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, founded upon the hereditary right of his father the nabob Ameer ul Omrah Behauder, to ſucceed to the rank, property, and poſſeſſions of his anceſtors, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, has been acknowledged by the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company: and whereas the ſaid Company, and his ſaid highneſs the prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, have judged it expedient that a new treaty ſhall at this time be executed, for the purpoſe of ſupplying the defects of all former engagements, and of eſtabliſhing the connection between the ſaid contracting parties on a permanent baſis of ſecurity in all times to come: wherefore the following treaty is now eſtabliſhed and concluded by the right honourable Edward Lord Clive, governor in council at Fort St. George, by and with the ſanction and authority of his excellency the moſt noble the Marquis Welleſley, K. P. governor-general in council of all the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Eaſt-Indies, on behalf of the ſaid united Company, on the one part; and by his highneſs the nabob Walajah Ameer ul Omrah, Mader ul Mulk, Ameer ul Hind, Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, Showkut Jung Sepah Salar, nabob ſubahdar of the Carnatic, on his own behalf, on the other part, for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the ſubahdarry of the territories of Arcot, and for veſting the adminiſtration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic in the united Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies.

Article 1ſt.—The right of the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, to ſucceed to the ſtate and rank, and the dignities dependent thereon, of his anceſtors, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, is hereby formally acknowledged and guarantied by the honourable Eaſt India Company to his ſaid highneſs Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, who has accordingly ſucceeded to the ſubahdarry of the territories of Arcot.

Art. 2d.—Such parts of the treaties heretofore concluded between the ſaid Eaſt India Company and their highneſſes, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, as are calculated

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culated to ſtrengthen the alliance, to cement the friendſhip, and to identify the intereſts of the contracting parties, are hereby renewed and confirmed; and accordingly the friends or enemies of the one party ſhall be conſidered to be the friends or enemies of both parties.

Art. 3d.—The honourable Company hereby charges itſelf with the maintenance and ſupport of the military force neceſſary for the defence of the Carnatic, and for the protection of the rights, perſon, and property of the ſaid nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder; and with the view of reviving the fundamental principles of the alliance between his anceſtors and the Engliſh nation, the ſaid nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder ſtipulates and agrees, that he will not enter upon any negociation or correſpondence with any European or native power, without the knowledge and conſent of the ſaid Engliſh Company.

Art. 4th.—It is hereby ſtipulated and agreed, that the ſole and excluſive adminiſtration of the civil and military government of all the territories and dependencies of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut, together with the full and excluſive right to the revenues thereof, (with the exception of ſuch portion of the ſaid revenues as ſhall be appropriated for the maintenance of the ſaid nabob, and for the ſupport of his dignity,) ſhall be for ever veſted in the ſaid Engliſh Company; and the ſaid Company ſhall accordingly poſſeſs the ſole power and authority of conſtituting and appointing (without any interference on the part of the ſaid nabob) all officers for the collection of the revenues, and of eſtabliſhing courts for the adminiſtration of civil and criminal judicature.

Art. 5th.—It is hereby ſtipulated and agreed, that one-fifth part of the net revenues of the Carnatic ſhall be annually allotted for the maintenance and ſupport of the ſaid nabob and of his own immediate family, including the mahel of his late highneſs the Ameer ul Omrah, the ſaid fifth part ſhall be paid by the Company in monthly inſtalments of twelve thouſand ſtar pagodas; and whatever circumſtance may occur affecting the net revenues of the Carnatic, the ſaid inſtalments ſhall not be leſs than twelve thouſand ſtar pagodas. Whatever balance of the ſaid fifth part may remain due at the expiration of each year, ſhall be liquidated upon a ſettlement of the accounts; and the ſaid fifth part ſhall be at the free diſpoſal of the ſaid nabob, conſiſtently with the principles of the ſaid alliance.

Art. 6th.—The fifth part of the revenues, as ſtated in the preceding article, ſhall be calculated and determined in the following manner, viz. all charges, of every deſcription, incurred in the collection of the revenue, the amount of the jaghire lands, ſtated in the 9th article of the treaty of 1787, at pagodas 213,421, and the ſum of pagodas 621,105, appropriable to the liquidation of the debts of the late Mahommed Ally, ſhall, in the firſt inſtance, be deducted from the revenues of the Carnatic, and, after the deduction of thoſe three items ſhall have been made, one-fifth part of the remaining net revenue (including the poligar peſhcuſh, which ſhall always be calculated at the ſum of ſtar pagodas, 264,704 20 26, according to the treaty of 1792,) ſhall be allotted for the maintenance of the ſaid nabob, and for the ſupport of his highneſs's dignity.

Art. 7th.—Whereas it was ſtipulated

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pulated by the 4th article of the treaty of 1792, that the ſum of ſix lacks twenty-one thouſand one hundred and five ſtar pagodas, ſhould annually be applied to the diſcharge of certain regiſtered debts due by the late nabob Mahommed Ally to his private creditors, under agreements concluded between his highneſs and the honourable Company, and guarantied by the parliament of Great Britain, until the ſaid regiſtered debt ſhould be liquidated; the honourable Engliſh Company accordingly hereby charges itſelf with the annual payment of 621,105 pagodas from the revenues of the Carnatic, until the remainder of the ſaid regiſtered debt ſhall be liquidated.

Art. 8th.—Whereas certain debts are due to the ſaid Company by the anceſtors of the ſaid nabob: and whereas it is expedient, in order that the preſent treaty may include a complete arrangement of all affairs depending between the ſaid Company and the ſaid nabob, that an adjuſtment ſhould be made of the above-mentioned debts; wherefore the ſaid nabob formally and explicitly acknowledges the debt, commonly called the cavalry loan, amounting with its intereſt to ſtar pagodas 1,324,342 6*f.* 47*c.* and alſo the portion of the regiſtered debt heretofore paid by the ſaid Company to the creditors of the late nabob Walajah (according to the annexed ſchedule) to be juſt debts: and whereas, excluſively of the above-mentioned debts, other unadjuſted debts alſo remain, which were referred to the adjuſtment and deciſion of the governor-general in council of Bengal; and whereas the ſaid unadjuſted debts have not been determined according to that intention, the ſaid nabob hereby engages, that whenever the ſaid determination ſhall be made, his highneſs will acknowledge to be a juſt debt the amount of the balance which ſhall be ſo declared to be due to the ſaid Company. It is not, however, the intention of this article, to cauſe any diminution from the fifth part payable to the ſaid nabob, but, on the contrary, it is ſpecified that no deduction ſhall be made from the revenue on any account whatever, excepting the three items ſtated in the 6th article, previouſly to the determination of his highneſs's proportion.

Art. 9th.—The Engliſh Company engages to take into conſideration the actual ſituation of the families of their highneſſes the late nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah Behauder, as well as the ſituation of the principal officers of his highneſs's government; and the Britiſh government ſhall charge itſelf with the expence chargeable on the revenues of the Carnatic, of a ſuitable proviſion for their reſpective maintenance. The amount of the above-mentioned expences to be defrayed by the Company, ſhall be diſtributed with the knowledge of the ſaid nabob, in ſuch manner as ſhall be judged proper.

Art. 10th.—The ſaid nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder ſhall, in all places, on all occaſions, and at all times, be treated with the reſpect and attention due to his highneſs's rank and ſituation as an ally of the Britiſh government, and a ſuitable guard ſhall be appointed from the Company's troops for the protection of his ſaid highneſs's perſon and palace.

Art. 11th.—The entire defence of the Carnatic againſt foreign enemies, and the maintenance of the internal tranquillity and police of the country, having been hereby transferred to the Britiſh government,

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ment, his ſaid highneſs engages not to entertain or employ in his ſervice any armed men without the conſent of the Britiſh government; who will fix in concert with his highneſs, the number of armed men neceſſary to be retained for the purpoſes of ſtate. Such armed men as his highneſs may, in conſequence of this article, engage in his ſervice, ſhall be paid at the excluſive coſt and charge of the ſaid nabob.

Art. 12th.—The honourable Eaſt India Company ſhall, in conformity to the ſtipulations of this treaty, enter upon the excluſive adminiſtration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic, on the —— day of ———, and his ſaid highneſs the nabob ſhall iſſue orders to all his civil and military officers, to transfer the diſtrict or diſtricts under their reſpective charge to ſuch perſons as ſhall be appointed by the ſaid Company to manage the ſaid diſtricts; and alſo to deliver to the perſons appointed all records, accounts, and official papers belonging to their reſpective cutcherries or officers.

This treaty, conſiſting of twelve articles, having been executed by Edward Lord Clive, governor in council aforeſaid, on the one part, and his highneſs Azeem ul Dowlah on the other part, is hereby mutually interchanged; the ſaid Edward Lord Clive engaging that a copy of the ſaid treaty ſhall be tranſmitted to Fort William, for the purpoſe of being ratified by his excellency the moſt noble the Marquis Welleſley, governor general in council; and that as ſoon as the ratified treaty ſhall be received from Bengal, it ſhall be delivered to his ſaid highneſs, who will then return to his Lordſhip the copy which he now receives.

In the hand-writing of Azeem ul Dowlah.

(God is Gracious.)

I, Azeem ul Dowlah, having peruſed and fully comprehended the ſeveral articles of the above treaty, have approved and conſented to the whole of the ſaid articles. In witneſs whereof, I affix my proper ſignature;

{ *The Beiz of* } { *Azeem ul Dowlah.* }

(A true copy.)

(Signed) J. WEBBE,
Chief Sec. to Govt.

Separate and Secret Article.

Whereas his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, by the 8th article of the treaty now concluded, has acknowledged the debt called the cavalry loan, due by his highneſs's family to the ſaid Company, amounting to pagodas
and whereas no account has been yet taken of the public treaſure of the late government; it is ſtipulated and agreed, that his highneſs the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah ſhall immediately enter upon an inveſtigation of the ſtate of the public accounts and treaſure, and that if, in communication with the Britiſh government, the ſaid treaſure ſhall be found adequate to the purpoſe, a portion of it ſhall be immediately applied to the entire liquidation of the ſaid debt called the cavalry loan, in ready money.

In the hand-writing of Azeem ul Dowlah.

(God is Gracious.)

I approve and conſent to this ſeparate and ſecret article. In witneſs whereof I affix my proper ſignature;

{ *The Beiz of* } { *Azeem ul Dowlah.* }

(A true copy.)

(Signed) J. WEBBE,
Chief Sec. to Govt.

No. 7.

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No. 7.

DECLARATION *of the* GOVERNOR *of Fort St. George; dated 31ſt July* 1801.

DECLARATION of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, by and with the Authority of his Excellency the Moſt Noble the Governor-General in Council of all the Britiſh Poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies.

An alliance of the moſt intimate union and friendſhip has long ſubſiſted between the honourable the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, and the family of their highneſſes Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, late nabob of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut: by the aid of that alliance his late highneſs Mahommed Ally was enabled, under Providence, to ſupport his pretenſions to the poſſeſſion of the Carnatic at the death of his illuſtrious father, to defeat the power of his enemies in arms, and finally to eſtabliſh his authority in the government of Arcot and its dependencies, on the foundations of the Britiſh power.

For the defence and protection of the valuable poſſeſſions thus acquired by the united arms of the Engliſh Company and of the nabob of Arcot, various treaties and obligations have been eſtabliſhed, by which it was intended that the intereſts, ſecurity, and power of both parties in the Carnatic Payen Ghaut, ſhould be cemented and identified. In conformity to the faith and ſpirit of theſe engagements, the honourable Company has invariably applied, not only the reſources derived from that alliance, but the whole power of the Britiſh empire in India, to maintain the government of the late nabobs of the Carnatic againſt all their enemies, and has cauſed them to be acknowledged by foreign ſtates as the allies of the Britiſh nation. By theſe means, and by the unabated exertion of its whole power, the Engliſh nation was enabled, during the war which continued from the year 1780 to the year 1783, to ſupport the pretenſions of the nabob Mahommed Ally, and to reſcue his dominions from the violence of Hyder Ally Khan, and of his ſucceſſor Tippoo Sultaun, who, by the aſſiſtance of the French nation, had been enabled to conquer a conſiderable part of the Carnatic, and to eſtabliſh their authority over the greateſt portion of the territorial poſſeſſions of the ſaid nabob.

To ſupport the authority of the nabob Mahommed Ally, and to ſecure the Britiſh intereſts in the Carnatic, it became expedient for the contracting parties to enter into ſpecific engagements for the maintenance of an adequate military eſtabliſhment. The Engliſh Company accordingly bound itſelf by a treaty, bearing date in the month of February 1787, to maintain the whole military force required for the protection of the territories of the allies; in conſideration of which engagement the nabob Mahommed Ally agreed, among other conditions, and under certain penalties therein ſpecified, to pay an annual ſubſidy, amounting to fifteen lacks of ſtar pagodas.

According to the farther ſtipulations of that engagement, rendered neceſſary by experience for the mutual ſafety of the contracting parties, the Engliſh Company, in the year 1790, charged itſelf with the adminiſtration of the civil government, in addition to the military defence of the Carnatic, in a critical juncture of affairs, when the ambition and implacable enmity of the late Tippoo Sultaun compelled the Britiſh government in India to reſort to arms for the ſupport of its rights,

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rights, and for the protection of its allies.

At the conclusion of the war in the year 1792, (the successful and glorious termination of which tended in the most direct manner to secure the safety and prosperity of the possessions of his highness the nabob of the Carnatic,) the British government restored the civil government of the Carnatic to his highness, thereby manifesting the strictest adherence to the stipulations of the existing engagements of 1787; but the British government did not confine itself to the mere discharge of the stipulations of its existing engagements; its views were extended to an enlarged and liberal consideration of the principles of the alliance subsisting between the Company and the nabobs of the Carnatic.

At that period of time, the nabob Mahommed Ally, relying on the friendly disposition of the British government, represented, in the most urgent manner to the Marquis Cornwallis, the inadequacy of his highness's resources to discharge the pecuniary engagements of the treaty of 1787; and the governor-general, acting in conformity to the spirit of the alliance and friendship so long subsisting between the nabobs of the Carnatic and the English Company, relieved his highness from the burthensome terms of that engagement, thereby surrendering the pecuniary rights acquired by the Company under the treaty of 1787, for the purpose of promoting the tranquillity, comfort, and interests of the nabob Mahommed Ally.

With this liberal view of the principles of the connexion established between the British government and the nabob of Arcot, an indulgent modification of the treaty of 1787 was framed; and, by a subsequent treaty, bearing date in the month of July 1792, the pecuniary contribution of his highness the nabob of the Carnatic, towards the general defence and protection of the rights and possessions of the allies, was diminished from fifteen to nine lacks of star pagodas. The spirit of moderation by which the British councils were guided in respect to this alliance, was unequivocally manifested by a farther stipulation for the purpose of securing to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the son and presumptive heir of the nabob Mahommed Ally, the succession to the territories of his father, on the terms and conditions of the treaty of 1792.

In return for this relinquishment of a considerable portion of its pecuniary resources, the English Company obtained no other advantages than an extended renewal of the territoral security, already provided by the treaty of 1787, for the performance of the nabob Mahommed Ally's pecuniary engagements, and a repetition of his highness's previous obligation not to contract alliances, nor to enter into correspondence with any European or native power, without the knowledge and concurrence of the British government; conformably therefore to this indulgent modification of the treaty of 1787, the government of the Carnatic was restored to the nabob Mahommed Ally: on the death of his highness the nabob Mahommed Ally, in the year 1795, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah succeeded to the possession of his father's territories, according to the provisions of the treaty of 1792.

The nabob Mahommed Ally, as well as his son and successor, had repeatedly granted tunkaws or assignments of revenue on the districts pledged to the Company,

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in direct violation of the treaty of 1792, and to the manifeſt injury of the territorial ſecurity provided by the Company for its intereſt in the Carnatic. The Britiſh government, however, continued to extend to their highneſſes the indulgent operation of the beneficial conditions of the treaty of 1792, by abſtaining from the exerciſe of the juſt rights acquired againſt their highneſſes under the expreſs ſtipulations of that engagement, and under the acknowledged interpretation of the law of nations.

Under theſe circumſtances the Britiſh government might juſtly have required from the houſe of Mahommed Ally, not merely the exact and rigid obſervation of the treaty of 1792, but a zealous and cordial attachment to the ſpirit of an engagement, under which the nabobs of the Carnatic had found the moſt ample protection, accompanied by the moſt indulgent and liberal conſtruction of every ſtipulation favourable to their ſeparate intereſts, and by the moſt lenient relaxation of thoſe penal articles, the obligation of which their highneſſes had reſpectively incurred by violating the article of the treaty of 1792, relative to the grants of tunkaws or aſſignments of revenue on the diſtricts pledged to the Company.

It is with the deepeſt concern that the governor in council is compelled to declare, that thoſe ancient allies of the Company, the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, have been found not only deficient in every active duty of the alliance, but unfaithful to its fundamental principles, and untrue to its vital ſpirit.

In the full enjoyment of the moſt abundant proofs of the moderation, indulgence, and good faith of the honourable Company, the nabob Mahommed Ally and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah actually commenced and maintained a ſecret intercourſe with Tippoo Sultaun, the determined enemy of the Britiſh name, founded on principles and directed to objects utterly ſubverſive of the alliance between the nabob of the Carnatic and the Company, and equally incompatible with the ſecurity of the Britiſh power in the Peninſula of India.

After the fall of Seringapatam, the Britiſh government obtained poſſeſſion of the original records of Tippoo Sultaun; the correſpondence of that prince's ambaſſadors, during their reſidence at Fort St. George, in attendance on his ſons the hoſtage princes, in the years 1792 and 1793, eſtabliſhed ſufficient ground of apprehenſion, that their highneſſes the late nabob Mahommed Ally and the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah had entered into a ſecret intercourſe with the late Tippoo Sultaun, of a nature hoſtile to the Britiſh intereſts in India. The inquiries of the Britiſh government have been ſince directed to aſcertain a fact ſo intimately connected with the ſecurity of its rights in the Carnatic. The reſult has eſtabliſhed the following propoſitions by a ſeries of connected written and oral teſtimony.

Firſt—At the very period of time when the nabob Mahommed Ally appealed to the generoſity of the Britiſh government for an indulgent modification of the treaty of 1787, his highneſs had already commenced a ſecret negociation for the eſtabliſhment of an intimate intercourſe with the nabob Tippoo Sultaun, without the knowledge of the

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Britiſh government, and for purpoſes evidently repugnant to its ſecurity and honour.

Second—The nabob Omdut ul Omrah (who was empowered by the nabob Mahommed Ally to negociate the treaty of 1792 with the Britiſh government, and who actually negociated that treaty for himſelf and for his father,) was actually employed at the ſame period of time, under his father's authority, in negociating for himſelf and for his father the terms of the ſaid ſeparate and ſecret intercourſe with Tippoo Sultaun.

Third—The tendency of the ſaid intercourſe was directed to the ſupport of Tippoo Sultaun in victory and triumph over all his enemies.

Fourth—In the month of December 1792, the nabob Mahommed Ally imparted ſecret information to Tippoo Sultaun, regarding the ſentiments and intentions of the Britiſh government in India, with relation to the hoſtile views and negociation of Tippoo Sultaun at the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad; and on the firſt intelligence of the war between Great Britain and France in the year 1793, the nabob Mahommed Ally imparted ſecret information to Tippoo Sultaun, reſpecting the views and power of France in India and in Europe, and reſpecting the intended operations of the Britiſh forces againſt the French poſſeſſions in the Carnatic. And the nabob Mahommed Ally conveyed to Tippoo Sultaun ſecret admonitions and friendly advice reſpecting the moſt favourable ſeaſon, and the moſt propitious ſtate of circumſtances, for the violation of Tippoo Sultaun's engagements with the honourable Company.

Fifth—The nabob Omdut ul Omrah was employed by his father, or one of the agents, to convey ſecret intelligence, friendly admonition, and ſeaſonable advice to Tippoo Sultaun, through the confidential agents of Tippoo Sultaun, who were furniſhed with inſtructions from the ſaid ſultaun of Myſore, to receive ſuch communications from the ſaid nabob of the Carnatic, and from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

Sixth—A cypher was compoſed and actually introduced into the ſeperate and ſecret correſpondence between the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Tippoo Sultaun; the original key of the ſaid cypher, diſcovered among the records of Seringapatam, is in the hand writing of the confidential moonſhee (or ſecretary) of the nabob Mahommed Ally and of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah; and the ſaid cypher was delivered by a confidential agent of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the ambaſſador of Tippoo Sultaun, for the expreſs purpoſe of being tranſmitted to Tippoo Sultaun.

Seventh—The terms employed in the ſaid cypher, particularly thoſe intended to deſignate the Britiſh government and its allies, the Nizam and the Mahratta ſtate, united in a definitive league againſt Tippoo Sultaun, contain the moſt powerful internal evidence that the communications propoſed to be diſguiſed by the ſaid cypher, were of the moſt hoſtile tendency to the intereſt and objects of the ſaid alliance, and calculated to promote the cauſe of Tippoo Sultaun in oppoſition to that of the ſaid allies.

Eighth—The nabob Omdut ul Omrah, under his own hand-writing, in the month of Auguſt 1794, corroborated the evidence of his intention to complete the purpoſes herein deſcribed, of the ſecret intercourſe which he had negociated with Tippoo Sultaun; and the continuance of the ſame intention is

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manifeſted by letter from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and from his confidential agent, addreſſed to the ſuppoſed agent of Tippoo Sultaun in the year 1796, ſubſequently to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's acceſſion to the government of the Carnatic under the treaty of 1792.

Ninth—At the commencement and during the progreſs of the late juſt, neceſſary, and glorious war with the late Tippoo Sultaun, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to the utmoſt extent of his means and power, purſued the objects of his ſecret intercourſe with Tippoo Sultaun, by a ſyſtematic courſe of deception, with reſpect to the proviſion of the funds neceſſary to enable the Britiſh troops to march into Myſore, as well as by a ſyſtematic and active oppoſition to the ſupply and movement of the allied army through different parts of the ſaid nabob's dominions.

Tenth—The ſtipulations contained in the 15th article of the treaty of 1787, and the 10th article of the treaty of 1792, by which the nabobs of the Carnatic were bound not to enter into any political negociations or correſpondence with any European or native power or ſtate, without the conſent of the government of Fort St. George, or of the Company, formed a fundamental condition of the alliance between the ſaid Nabob and the Company; and the violation of the ſaid ſtipulations neceſſarily involved the entire forfeiture, on the part of the nabob, of all the benefits of the ſaid alliance.

Eleventh—The nabob Mahommed Ally and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah have violated the ſaid ſtipulations, and have thereby forfeited all the benefits of the ſaid alliance; and the nabob Mahommed Ally and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, having violated the ſaid ſtipulations for the expreſs purpoſe of eſtabliſhing an union of intereſts with Tippoo Sultaun, thereby placed themſelves in the condition of public enemies to the Britiſh government in India.

It is manifeſt, therefore, that the intentions of the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, have been uniformly and without interruption hoſtile to the Britiſh power in India, and that thoſe intentions have been carried into effect to the full extent of the actual power poſſeſſed by their highneſſes reſpectively, at the ſeveral periods of time in which they have acted in purſuance of their ſyſtem of co-operation with the enemy.

By acting on theſe principles of conduct, the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, not only violated the rights of the Company, but, by uniting their intereſts with thoſe of the moſt implacable enemy of the Britiſh empire, the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah actually placed themſelves in the relation of public enemies to the Britiſh government, dangerous to the extent of their reſpective power, and active according to the means and opportunities afforded to them by the circumſtances of the moment, and eſpecially by the moſt ſevere exigency and preſſure of war; every principle therefore of public law releaſe the Britiſh government from the intended obligations of the treaty of 1792; and every conſideration of ſelf-defence and ſecurity authorized the Company to exerciſe its power in the manner moſt expedient for the purpoſe of fruſtrating the hoſtile councils of the late nabob of the Carnatic, modelled upon the artful example actuated

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trated by the faithleſs ſpirit, and ſanctioned by the teſtamentary voice of his father.

In proceeding to exerciſe this right, it was painful to the Britiſh government to be compelled to expoſe to the world all theſe humiliating proofs of the ingratitude and treachery of the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, towards that power which has uniformly proved their guardian and protector; and in acting from the impreſſion of this ſentiment, the Britiſh government was more deſirous of conſulting its own dignity, than of admitting any claims on the part of thoſe infatuated princes to its generoſity and forbearance.

In conformity to this ſpirit of temperance and moderation, it was the intention of the Britiſh government to have made a formal communication to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, of the proofs which had been obtained of his highneſs's breach of the alliance, with the view of obtaining, by the moſt lenient means, ſatisfaction for the injury ſuſtained by the Britiſh government, and ſecurity againſt the future operation of the hoſtile councils of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

Circumſtances of expediency, connected with the general intereſts and policy of the Britiſh government, interrupted the communication of this document to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah; the intermediate illneſs of his highneſs protracted the execution of that intention, and his ſubſequent death fruſtrated the wiſh of the Britiſh government to obtain from that prince ſatisfactory ſecurity for the rights pledged to the Company in the Carnatic.

The death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah has not affected the rights acquired by the Britiſh government under the diſcovery of his breach of the alliance. Whatever claim the reputed ſon of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah may be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs to the Company's ſupport of his pretenſions to the government of the Carnatic, is founded on the grounds of the right of Omdut ul Omrah to the aſſiſtance of the Company in ſecuring his ſucceſſion to the nabob Mahommed Ally in the government of the Carnatic, was founded on the expreſs ſtipulations of the treaty of 1792. The reſult of the propoſitions ſtated in this declaration has eſtabliſhed abundant proof, that the fundamental principles of the alliance between the Company and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, as well as the expreſs letter of the treaty of 1792, had been abſolutely violated and rendered of no effect by the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, previouſly to the oſtenſible concluſion of that inſtrument. It is manifeſt, therefore, that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah could derive no rights from the formal ratification of that treaty, the vital ſpirit of which had already been annihilated by the hoſtile and faithleſs conduct of his highneſs, and that the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, by forming an intimate union of intereſts with Tippoo Sultaun, had actually placed themſelves in the relation of public enemies to the Britiſh empire in India.

Whatever claim to the Company's protection and ſupport the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah may derive from his ſuppoſed father, has been utterly deſtroyed by the hoſtile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah; it follows, therefore, that the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah has ſucceeded to the condition of his father, which condition was that of a public enemy; and, conſequently,

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that, at the death of Omdut ul Omrah, the British government remained at liberty to exercise its rights, founded on the faithless policy of its ally, in whatever manner might be deemed most conducive to the immediate safety and to the general interests of the Company in the Carnatic.

Before the British government proceed to exercise this right, founded on the violation of the alliance, and on the necessity of self-defence, it was desirous of manifesting its attention to the long established connexion between the Company and the house of Omdut ul Omrah, by sacrificing to the sentiments of national magnanimity and generosity the resentment created by his highness's flagrant breach of the alliance. In the spirit of those councils, therefore, with which it had been the intention of the British government to demand satisfaction and security from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and to avoid the publication of facts so humiliating to the family of that prince, the British government communicated to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, knowledge of the proofs now existing in the possession of the government at Fort St. George of the violation of the alliance, at the same time the British government manifested a consistent adherence to the principles of moderation and forbearance, by opening a latitude to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah to form, by means of an amicable adjustment, that satisfaction and security which the hostile and faithless conduct of his supposed father had entitled the British government to demand, and which the dictates of prudence and self-defence compelled it to require.

The reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, by and with the advice of the persons appointed by his father's will to assist his councils, has persisted in opposing a determined resistance to this demand, thereby exhibiting an unequivocal proof that the spirit which actuated the hostile councils of the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, has been transmitted with unabated vigour to the supposed son of Omdut ul Omrah, secured in its operation under the sanctimonious forms of their testamentary injunctions, and preserved with religious attachment by the ostensible descendant of that prince.

Frustrated in the hope of obtaining, from the reputed son of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, reparation for its injuries and security for its rights, the British government is now reluctantly compelled to publish to the world the proofs of this flagrant violation of the most sacred ties of amity and alliance, by the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, and the hereditary spirit of enmity manifested by the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah to the interests of the British government. The duty and necessity of self-defence require the British government, under the circumstances of this case, to exercise its power in the attainment of an adequate security for its rights; justice and moderation warrant, that the family of Omdut ul Omrah shall be deprived of the means of completing its systematic course of hostility; wisdom and prudence demand, that the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah shall not be permitted to retain possession of resources dangerous to the tranquillity of the British government in the peninsula of India.

Wherefore the British government, still adhering to the principles of moderation, and actuated by its uniform desire of obtaining security

for

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for its rights and intereſts in the Carnatic, by an arrangement founded on the principles of the long ſubſiſting alliance between the Company and the family of the nabob Mahommed Ally, judged it expedient to enter into a negociation for that purpoſe with the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behauder, the ſon and heir of Azeem ul Omrah, who was the ſecond ſon of the nabob Mahommed Ally, and the immediate great grandſon by both his parents of the nabob Anwer ud Deen Khan of bleſſed memory. And his highneſs the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behauder having entered into engagements for the expreſs purpoſe of reviving the allianee between the Company and his illuſtrious anceſtors, and of eſtabliſhing an adequate ſecurity for the Britiſh intereſts in the Carnatic, the Britiſh government has now reſolved to exerciſe its rights and its power, under Providence, in ſupporting and eſtabliſhing the hereditary pretenſions of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behauder in the ſoubahdarry of the territories of Arcot, and of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut.

And, for the more full explanation of the grounds and motives of this declaration, the right hon. the governor in council, by and with the authority of his excellency the moſt noble the governor-general in council, has cauſed atteſted copies and extracts of ſeveral documents diſcovered at Seringapatam to be annexed hereunto, together with an extract from the treaties of 1787 and 1792.

By order of the right hon. the governor in council,

(Signed) J. WEBBE,
Chief Sec. to Gov.

Fort St. George,
31ſt July 1801.

APPENDIX *to the Declaration of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, bearing date the* 31ſt *July* 1801.

No. I.

Extracts from a Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated the 15th *June* 1792.

The following converſation took place at a viſit made by the princes to the nabob Walajah on the 10th of June 1792.

We preſented nuzaurs of eleven gold mohurs to the nabob Walajah, of which his highneſs took one, and riſing, embraced us, and ſaid, "May God long preſerve Tippoo Sultaun, who is the pillar of the religion of Mahommed. Night and day I uſed to be abſolved in this contemplation, and to pray for his highneſs's proſperity; I call God to witneſs this fact; becauſe the confederacy of three allies was for the ſubverſion of the Mahommedan religion. It is ſolely to be attributed to the divine goodneſs, that the prayers of us ſinners have been accepted. Believe it true, that I from my heart deſire the welfare of the ſultaun."

When the princes and we took leave of the nabob Walajah, and were going away, he came up to us, and with a great deal of warmth deſired us to ſtay, as he had ſomething to ſay to us. We replied, we were ready. He then told us, that his life was now drawing to a cloſe; that for what had hitherto taken place between his highneſs and your majeſty, there was no remedy; but now, merely out of a regard to the faith, (of which your majeſty was a pillar,) he was deſirous of eſtabliſhing a cordial harmony with your majeſty; and if we, having in view the claims of both parties, (upon our endeavours,) would in the preſence of God exert ourſelves for this purpoſe, the Almighty would reward us, and both parties would reap the benefits of this event, which were great and numberleſs; that although his highneſs wanted to prevent the war between your majeſty and the three allied ſtates, yet that Nizam Ally Khan, at the latter period of his life, was thus preparing for futurity, by exerting himſelf for the deſtruction of religion. It was ſolely from a regard to the faith, that his highneſs did not encourage the meaſure, and that he now declared that, in a thouſand points of view, it was adviſeable that perfect harmony ſhould reign between your majeſty and his highneſs. We

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replied, that we would undoubtedly report all this to your majesty.

Further Extract.

On the 13th June 1792, Walajah, Omdut ul Omrah, and Hussain Newaz Khan, younger son of Walajah, Lord Cornwallis, and General Meadows, came to visit the princes. They sat two hours (about three quarters of an hour English) and talked a great deal with them. His highness took occasion to observe, that we considered him to have been an enemy, whereas he declared in the presence of God that he was not, and is not; that, on the contrary, he was a friend and well-wisher; and that he had opposed the breach between your majesty and the three allied states to such a degree, that every one decided in his own mind, that inwardly your majesty and his highness were one; and he desired us to ask Lord Cornwallis and General Meadows, who were present, whether he said true or not.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,
Persian Translator.

No. II.

Extract of a Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated the 21st June 1792.

We had the honour to receive your majesty's most gracious letter, dated the 28th May 1792, giving cover to a slip of paper, upon which were written two couplets on the 28th Turkee. We have from the first understood the writing, your majesty knows of, as your majesty has explained it, and when occasion requires, will act in conformity to your majesty's commands. Your majesty has desired that we will not disclose this subject to any person. God is our witness that we have, from the commencement of our service to the present time, inviolably kept your majesty's commands, which we consider as a religious obligation; and we declare to your majesty that we have not divulged, neither will we divulge them to any one: We are the servants of God, the disciples of Mahommed, and the dependents of your majesty, during our lives, and ever will. An observance of the secrets of our masters is enjoined by the khoran. By the grace of God, and through the blessing of the salt of your majesty, the king of kings, we have never infringed, and never will infringe this injunction in the slightest degree upon any occasion.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. III.

Translation of an Arzee from Ally Rezza Khan and Gholaum Ally Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated the 22d June 1792.

On the 23d July 1792, we had the honour to receive by two messengers your majesty's letter, dated 8th Sumree * (about the 26th June 1792) enclosing a slip of paper containing a couplet. We were before acquainted with the meaning of the couplet, as explained by your majesty, and accordingly have before this written to your majesty in conformity thereto, and will still continue, as occasion may require, to write to your majesty. Your majesty desires that we will not divulge the circumstance to any one. Refuge of the world! we consider the concealment of the commands and secrets of our superiors in the light of a religious duty; not to divulge the orders of princes is enjoined by the khoran, and this is a duty imposed upon all servants by the word of God. Who would be so forgetful of his God, and regardless of religion, as to sacrifice, by a disclosure of secrets committed to his charge, his present and future happiness? in the presence of Almighty God, we declare to your majesty, that from the time we entered your majesty's service to the present moment, a term of eleven years, none but Almighty God is or shall be privy to the commands with which you have entrusted us. Such is our fidelity, that Divine Providence may perhaps, through its blessings, prosper us in this and a future state, and keep us supported in respectability and credit near your majesty. All farther particulars will be fully made known to your majesty from the arzees which we have successively dispatched to you. The princes, who are in health, beg to offer their most humble respects to your majesty.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. IV.

Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated the 4th August 1792.

On the 29th July 1792, the nabob Walajah sent a message to us by Mahommed Abdoolla Khan, that the following day, being that preceding the Eed, he would,

* There is evidently an error in these dates.

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would, if we desired it, pay a visit to the princes, as he was very anxious to see his sons (as he called them.) In reply, we begged he would give our respects, and represent to his highness, that the houses of the princes, and they themselves, were his own, and that the princes were his guests, that he was their superior, and his company there would afford them much happiness; but that, if he wished it, we ourselves would most readily attend him.—Accordingly the following day, about nine o'clock, Walajah, accompanied by Omdut ul Omrah and Hussain Newaz Khan, paid a visit to the princes, and taking them upon his knees for about two hours, blessed them, and said, "May God long and permanently preserve the shadow of Tippoo Sultaun extended over you and me, since in this age the preservation of religion depends upon him alone. I have passed my eightieth year, and in that time many are the things I have seen and done, and experienced.—What is passed is passed, and God only knows what futurity may bring to light. At present, the maintenance of religion rests with Tippoo Sultaun, and may God preserve and keep him victorious and triumphant. I do not say this merely in your presence; but I say it, taking to witness him who knows all that is hidden. Night and day, after the prayers of the day, and on Friday, after public devotion, I offer up my prayers (meaning for Tippoo Sultaun,) and require the people also to do the same." His highness spoke to us also in terms of great warmth and friendship, and after sitting two hours went away. As Walajah had paid a visit to the princes, it became necessary that they should return it, and consequently they waited upon him the next day, which was the Eedoo Zoha (or feast of the camel); the nabob, accompanied by Omdut ul Omrah and the other sirdars, came out to meet them as on the feast day, and having assisted the princes in alighting from their palankeens, took them within the house, where he repeatedly caressed them both, and said—"God preserve the sultaun in safety, for through him alone these rituals and observances of the faith (alluding probably to the Eed) yet remain."—He then observed to us—"In my first conversation with you, I spoke to you upon the subject of establishing a friendship and harmony between me and Tippoo Sultaun. Have you intimated it to him, and have you received a favourable answer?"—We replied, that we had set forth to your majesty, word for word, the friendly sentiments his highness had expressed, and that your majesty had written in reply, that friendship, union, and brotherly regard had, from the beginning, been established among the professors of Illaamism, as was evinced by the testimony of the holy book, agreeably to the prescriptions of which your majesty wished that cordial friendship and attachment should, without prejudice or partiality, be established between the followers of the faith, as the means of supporting the religion of Mahommed:" And that your majesty added,—"God preserve the nabob Walajah, who is a prince, and one of the leaders of the faithful, and a pillar of the faith."—At the term, 'a pillar of the faith,' the nabob could not suppress his tears, and said, "I am, what I know myself to be."—Tell the sultaun, "that *he* is the pillar of the faith; and may God preserve him and grant him a long life, since I and all mussulmen derive support from him; for otherwise the state of affairs here is evident.—That which is evident does not require explanation."—We also, in conformity to your majesty's commands, mentioned to his highness, in a becoming and suitable manner, whatever there was to state upon the subject of friendship and attachment. His highness replied, "In consideration of the complexion of the times, the state of which is manifest, and that the support of the religion of Mahommed in this country entirely depends upon the sultaun, my nightly and daily prayer is offered up for his good." He then said to the princes,—"Oh! my sons! if my life and property can be of any service to you, God is witness that I will not refuse them to you."—He then gave orders to the superintendant of the gardens, to carry, every day, fruits and flowers to the prince, before his (the nabob's) own children; and said to us—"You are not acquainted with the state and order of affairs here. Consider me from my heart your well-wisher and sincere friend; and, at all times be assured, that in whatever I may be able to effect your benefit, either by word or deed, I will not decline my exertions.—What I said and wrote to his lordship upon the subject of making peace, God well knows who was then or is now desirous of it. His lordship, however, possessed uncontrolled authority, was a man of wisdom, and listened to the advice of others, and my observations made an impression upon him. God preserve you and me from the wicked designs of others." Major Doveton and another officer, being

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of the party, his highneſs appealed to them, obſerving, that they had been preſent at the time, and could ſpeak to the truth or falſity of what he ſaid. Major Doveton replied, that it was very true; and that ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen were conſequently much diſpleaſed with his highneſs. That one day, when his highneſs had aſſembled all the gentlemen, under pretence of giving them an entertainment, but really for the above purpoſe, and had accordingly ſuggeſted pacific meaſures, the expediency of which he urged in a thouſand ways, they were ſo diſpleaſed, that they went away without partaking of the entertainment; nay, that to their animoſity might be attributed the aſſumption of his highneſs's country: That when the orders were received from the king of England to reſtore the country, they framed the pretence among themſelves that his highneſs was too much attached to Tippoo Sultaun; and that the reſtitution of his country would conſequently be an impolitic meaſure: But his lordſhip maintained his opinion ſingly, and, diſregarding the animoſity of all the others againſt his highneſs, delivered to him (his highneſs) the country, agreeably to the directions of his majeſty. The ſtory is very long. We have only written to your majeſty a very ſmall part of it. At preſent the commanding officer of the fort, and the other Engliſh gentlemen who are here, behave towards the nabob Walajah as if they were his ſervants. The princes ſtaid two hours with his highneſs, and at the time of departure were preſented by him with two khelauts of embroidery for the tenanch, two kulgus, and two ſurpaiſhes of the fineſt jewels. We made endleſs apologies, and requeſted that he would excuſe our acceptance of them. He ſaid, "this is a feſtival, and I have given to my ſons, and my whole family, new garments.—Theſe are alſo my children, and I entertain for them even a greater degree of regard, and I muſt not neglect them; theſe things poſſeſs little value, and it is not your province to interpoſe between me and my children." In like manner, his highneſs preſented Gholaum Ally Khan with a khelaut, conſiſting of a khulgu and ſurpaiſh, me with a ſurpaiſh and khelaut, and Shirkh Soliman Khan with another. He then took a hand of each of the princes, and deſcending from the upper part of his houſe, accompanied them to the outer door of the toſhu-konnah, where he took leave of them. Omdut ul Omrah, and his other ſons, attended them to the road, where they left them, after ſeeing them into their palankeens, and the nabob at parting embraced them with the greateſt warmth.

We have thus communicated to your majeſty the particulars of the friendly conduct of the nabob Walajah and the other ſirdars; in fact, the diſpoſition of all ranks of people is equally favourable, for whenever the princes go out any where, thouſands of them ſtand in the ſtreet, and offer up prayers for your majeſty's proſperity. On feſtivals and on Fridays in congregation, all the Muſſulmans firſt offer up their prayers for your majeſty's preſervation. May God fulfil them! Upon our return dancing girls and muſicians, &c. were ſent with the prince's retinue, and after our arrival at the prince's houſe, and ſitting there for two hours, danced, and were then diſmiſſed.

(A true tranſlation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. V.

Extract from a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Ally Rezza Khan and Gholaum Ally Khan; dated at Seringapatam, the 1220 from the Birth of Mahommed.

I Have received and underſtood the contents of your arzee, intimating the diſtinguiſhed kindneſs and regard with which the nabob Walajah treats my ſons, and the ſincere friendſhip which he entertains towards me. It is evident that the nabob is a pillar of the Mahommedan religion, the elect of the Almighty, a man of dignity and worldly experience; whatever favour and attention he may ſhew towards my ſons, who are his gueſts, and you, I ſhall aſſuredly conſider as a kindneſs conferred upon myſelf. This circumſtance has afforded me much pleaſure.

My hopes from Almighty God and his divine meſſenger are, that the nabob will do whatever may tend to the ſupport of the religion of Mahommed, and that he will give the neceſſary attention to this point. You will mention to him that he muſt conſider my ſons as his own; that, in conformity to the command of God and the Prophet, the improvement of friendſhip among the profeſſors of Iſlaamiſm will be beneficial to various concerns both ſpiritual and temporal, and that, deeming me attached to our common religion and to his highneſs's perſon, he will direct his attention accordingly; you will alſo ſtate to the nabob the other points of friendſhip, which you have repeatedly heard from my mouth.

(A true tranſlation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

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No. VI.

KEY *to a* CYPHER * *found among the Records at Seringapatam, and received at Calcutta on the 2d of March* 1800.

Oh God, glorious and exalted! Oh Prophet of God! May the bleſſing of the Lord be upon him! Religion. Biſhteh.

The nabob Walajah, *The Friend of Mankind.*	The nabob Tippoo Sultaun, *The Defender or Protector of the Faith.*	The Engliſh, *Newcomers.*
Ally Rezza, *The Diſtinguiſhed in Friendſhip,*	Nothing or Nonentity, *Nizam ul Dowlah.*	The Mean or Deſpicable, *The Mahrattas.*
The Power of God, *A Saddle.*	The Victorious, *A Scymeter.*	A Flower, *A Preſent.*
Hearts, *Sons.*	A State or Dominion, *A Ring.*	The Reſtorer of the Faith, *Omdut ul Omrah.*
	The Faith Religion, *Gholaum Ally Khan.*	
	Nabob Laheb, *The Spring, a Flower Garden.*	
	A Letter, *an Interview.*	The Writing of Omdut ul Omrah.
	Benevolent, *the Hand.*	
	A Heart, *a Seal.*	

(A true tranſlation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. VII.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan to Tippoo Sultaun.

The departure of Ally Rezza Khan at this time, in conformity to the orders of the preſence, is very expedient, eſpecially for the purpoſe of bringing to a favourable iſſue the propoſitions of Lord Cornwallis, and the * *well-wiſher of mankind,* which is moſt ardently to be wiſhed.

There are many points which cannot be committed to paper, and can only be communicated in perſon; at this time the friendſhip and good will of both ſirdars is from God, and the royal auſpices: the particulars of this ſummary, which is an unlooked for good, will be made known to your majeſty by the verbal repreſentations of Ally Rezza, who attends the preſence eſpecially for that purpoſe; although it is contrary to the rules of reſpect to preſume to give an opinion upon this ſubject, yet I am emboldened by my long attachment and my ſenſe of the duty I owe your majeſty; when your majeſty ſhall have maturely deliberated upon and fully brought home to your mind the repreſentation of both the ſirdars, from a conſideration of the changeableneſs of the times, your majeſty's agreeing to this affair—(upon the principle recommended in the words of Hafiz of Shiraz; the mercy of God be upon him! with friends, cordiality; with enemies, diſſimulation)—ſeems highly expedient and advantageous to your majeſty's intereſts.

(A true tranſlation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. VIII.

Tranſlation of a Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Nabob Walajah.

In the name of the moſt merciful God! After reiterated praiſes and unbounded adoration to the Almighty, who aſſembled the body of muſſulmans under the banners of Mahommed, and lighted the torch of mutual attachment among them, and praiſe to the choſen of prophets, who promulged the ſaying, "All muſſulmans are brothers," and took upon himſelf the taſk of interceſſion for all believers; and after intimating my deſire of being perſonally known to your highneſs, and which, as it exceeds the power of the pen to deſcribe, muſt be left to the heart to conceive, I have the honour to repreſent that the receipt of your highneſs's kind letter after ſo long a lapſe of time—(according

* Theſe words are written by one of Tippoo Sultaun's moonſhees.
† The deſignation of the nabob Walajah in the cypher.

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(according to the saying, "all things depend upon the appointed season")—rejoiced me extremely, and your highness's obliging recollection of me excited my acknowledgments, and I return thanks to Almighty Providence for the joyful news of the welfare of the well-wisher of mankind *(meaning the nabob himself)*; my delaying to address your highness has been owing to my not having been favoured with any letters from your highness. By the grace of God! your highness is pre-eminent, characterised for all praise-worthy qualities, and acquainted with all affairs. It is probable that your highness's delay in writing to me may have been occasioned by the particular circumstances of the times, and in consequence I also have delayed to write, else I should have written to you an hundred times. Now by the receipt of your highness's letter, and the account of your highness's friendship and attachment, which I have had from the verbal communication of the high in rank, * *the distinguished in friendship*, the trusty, I am certain that (according to the words of the prophet, the union of the mussulmans is that of the soul with the body) that warmth of attachment, original affection, implanted among mussulmans, exists between us. My hope from Almighty God, and my confidence in the Prophet, is, that, according to the command of God, and of the Prophet, which is well known to all mussulmans, all the faithful will exert themselves with heart and soul in maintaining and rendering permanent the religion of Mahommed upon your highness, who is one of the heads of the faith; this is an absolute duty, and I am confident that your highness will by all means constantly employ your time in performing what is obligatory on you; and I am perfectly satisfied that you will shew that kindness which is becoming your exalted station, towards my two sons, your guests, and who are as your own. I hope that regarding me inwardly, and as your well-wisher, and that of all mussulmans, you will continue to rejoice me by letters; you will learn my father's sentiments from the representations of the high in rank, *the distinguished in friendship*.

Dated the 29th of November 1792.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. IX.

Translation of a Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Omdut ul Omrah, the Nabob of the Carnatic.

After reiterating praises and unbounded adoration to the Almighty, who hath adorned the multitude of the professors of Islaamism with the gem of religion, and lighted the torch of friendship for each other in the region of the heart, and endless thanks worthy of the last of the messengers of God (Mahommed), who with his prophetic tongue spoke this divine saying, "That all mussulmans are brothers;" and who was pleased to take upon himself the task of intercession for all believers; and after intimating my desire of personal communication, and which, as it exceeds the power of the pen to describe, must be left to the heart to conceive, I set forth my object: By the grace of God, the most sincere attachment and perfect unanimity have from the beginning been established among the believers of the enlightened doctrine of Mahommed; but every event has its proper season, and hence no opportunity has yet offered for the external demonstration of our mutual regard. Now however the receipt of your kind letter, replete with the friendly sentiments with which our hearts are mutually impressed, has doubly added to my sincere attachment and cordial regard; when I learnt also, from the intimation of the high in rank, *the distinguished in friendship*, the trusty, of your great and noble qualities, and the sincere friendship and cordiality you entertain towards me, my happiness was greater than language can adequately express; may God realize this source of happiness; that is to say, that perfect attachment and union among the followers of Islaam, which is the greatest gift of the Almighty, and than which nothing is more essential to the temporal and eternal interests of mankind. May God render it attainable, and may he preserve us firm in the faith of Mahommed, the boundless benefits resulting from which will by the divine grace be manifested.

I am confident that you will direct your attention to the adjustment of affairs between me and the *well-wisher of mankind*, who is the chief and principal of the professors of Islaamism; and that deeming me from my heart your well-wisher, you will always keep me in your recollection by your

* *Vide* Key to the Cypher, No. VI.

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your friendly letters: All other particulars may be made known to you from the representations of the high in rank.

May prosperity and happiness attend you.

Dated the 29th of November 1792.

(A true translation)
(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. X.

Translation of a Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan to Tippoo Sultaun. (Without date.)

On the 14th of January 1793, the nabob Walajah sent a message by Khader Newaz Khan to this effect:—Whatever animosity and estrangement formally existed between us (meaning himself and Tippoo Sultaun) are now, thank God, completely removed. If the slightest trace of them remain in my heart, I am no mussulman, nay of another sect; and on the part of the Hyderee Circar also, I am confident the same friendly sentiments are entertained: God knows, and the Prophet is witness, on the most delibrate reflection and deep consideration, I see no one sirdar who has at heart the interests of the true faith except Tippoo Sultaun, and after him this sinner (of whom the same may be said in some degree.) In the second place, the sight of the princes gives new force to the attachment and regard that my heart feels; indeed it is superfluous to express this; hence I offer up my most earnest prayers to God for the welfare of the sultaun, and the prosperity of the affairs of the Hyderee Circar. From the impulse of these sentiments it is requisite that I should communicate some articles of intelligence, which are as follows: I have always kept stationed in Bengal several persons of the higher class, for the purpose of collecting and transmitting secret intelligence daily. In the paper of intelligence which came on the 10th of December 1793, it is stated, that Sir Charles Mallet, the English resident at Poonah, has written to Lord Cornwallis, that numerous messengers from the Khodadaud Circar daily pass to and fro between Seringapatam and Poonah; whence it would seem that Tippoo Sultaun was endeavouring to form a close connection and affiance with the Poonah government, and through that government with the Mogul (Nizam Ally Khan); and that deeming this information of importance, he had written it to his lordship. The members of council in Bengal, on hearing this, are said to have stated their opinion to his lordship, that Tippoo Sultaun was infringing the settlement which had taken place between him and his lordship, and was entertaining views of a sinister nature; that, for example, the sultaun withheld payment of the kists, as prescribed in the treaty, and refused to release the European and other prisoners, subjects of the Company; that this sort of discourse had excited some degree of suspicion, nay even of alarm in his lordship's mind. Such is the present state of affairs: What, in the judgment of this well-wisher, now appears expedient is this—in a short time his lordship will go to Europe; the princes, please God, will soon return, and the kists are in a course of payment; after his lordship's departure, the liquidation of the kists and other points, whatever may be his highness's (Tippoo's) pleasure, will be right and proper; at present it is better to be silent upon every thing, because at this time his highness's honour would at all events be called in question. When another shall arrive from Europe, the imputation will in every respect and in every measure fall upon him.

(A true translation)
(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Note.—The following extract is preceded by an account of the nabob Walajah's having invited the princes to an exhibition of fire-works, on occasion of the Eed, or festival. The governor of Madras lent his garden for the purpose.

No. XI.

Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated 2d of May 1793.

The princes having arrived at the garden, the nabob Walajah sent Omdut ul Omrah to them, desiring him to remain in attendance upon the princes as long as they should stay at the entertainment. Omdut ul Omrah accordingly attended the princes at the exhibition of fireworks until nine o'clock at night, when he took leave and went away. At parting Omdut ul Omrah said to us, "You will give my respectful compliments, by way of remembrance to his majesty, and inform him that he may consider me from my heart attached to him, and that, please God, at a proper occasion my fidelity towards him shall be made manifest to him."

(A true translation.)
(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

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No. XII.

Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated 5th of June 1793.

Refuge of the world! yesterday *the well-wisher of mankind* sent the following message by Khader Newaz Khan: "At this time a complete rupture has taken place between the English and French. The story of the king of the French and their domestic commotions are well known. Six or seven European powers have united for the destruction of the French, and you will soon hear that the whole of the French territory has been divided amongst others. The English (troops) here at Madras will proceed in a day or two against Pondicherry. Although there is a body of troops in that place, yet domestic dissentions have risen to the utmost pitch there; and nothing will be done, and the place will at length be taken. My object in mentioning this event is this:—The vakeel of the Ahmedy Circar, who was at Pondicherry, has lately, it seems, returned to the presence (Tippoo Sultaun). Please God, there is no doubt that the sultaun keeps in view all the ups and downs of the time. At this time no kind of assistance will be afforded; but out of that friendship which I feel for the sultaun, I recommend that the vakeel remain a short time at the presence, and also that epistolary correspondence be discontinued for a short time. Although a friendly connexion has long subsisted with the French on the part of the Ahmedy Circar, yet, considering the circumstances of the times, it is not adviseable (that is, to maintain an epistolary correspondence with the French;) should there be any point of urgency to communicate, there is no objection to do it verbally. For God's sake, let not the sultaun ascribe what I say to a wrong motive; I am actuated solely by my good wishes in making this communication. Since the day that a cordial union took place between us, let me be no longer a mussulman, nor a servant of God, if I have not always offered my prayers for the sultaun's good, and afterwards for my own. May the Almighty preserve firm and uninjured the Mahommedan church, and the safety of the sultaun.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XIII.

Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun, dated 23d of July 1793.

The nabob Walajah has repeatedly sent word to us, by Khader Newaz Khan, that he had something of a secret nature which he wished to say to us in private; adding, that if we would go, under pretence of seeing a mosque which his highness has built, he would send Omdut ul Omrah alone to meet us. Accordingly, on the 17th of June 1793, we went to the mosque, whither Omdut ul Omrah repaired also. On the left of the mosque is the tomb of a celebrated devotee, (by name Futteh Shah,) who died about six months ago, and erected at his highness's expence. Under pretence of performing the fautehah, (or prayers for the dead,) Omdut ul Omrah took our hands and carried us into the tomb. When there, he asked us whether we had full powers from your majesty, or were under the necessity of making reference upon every subject. We replied, that we had been a year and more in attendance here, during which period many points of business had been negociated, and continued to be negociated, by us; and that, please God, our proceedings were and would be approved and confirmed by your majesty; and that with his (Omdut ul Omrah's) knowledge of this, his question appeared very extraordinary to us. That it was proper to put to vakeels, that we were only servants and well-wishers of the circars; and that we had powers to act in any thing that appeared to us calculated to promote your highness's interest and welfare; but in the other case not. Omdut ul Omrah was much pleased, and, smiling, said to us, "So it ought to be." He then delivered the following, on the part of the nabob Walajah:—That for a very long time there had been, without a cause, a veil (or want of cordiality) between his highness and your majesty, which had been productive of injuries to both; but now that, by the favour of God, a system of harmony, such as is becoming among the professors of Islaamism, had taken place, his highness confidently hoped from God, the prime cause of all, that the time past might be amply redeemed; that for his highness's own part, considering from his heart, himself, his country, and his property, to belong to your majesty, he had made it a testamentary injunction to his children and family, taking God and his holy Prophet to witness, to pray night and day for the pillar of faith, (that is to say your

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your majesty;) and to consider their prosperity and welfare as inseparably connected with your majesty; that we must ascertain your majesty's wishes on this head in a manner satisfactory to both, and if your majesty should be, from your heart, solicitous of this proposed cordial harmony, his highness would, under the testimony of God and his Prophet, detail to us his sentiments fully at the time of our departure, which, please God, would soon take place. May it please your majesty! his highness is in expectation of an answer from you to these points, and we shall represent to his highness whatever reply your majesty may direct us to make. Please God we shall hereafter have occasion to address your majesty, notifying our succession; the affairs you know of.

May the sun of prosperity, &c. &c.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XIV.

Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun. (Without date.)

Prior to this we communicated to your majesty the circumstances of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's coming to the mosque; our meeting there, and his communicating to us several points, with which particulars your majesty must ere this have become acquainted. On a subsequent day, we sent a message to him, purporting that we were going to the garden to see and arrange the effects we had with us; and that if he also would come there, under pretence of taking the air, we should be very happy. Accordingly on the next day we went to the garden with Omdut ul Omrah. We sat together for four hours, (about an hour and a half English;) and Omdut ul Omrah discoursed in the most undisguised manner on the part of the nabob Walajah, as well as on his own, of the sincerity of their friendship, attachment, and regard.

He also made use of some particular expressions of his attachment, requiring us upon oath not to commit them to writing, but to defer the communication of them until our return to your majesty. "Since," said he, "I have expressed myself as I have done merely from my regard for the faith, and from my friendship and goodwill towards *the defender (or protector) of the faith*," please God, you will shortly be with his majesty, when you will communicate them in person." We answered, that we would act as he desired, and not divulge what he had said to any one.

Protector of the world! Concerning the affair with which your majesty is acquainted, we have, under suitable pleas, and a proper introduction, prevailed upon Omdut ul Omrah to lay the foundation of it, and he is exerting himself with zeal in this business. Please God, we will inform your majesty of the result.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XV.

Extract from a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan; dated 6th of August 1793.

I have understood what you have written relative to the conferences with Omdut ul Omrah: I desire that you will privately commit to paper his discourse with you, and send the same to me. You will also write me information of the transaction with which you are acquainted.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XVI.

Translation of a Letter from Gholaum Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan to Tippoo Sultaun; dated 31st of August 1793.

(After the usual form of address.)

We have had the honour to receive your majesty's two gracious letters, giving cover to a paper containing a form of obligation, and a question of orthodoxy, by the hands of Mahommed Dewan.—We assembled all the servants, high and low, belonging to the circar, and communicated every thing to them; and enjoined them, that on the next day, which was Friday, they should all bathe, put on their best cloaths, and attend us. On that day Gholaum Ally Khan was indisposed, (as he still continues,) and therefore I, Ally Rezza, carried all the servants of the circar with me to the jaumah mosque: There were present the cauzy of the city, the khuttub (or preacher) Syed Mahommed, a person of great learning, and others, to the number of near a thousand; and likewise the sons of the nabob Walajah. As it happened, the cootbah was well adapted to our purpose. After the Friday's prayers

* *Vide* Key to the Cypher, No. VI.

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ons were over, I caused all of them to sit down, and first applied to the cauzy, and other persons of learning who were present, to have the cootbah delivered in the Hindustanny language, in order that every body might understand it. One of them accordingly explained the contents of the cootbah, which comprised the command of God to wage holy wars, not to take to flight in combating with infidels; to form an union among all the professors of Islaamism; and other obligations of the faith. I then asked the cauzy what was the law, if any mussulman acted contrary to these commands? to which the cauzy replied, that, according to the duties and obligations of mussulmans, whoever neglected to act up to the commands was a sinner. Upon which I remarked, it was very extraordinary that, notwithstanding the notoriety of this and the great plurality of mussulmans, they should so depart from the obligations of the faith as to take up their abode in such a place, and choose to render obedience to those of a different persuasion. God grant it may turn out well for the mussulmans of this place! I then said, it is written that the prayers which are offered up in the cootbah in favour of a prince who fights for the faith, are accepted of God; but the prayers in favour of those who do not are rejected. Either reconcile the law in this instance to the care of him in * whose name you have read the cootbah, or else conform to the law; why are you knowingly guilty of sin? To this he replied, "All things depend upon their appointed season." After this I asked, according to the law of the faith, what was the duty of servants? he answered, the sentence of the khoran is plain, "Obey God and his Prophet, and those of yourselves who are placed in authority over you."—In other words, the most high God hath blended obedience to the sovereign with obedience to himself, and to his messenger; hence it is incumbent upon all servants to do that which belongs to fidelity, and to the interests of religion. I answered, that although this, that is obedience to the prince, was a duty indiscriminately binding upon all mussulmans, yet I wanted after prayers, (the blessing of which I prayed might descend upon every individual,) to take an obligation from the servants of the Khodadaud Circar. Accordingly, after I and all the servants of the Ahmedy Circar had finished the prayers in conformity to your majesty's commands, I addressed all the people, and said, "The error of which ye have hitherto been guilty is, for the sake of God and of his messenger, forgiven on the part of his majesty."—Upon this they, one by one, arose and declared, that since all their errors had been forgiven on the part of your majesty, they now, under the testimony of God, his messenger, and the holy book, bound and engaged themselves, that hereafter, as long as they lived, their conduct should manifest nothing else than fidelity, devotion, truth, and zeal; that they would never be guilty of flight in the face of an enemy, of theft, of lying, of injuring, wishing ill, or of enmity towards those who wished well to the Khodadaud State, nor of any thing that belonged to treachery and ingratitude; adding, that they would never swerve from this engagement a hair's breadth; that they would cultivate friendship and union with the followers of the faith, and among one another; that they considered the honour of all mussulmans as an object of individual concern, and would never commit oppression and violence upon any one, either by word or deed. After this a fautehah (or service for the souls of the dead) was performed, and prayers that the Khodadaud Circar might be triumphant and victorious. We then came out of the mosque, and halting in the area of it, I took an engagement from the Hindus with me to this effect; that as they derived their support from the Ahmedy Circar, they engaged upon oath, and upon the faith of their poorauns, that they would be faithful to the duties committed to their charge; that their conduct should ever manifest fidelity, without their ever being guilty of theft, or false speaking or writing: To this they added, that if they departed a hair's breadth from this engagement, they should consider it tantamount to their having killed and eaten of a cow in the holy city; and that they should be considered as delinquents against the circar.

Protector of the World!—Mahommed Dewan verbally communicated to us your majesty's commands, that we should not suffer ourselves to feel any apprehension in fulfilling this ceremony. Cherisher of the World! We can only feel apprehension and hesitation in not obeying the orders of the Presence. What apprehension can we entertain in obedience and submission to commands; such only is the apprehension we feel in the present instance.

* Shah Allum.

France. The commands of the Preſence are impoſed upon their ſervants, not upon others; princes and governors who entertain ſervants, do ſo for the purpoſe of experiencing from them obedience and devotion to their intereſts; and if they exact from them the obligations and conditions of obedience, fidelity, and devotion, what harm is there in it? Others who, every Sunday, aſſemble in church, and according to their laws and regulations deliver precepts and admonitions, who entertain troops, and exerciſe them daily, do ſo with a view to the adjuſtment of their own concerns. If we alſo, with a view to the arrangement and adjuſtment of our concerns, take obligations and engagements from our ſervants, where is the objection? Pleaſe God, this meaſure, which your majeſty has ſuggeſted, your having taken obligations and engagements from the ſervants in attendance upon your majeſty, and your directing us to do the ſame here, is highly proper, expedient, and adviſeable: and in ſight of men of underſtanding, the good effects and benefits of it are endleſs and without bounds. The meaſure was neceſſary too: for what is the meaning that there ſhould not be an union among the profeſſors of the faith; that they ſhould not devote themſelves to the intereſts of their maſters, and that, diſregarding the claims of gratitude, they ſhould turn their backs upon the enemy in the day of battle? Theſe engagements and obligations are very proper, and involve many advantages; farther particulars will be made known to your majeſty by the verbal repreſentations of Mahommed Dewan, who attended, and was an eye-witneſs to all that paſſed. A liſt of the ſervants who are here preſent, and who entered into the engagements, is enclоſed.

(A true tranſlation)
(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XVII.

Tranſlation of a Note, written with a Pencil upon Half a Sheet of Poſt Paper, with an Envelope of Engliſh Paper, by his Highneſs Omdut ul Omrah; apparently addreſſed to Gholaum Ally Khan.

Good faith is the law for (or practice of) Syeds. I complain of frequent neglects; let me be ſometimes called to remembrance; at all events the intelligence of the marriage of the princes has rejoiced me. The preſents uſual on ſuch occaſions from my father will be ſent, or (it may be interpreted) are now ſent. Repeat the following couplet on my part to the nabob Tippoo Sultaun.

In the preſervation of thy perſon is the perpetual permanence of the faith.
Let him not remain who wiſheth not thy preſervation.

Make my complaints to his highneſs of his not writing to me; if permiſſion be required (for ſtating thoſe complaints) you will obtain it. To the princes, reſpect; to Rezza Ally Khan, compliment. Gholaum Huſſain.

Dated the 12th of Auguſt 1794.

(A true tranſlation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XVIII.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Mahommed Ghyauſs and Mahommed Ghoſe Khan, Ambaſſadors from Tippoo Sultaun to his Highneſs the Nabob of the Carnatic; dated the 17th of December 1795.

The humbleſt of the ſervants of his majeſty, the ſhadow of God, Tippoo Sultaun, king, defender of the faith, may his dominion endure for ever! Mahommed Ghyauſs and Mahommed Ghoſe, after performing the ceremonies of obeiſance, humbly repreſent to thoſe who ſtand in the enlightened preſence.

Prior to this we had the honour to forward an addreſs to your majeſty from Ryacottah, whence we proceeded, and by regular ſtages, arrived on the 28th near Tirmulkerry.

From that place we wrote a note to Khader Newaz Khan, which we diſpatched by hircarrahs; a reply arrived, ſignifying that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah was much rejoiced at our approach, and deſired that we would proceed with all poſſible expedition; adding, that an habitation was prepared for our reception: at about three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived there, and immediately a gentleman waited upon us, and told us he was come to perform the rites of hoſpitality. We anſwered, that it was perfectly conformable to his highneſs the nabob's known kindneſs and urbanity: he then cauſed firewood and earthen pots to be brought, and told us he had brought a hundred rupees for our immediate expences. We anſwered, that we were come on an occaſion of condolence, what neceſſity was there for money? he was very importunate with us to accept it, but we made him carry it back. He returned

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turned with it however again, and again we sent him back with it. About eight o'clock at night, Khader Newaz Khan himself came, and told us that the nabob was much displeased; however, if we would not accept the money, he would send us dressed provisions. We replied, that, as we were his highness's guests, he might do so for a day or two: after paying Khader Newaz Khan the compliment of the paun and ottur, we let him take leave. In the morning his highness sent us provisions from his own kitchen; this was continued for three days, and was continuing longer, but we sent word to Khader Newaz Khan, in the most earnest manner, that for three days it was very well, but if the practice was continued we should be under the necessity of sending the provisions back.

Immediately on our arrival at Tirmulkerry, we sent our compliments by a chopdar to the governor, who returned for answer, that he was happy to hear of our arrival. The next day an European, named Grant, who commands the governor's body guard, came to see us, and invited us to wait the next day on the governor, who would conduct us to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah. We accordingly next day went to the governor's, to whom we delivered your majesty's letter, and the khelaut, (or honorary dress). The governor asked after your majesty's health, and we replied in suitable terms; after complimenting us with the paun and flowers and rose water, he told us that he would introduce us early the next morning to the nabob. We then took leave and returned home, and sent notice to Khader Newaz Khan, that the governor had postponed the intended visit of that day, but that we were desirous only of consulting his highness's pleasure, and should act as his highness might direct; he returned for answer, that it was no matter, we might come the day following. Early the next morning we went to the governor, and taking him with us, we proceeded to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and delivered the khelaut of mourning and letter of condolence; his highness was very much pleased, and conversed about your majesty's health, and other subjects, a whole hour (23 minutes). He then complimented us with the paun and ottur, and allowed us to depart; on our taking leave he took our hands, and observed to us with a great deal of anger, that we were his guests, and it was not proper for us to decline receiving provisions, conjuring us, for God's sake, not to send back the provisions, which should be sent us while we remained here. We resisted as much as possible by argument, but his highness would not listen to our refusal, and again conjured us by oath not to return the provisions which should be sent to us while we remained; we could say no more, and returned home. The next day his highness, having sent for Nussur ul Dowlah, appointed the next day for our again attending him, and we then delivered the khelaut and letters, which were for him (Nussur ul Dowlah.) He also made inquiries after your majesty's health, to which we made a suitable reply. His highness then gave us the ottur and paun, and suffered us to take leave. The day after we again went to the durbar, taking with us the letter and khelaut of congratulation, the jewels and horses. We delivered the letter and khelaut, presented nuzzers of five rupees each, and sat down. His highness, with the greatest degree of kindness, placed us close to himself, and launched out into great praises of your majesty, and appeared delighted with the subject, telling us, that it was his intention to send for us, and say what he had to say in private; adding, that our arrival at this time was extremely proper. His highness told us, that he had committed the late nabob Walajah's body to the earth, at the shrine of the saint named Mucktdoom Sahib, at Mylapore, to be removed in four months.

May the sun of prosperity always continue to shine!

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XIX.

Translation of a Letter from Mahommed Ghyaus and Mahommed Ghose Khan, deputed by Tippoo Sultaun to the Nabob of the Carnatic, to the former. (*Without date.*)

After dispatching our arzee, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah sent for us, and spoke a good deal upon the subject of friendship between the two states; and then said to us, "You are both come on the part of my friend, and I do not design to part with you soon." We replied, that we certainly considered both states as one, but that at present some pressing business required our return, and therefore we must request him to give us leave to depart. Upon which he said, that please God he would soon do so; but, said his highness, it is not proper in you to send back the provisions,

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as you have repeatedly done so. I swear to God, that as long as you remain here, I shall send you provision, and you must also, for my particular satisfaction, wear clothes that I will provide you; you must not return them. We said in reply what appeared suitable to the occasion; but his highness would not listen to it, but renewed his adjuration, and giving us the ottur and paun, dismissed us. The next day, at three in the afternoon, Khader Newaz Khan came with cloth and taylors, and told us, it was his highness's command to him to see the cloth cut out before us and fitted to us; we contested the point to the utmost with Khader Newaz Khan, but he told us his highness had taken an oath, and that it was not proper in us to refuse. At length he caused four pieces of spotted muslin, and four pieces of ———* for each of us, to be cut out, and set the taylors to work, with injunctions to get the whole ready by the evening.

From Sunday, during five or six days, the rains were incessant. On the sixteenth, when it ceased a little, Khader Newaz Khan sent a message, that the rain had latterly prevented our receiving our dismission, but now the khelauts for your majesty, the elephants and horses, &c. would be sent on that day, and that the following day his highness would send for us, and give us our dismission. Accordingly, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, an elephant and five horses, two khelauts of embroidery, and two pieces of jewellery, one a khulgu, and the other a surpaish, besides a large box sealed, in which were khelauts of spotted muslin, &c. and another box also sealed, containing the otturdaun and paundaun, were brought by Daood Khan, and the keeper of the wardrobe, &c. who desired us to take charge of these articles, and convey them safely to your majesty: that his highness had moreover sent two khelauts of embroidery for us, and that he would send for us the following day, and after having communicated to us what he had to say, would give us leave to depart. At their desire we took a memorandum of the articles. The next day we were prevented from waiting upon his highness, by the violence of the rain. On the third day, at about nine o'clock *a. m.* his highness sent word to us to come in the clothes which had been nearly made, as it would be a great gratification: to please him we accordingly did so. After many salaams, his highness, with the appearance of great satisfaction, arose, and taking our hands, said, Now am I extremely happy. We then sat in a private place, when his highness expatiated during two hours with great warmth upon the subject of union and friendship; after which he gave us the ottur and paun, and suffered us to take leave, and we returned home. At three o'clock in the afternoon we received a note from Khader Newaz Khan, stating that his highness sent 2000 rupees for our horses, and 300 rupees for the three duffadars, naik of hircarrahs and duffadar (or hoad) of khidmutgaes. We, in the presence of his highness's naik of hircarrahs, made presents to his highness's servants out of that 2000 rupees. We write this for your highness's information.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Note.—The original of the following translation is written in the same hand as the nabob of Arcot's letters invariably are; but on the cover, in place of the seals, is written the name of "Gholaum Hussain;" and in the place of direction, "Gholaum Ally." The date of its receipt is the 8th of January 1797.

No. XX.

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to Gholaum Ally Khan.

After a lapse of time, and the moment my heart was desirous of learning accounts of your health, I had the pleasure to receive your friendly letter; and I was gratified by the news of your welfare.

I have fully comprehended the several points contained in that letter: you will become acquainted with the circumstances alluded to from the communications of Mahommed Ghyauss and Mahommed Ghose Khan. Deeming me desirous of receiving the pleasing accounts of your health, you will gratify me by communicating them.

(*Indorsement on the Letter, by one of Tippoo Sultaun's Moonshees.*)

Received the 8th of January 1797.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

* Manuscript effaced.

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No. XXI.

Translation of a Letter under the Seal of Khuder Mewaz Khan, to Gholaum Ally Khan.

Deeming my desire of the honour of a meeting, which is replete with happiness, beyond the power of writing, or speech to express, I proceed to represent the purpose of this address.

Your kind letter, intimating that you had been indisposed after your leaving this place, but that your health was completely restored, has reached me, and its contents have been understood. Although I am concerned at the accounts of your indisposition, my thanks are offered up to Almighty God for your recovery. What you write of the satisfaction of the nabob Tippoo Sultaun behauder, may his shadow be extended! upon the intimation of my attachment, has called forth my highest thanks and endless praises; and I beg you will present my respectful acknowledgments for his kindness and favours towards me. I have been from first to last endeavouring, that, through the favour of God, the degree of union between these two chosen of the Lord [meaning the nabob Omdut ul Omrah and Tippoo Sultaun,] which is calculated to promote the happiness of God's people, may daily be strengthened and cemented, and mutual friendship and attachment be confirmed and established; and thanks to the Almighty, that the system of harmony and union has acquired the requisite degree of stability and firmness, [literally, that as it should be, so it is.] Always believe me anxious for the news of your welfare, and constantly praying for your health and happiness.

(*Indorsement on the Letter by one of Tippoo Sultaun's Moonshees.*)

Received the 8th of January 1797.

(*Superscription on the Cover.*)

Be it honoured by the respected perusal of Syed Gholaum Ally Khan behauder, Musheddy [i. e. Mushud, a place in Khorasan.] Be his favour perpetual!

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Extract from the Treaty concluded in 1787, between the English East India Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic.

Article 15th.—"Whenever the Company shall enter into any negociation wherein the interests of the Carnatic and its dependencies may be concerned, the president in council of Fort St. George shall communicate the proceedings to his highness the nabob of the Carnatic, as the firm ally of the Company; and also the direction of the combined force of the country is committed entirely to the Honourable Company or their representatives.—It is nevertheless understood, that his highness shall be informed of all measures which shall relate to the declaring of war, or making peace, with any of the princes and powers of Hindustan, so far as the interests of the Carnatic may be immediately concerned; and the name of his highness shall be inserted in all treaties regarding the Carnatic; and his highness will not enter into any political negociations or controversies with any state or power, without the consent or approbation of the president in council at Fort St. George."

Extract from the Treaty concluded in 1792, between the English East India Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic.

Article 10th.—"The said nabob shall receive regular information of all negociations which shall relate to declaring war or making peace, wherein the said Company may engage, and the interests of the Carnatic and its dependencies may be concerned; and the said nabob shall be considered as an ally of the said Company in all treaties which shall in any respect affect the Carnatic and countries depending thereon, or belonging to either of the contracting parties contiguous thereto; and the said nabob agrees that he will not enter into any negociations or political correspondence with any European or native power, without the consent of the said Company."

(True copies.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 8.

LETTER *from the* GOVERNOR-GENERAL *to his late Highness the* NABOB.

[*Written 28th May* 1801.]

MEM.—This letter is presented on a supposition, that it is the same which is required by the 11th order of the Hon. House, and therein described as having been shewn by Messrs. Webbe and Close to the Regents on the 15th July 1801.

To

To the NABOB *of* ARCOT.

For some time past your highness must have observed, that although I have received various communications from you with relation to the internal government of the Carnatic, and to the general state of your affairs, I have not deemed it consistent with my public duty to return any reply to any other letters which I have had the honour to receive from your highness, excepting those containing the usual interchange of compliments between your highness and the British government; the cause of my silence is of the most serious nature, and has occasioned the deepest and most sincere regret to my mind.

The success of our arms against the late Tippoo Sultaun has brought to light many important and extraordinary transactions; my determination on the subject of the proofs which I possess has been formed after the fullest deliberation; and after the most dispassionate review of all the circumstances of the case, I have communicated my final opinion to Lord Clive, with my positive directions to carry into effect, without delay, those arrangements which the nature of the case appears to me to require, for the security of the British interests in the Carnatic. Lord Clive will enter into a full explanation of all the evidence which has been discovered at Seringapatam, and will also state to your highness the purport of the instructions which have been received from me. I request your highness to consider Lord Clive to be fully authorized by me to terminate the requisite arrangements; and, under this view of the question, I trust that you will not expect from me any interruption to the course of those measures which I have judged to be indispensably necessary, and which I have directed Lord Clive to accomplish without further reference to my authority.

(A true copy.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,
Persian Transl. to the Governor.

No. 9.

PROCEEDINGS *of the Governor in Council at Fort St. George, on the signing of the Treaty between the Company and Azeem ul Dowlah.*

To His Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis WELLESLEY, K. P. *Governor-General in Council at Fort William.*

MY LORD,

Lord Clive has had the honour of informing the governor-general of the demise of his highness the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the late nabob of the Carnatic, on the 15th instant. His excellency has also been apprized by his lordship of the measures adopted by Lord Clive, in conformity to the separate dispatches of the governor-general, for establishing the rights and interests of the British government in the Carnatic, on the permanent basis of territorial security.

2. Those dispatches, and the result of Lord Clive's measures for the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, having been communicated to us, we have the honour to acquaint your excellency in council, that a treaty has been this day concluded, subject to the ratification of the governor-general in council, for settling the succession to the subahdarry of the territories of Arcot, and for vesting the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic in the hands of the Company.

3. The separate dispatches of Lord Clive will have explained to his excellency the governor-general

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ral the cauſe which prevented his lordſhip from communicating to the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the nature of the governor-general's inſtructions, founded on the written and oral teſtimony taken at Seringapatam; the ſubſequent demand made by Lord Clive of an adequate ſecurity for the Britiſh intereſts in the Carnatic, from the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah; the poſitive and formal rejection by that perſon of an amicable adjuſtment of the affairs of the Carnatic, founded on the rights acquired by the Company, from his reputed father's violation of the alliance, and of the expreſs ſtipulations of the treaty of 1792; the ſubſequent motives of Lord Clive for opening a negociation with the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behauder, for the purpoſe of reviving the alliance between the family of his highneſs and the Britiſh government, founded on the inſtructions of the governor-general to avoid the humiliation of the family of the nabob Mahommed Ally, if it ſhould be practicable to obtain by negociation the ſecurity required for our rights in the Carnatic; and finally, the terms of the arrangement which has been concluded by the deputies under the immediate authority of Lord Clive. Theſe points having been fullyſtated in his lordſhip's ſeparate diſpatches, we truſt that it will be ſufficient for us to refer the governor-general in council to thoſe diſpatches, with the expreſſion of our entire concurrence in the arrangements adopted by Lord Clive under his excellency's ſeparate inſtructions.

4. We have now the honour of tranſmitting to your excellency in council, an official copy of the treaty, which has this day been executed, and interchanged by us, with the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder; and we recommend, that a ratified copy of the treaty may be tranſmitted to us with all practicable expedition, for the purpoſe of being delivered to his highneſs.

5. The change of circumſtances, ariſing from the conduct of Ally Huſſain, and the perſons appointed to aſſiſt his councils, has rendered it neceſſary for Lord Clive to introduce a correſpondent change in the ſtructure of the declaration tranſmitted to his lordſhip by the governor-general. We have the honour of ſubmitting to your excellency in council, a copy of the declaration, in the form in which we ſhall judge it adviſeable to publiſh that paper, if your excellency ſhould deem the publication of it to be expedient.

6. It is our intention that a copy of the declaration in this form ſhall be immediately tranſmitted to the governor in council at Bombay, and to the reſidents at Hyderabad and Poonah, for the purpoſe of communicating to them the grounds on which the ſucceſſion to the ſubahdarry of the territories of Arcot, and the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, have been ſettled and eſtabliſhed; but we ſhall uſe no further means for the diſtribution of that document, unleſs we ſhould receive inſtructions for that purpoſe from your excellency in council.

7. In concluding an arrangement involving conſequences of ſo much importance to the Britiſh intereſts in India, it is impoſſible for us not to feel a degree of anxiety correſpondent to the magnitude of the ſubject, until we ſhall be honoured by the receipt of the determination of your excellency in council on this tranſaction. In the mean while, anticipating with confidence the concurrence of your lordſhip's ſentiments with our own, we offer our congratulations to your excellency in council on the concluſion

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of an arrangement, by which the rights and intereſts of Great Britain in the Carnatic have at length been fixed on the ſolid foundation of territorial ſecurity.

8. We have the honour to inform your excellency in council, that his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah behauder, has this day been inſtated in the muſnud of his anceſtors, as nabob ſubahdar of the Carnatic, with every mark of public reſpect from the Britiſh government, and with every practicable degree of ſplendour conformable to the uſages of India.

9. It is our intention to diſpatch the *Whim* packet immediately, for the purpoſe of conveying to the honourable the ſecret committee of the court of directors our diſpatches on the ſubject, which is now ſubmitted to the governor-general in council.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CLIVE,
J. STUART,
W. PETRIE,
E.W. FALLOFIELD.

Fort St. George, 31ſt July 1801.

No. 10.

CORRESPONDENCE *between the Governor-General and the Governor of Fort St. George, on the Subject of the Carnatic; from the Period of the Death of his late Highneſs Omdut ul Omrah, to the Elevation of Azeem ul Dowlah to the Muſnud.*

(Official, No. 18.)

To his Excellency the Moſt Noble the Marquis WELLESLEY, K.P. *&c.*

MY LORD,

I have the honour of informing your lordſhip, that his highneſs the nabob Omdut ul Omrah departed this life about nine o'clock this morning.

The arrangement which I informed your lordſhip had been made for the preſervation of order at the palace of Chepauk, upon the occurrence of his highneſs's death, hath completely anſwered the purpoſes intended by that meaſure; and I have the ſatisfaction of acquainting your lordſhip, that entire tranquillity prevails throughout the neighbourHood of Chepauk and of Madras. This meaſure of precaution proved to be entirely ſatisfactory to the mind of the late nabob, from the time his highneſs became acquainted with the intention of it.

Tippoo Padſhaw, (or Hiſſum ul Mulk,) the fourth ſon of the late Mahommed Ally, from whom principally I expected an attempt to excite a commotion on the death of the nabob, is at preſent under the protection of the troops ſtationed at Chepauk.

Previouſly to the receipt of your lordſhip's diſpatches committed to the charge of Mr. Webbe, I had determined to take immediate meaſures, on the demiſe of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, for exerciſing the government of the Carnatic on the part of the Company; but ſince the receipt of thoſe diſpatches, which define more diſtinctly your lordſhip's wiſhes in regard to the mode of executing that intention, I have judged it adviſeable to ſuſpend the declaration of the right of the Britiſh government to aſſume the adminiſtration of the affairs of the Carnatic, and to preſerve the gracious appearance of national forbearance and moderation as long as it might be conſiſtent with the actual ſecurity of the Britiſh intereſts.

With this view I deputed Mr. Webbe and Lieut. Colonel Cloſe to the palace of Chepauk, for the purpoſe of conferring with the princi-

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pal officers of the late nabob upon the ſubject of any arrangement which it might have been the intention of his highneſs Omdut ul Omrah to provide, for adminiſtering the affairs of his family and of his government.

An authentic will was produced to the deputies, under the ſeal and ſignature of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, appointing his reputed ſon Ally Huſſain Khan (Taje ul Omrah) to be heir and ſucceſſor to all his highneſs's poſſeſſions of every deſcription, and nominating Najeeb Khan and Tukhia Ally Khan to be the guardians and ſupporters of his highneſs's reputed ſon.

In conformity to my conditional inſtructions, the deputies proceeded to diſcloſe to the guardians, Tuckia Ally Khan and Najeeb Khan, the nature of the diſcoveries which had been made reſpecting the breach of the alliance between the Company and the late nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, by the hoſtile conduct of their highneſſes. Having explained, during this conference, the entire grounds on which the right of the Company to uſe its diſcretion in ſecuring the intereſts pledged to it in the Carnatic is founded, the deputies preſſed Tukhia Ally Khan and Najeeb Khan, to concur in a negociation for an amicable adjuſtment of the affairs of the Carnatic, rather than to compel the Britiſh government to proceed to the exerciſe of its own rights and power.

The plea of delay, founded on the decency and neceſſity of providing for the immediate funeral of the late nabob, was urged in a manner ſo conſiſtent with public decorum, and with the feelings natural to the family of his highneſs on this occaſion, that Colonel Cloſe and Mr. Webbe judged it expedient to allow a latitude until ſeven o'clock to-morrow evening for the declaration of a final anſwer to the propoſition of an adjuſtment by negociation. In granting this latitude, the deputies were careful to refuſe all validity to the will of the late nabob, and concluded the conference by an aſſurance to the guardians, that upon their anſwer to be given at the next conference, would abſolutely depend either the acknowledgment of the will of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah by the Company, or the neceſſity of aſſerting the rights of the Company, by proceeding to exerciſe the civil and military government of the Carnatic.

The guardians having declared their intention to give a categorical anſwer at the time propoſed, I ſhall be prepared, at the expiration of it, to act according to the termination of the conference, either by acknowledging the ſucceſſor of Omdut ul Omrah, and receiving poſſeſſion of the Carnatic through the channel of negociation, or by aſſerting the right of the Company, and immediately proceeding to exerciſe the government of the Carnatic.

I ſhould have availed myſelf of the earlieſt opportunity of opening a negociation with his late highneſs the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, upon the grounds of your lordſhip's diſpatches; but having ſatisfied myſelf, upon the ſolemn declaration of his highneſs's phyſician, taken on oath, that the communication of important buſineſs at the time of my receiving your lordſhip's inſtructions might have been attended with fatal conſequences to the life of the nabob, I refrained informing his highneſs of the arrival of thoſe diſpatches; the gradual decay of the nabob has ſince continued to render it impracticable for me, on the ſame motives of humanity, to make

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any communication to his highneſs founded on your lordſhip's inſtructions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CLIVE.

Fort St. George, 15th July 1801.

(Official, No. 19, Secret.)

To his Excellency the Moſt Noble the Marquis WELLESLEY, *K. P. &c.*

MY LORD,

1. In my diſpatch of the 15th inſtant, I had the honour of communicating to your lordſhip my intention of endeavouring to effect an arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic through the channel of negociation.

2. I have conſidered that to be a mode of adjuſtment ſo preferable to the exerciſe of the rights of the Britiſh government, by the aſſertion of its power, that I judged it to be adviſeable, in my verbal inſtructions to the deputies, to provide, that their unceaſing attention ſhould be directed to the accompliſhment of that object. The conferences opened in conſequence, were conducted in a manner entirely conformable to this principle. The khans, appointed by the will of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah for the aid of his reputed ſon, were apprized by Mr. Webbe and Lieutenant-Colonel Cloſe of the poſitive grounds of right, on which it was the determination of the Britiſh government to obtain ſecurity for its intereſts in the Carnatic; at the ſame time every argument of conciliation and perſuaſion was urged by the deputies, founded on the long eſtabliſhed connexion between the Company and the family of the nabob Walajah; on the humiliating conſequences of publiſhing to the world the evidence of the hoſtile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah diſcovered at Seringapatam; and on the different degrees of dignity, ſplendour, and comfort, which would attach to the reputed ſon of that prince under circumſtances of friendly accommodation, or of hoſtile reſiſtance to the demand of ſecurity on the part of the Britiſh government.

3. The negociation was interrupted at its earlieſt ſtage, by a refuſal on the part of the khans, appointed to aſſiſt the ſon of Omdut ul Omrah, to acquieſce in the demand contained in the fundamental propoſition of the deputies for territorial ſecurity, to the extent of veſting the civil and military government of the Carnatic excluſively in the hands of the Britiſh government. To this demand the khans oppoſed an uniform reſiſtance; and the deputies would have been juſtified in bringing the negociation to a concluſion on this point of difference. Reaſon, however, exiſted for believing, that their conduct was not conformable to the ſentiments of the young man; it was conſiſtent with the motive for proceeding by negociation, that every practicable degree of facility ſhould be given to that plan of arrangement. An opportunity was therefore offered to Ally Huſſain, of declaring his genuine ſentiments; and accordingly, in a ſeparate converſation with myſelf, he diſtinctly ſtated that he had not participated the councils of his aſſiſtants.

4. In conſequence of this declaration, it was my intention to have relieved the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah from the ſituation in which he appeared to have been placed by the conduct of his father's confidential miniſters. A ſecond meeting was accordingly appointed for the purpoſe of completing the arrangement neceſſary to the ac-

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knowledgment of Ally Huſſain's title, and for the eſtabliſhment of territorial ſecurity for the rights of the Company. At this ſubſequent conference, which was alſo conducted without the preſence of his aſſiſtants, Ally Huſſain retracted his declaration of the preceding day; he expreſſed his unequivocal concurrence in the ſentiments of the khans, together with his reſolution not to depart from the reſult of their councils; and declared his reſolution to meet, at whatever hazard, the conſequences of refuſing this reaſonable demand of ſecurity on the part of the Britiſh government.

5. Having exhauſted all the means in my power of impreſſing on the mind of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's ſon a juſt ſenſe of the right acquired by the Company under the violation of the alliance, or of the determination of the Britiſh government to exerciſe that right for the attainment of an adequate ſecurity, I was reluctantly compelled to diſcontinue all farther communication with the immediate family of Omdut ul Omrah.

6. The detail of thoſe conferences, which it is my intention to tranſmit at a future period of time to your excellency, will evince, that the deputies appointed by me have adhered to the ſpirit of moderation and temperance which I had preſcribed for the conduct of the negociation; for although the negociation was formerly ſuſpended by the rejection of the firſt propoſition, a full communication was made both to Ally Huſſain ſeparately, and to his adviſers jointly, of the plan of arrangement intended by your excellency for the preſervation of his father's family from an entire humiliation; your excellency will alſo obſerve, that Omdut ul Omrah's reputed ſon, (who is of an age to appreciate the conſequences of his own conduct;) and his adviſers, have ſignified their final rejection of this fundamental propoſition, under the expreſſion of their entire belief of the exiſtence of your lordſhip's orders, and under the impreſſion of the fulleſt knowledge of the conſequences of that rejection.

7. The failure of my endeavour to accompliſh an arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, by a conciliatory negociation with the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah, was as little expected by myſelf as by your excellency. The delay which has in conſequence occurred, was inſeparable from this mode of procedure; but whatever temporary inconvenience may attach to it, I have no doubt that your lordſhip will conſider me to have adhered, in the purſuit of an amicable adjuſtment, to the ſpirit of your councils, inſtructions, and wiſhes.

8. The intention of obtaining an adequate ſecurity for the rights and intereſts of the Britiſh government in the Carnatic, through the channel of an amicable negociation, having been fruſtrated by the unexpected reſiſtance oppoſed to my demands by the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah, it remained for me to apply the principles of your lordſhip's policy and orders to the change of circumſtances, and the actual condition of the caſe.

9. The reſult of the propoſitions, founded on the proofs of the violation of the alliance, by the conduct of the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, eſtabliſhes the right of the Britiſh government to exerciſe its power in ſuch a manner, and to ſuch an extent, as ſhall be judged adviſeable for the attainment of an adequate ſecurity for its rights and intereſts in the Carnatic. The mode

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mode of exerciſing that right is therefore limited to conſiderations of expediency: the diſpatches which I have had the honour of receiving from your lordſhip by Mr. Webbe, leave no doubt in my mind, that your excellency conſiders that to be the moſt expedient mode of exerciſing our right and power, which ſhall be moſt conſiſtent with the magnanimity of moderation and forbearance, under the injuries we have ſuſtained, and moſt conformable to the nature of the connection ſo long ſubſiſting between the Company and Mahommed Ally.

10. The attainment of an adequate ſecurity, by means of negociation, from the immediate family of Omdut ul Omrah, has been rendered impracticable, under the letter of your lordſhip's laſt inſtructions, by Ally Huſſain's rejection of the fundamental propoſition for that purpoſe; but the ſpirit of your lordſhip's proviſional orders, under date the 26th of March 1800, is ſtill applicable to the actual circumſtances in which the affairs of the Carnatic have now been placed. Conſiderations, independent of thoſe connected with our external relations, are ſuggeſted by the ſtate of our domeſtic affairs: the rebellion in the ſouthern provinces has aſſumed a more formidable aſpect than could have been expected; and although the force aſſembled is, I truſt, ſufficient for the ſuppreſſion of it, the movement of troops required for that purpoſe has unavoidably ſo reduced the appointed force of the provinces, as to render extremely inconvenient any meaſure calculated to augment the number of diſaffected perſons. During the recent negociations, circumſtances have occurred which eſtabliſh my belief of the exiſtence of a very conſiderable treaſure in the poſſeſſion or the family of the late nabob, and it is of great importance that ſo pregnant a ſource of miſchief ſhould not now be thrown into a ſcale adverſe to our intereſts.

11. The object of the orders which I am inſtructed by your excellency to carry into effect, is the attainment of an adequate ſecurity founded on the poſſeſſion of territory; if that object ſhould be attainable with the conſent of the houſe of Mahommed Ally, it is manifeſt that the degree of ſecurity will be greater than if the ſame object ſhould be obtained by the exerciſe of our power, even under the qualification of our indiſputable right; becauſe ſuch a mode of procedure is calculated to conciliate the affections of our muſſulman ſubjects, inſtead of inflaming the diſcontented ſtate of their minds, and to ſecure at leaſt a negative application of the ſuppoſed treaſure to the ordinary uſe of the family, inſtead of diverting it to the purpoſes of treachery or hoſtility.

12. On a review of all theſe circumſtances and conſiderations, I have judged the principles of your lordſhip's orders to remain in full force, although the mode of applying them has failed with reſpect to the ſuppoſed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah; but every conſideration of our general policy of expediency with reſpect to our external relations, and of prudence with regard to our internal tranquillity, requires, in my judgement, that the actual eſtabliſhment of our ſecurity, on the baſis of right to exerciſe the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic, ſhould be accompanied by the gracious and conciliatory meaſure of eſtabliſhing a branch of the houſe of Mahommed Ally in a degree of rank and ſplendour ſuited to its long ſubſiſting connection with the Company, and conſiſtent with the actual circumſtances of the Carnatic.

13. I

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13. I have already apprized your lordship, by my private dispatches, that, under the impression of these sentiments, I had directed my attention to the situation of Azeem ul Dowlah, the only son of the late Ameer ul Omrah; and that, in determining to advance him eventually to the soubahdarry of the territories of Arcot, I had considered myself at liberty to extend to the present situation of the affairs of the Carnatic, the provisional instructions contained in your lordship's dispatch of the 26th of March 1800. Having adopted, in consequence of this intention, the necessary measures of precaution for removing the restraint imposed during a long period of time, by the family of Omdut ul Omrah, on the person of Azeem ul Dowlah, I directed Mr. Webbe and Lieutenant-colonel Close to open a negociation with that prince, upon the grounds of the rights acquired by the Company, from the violation of the alliance on the part of his family; and upon the wish of the British government to avoid, as far as might be consistent with its actual security, the humiliation of this ancient and illustrious house.

14. I have the honour of acquainting your lordship, that the negociation has been brought to a successful determination, and I enclose the draft of a treaty * which Azeem ul Omrah has bound himself to execute in a more formal manner, as soon as circumstances may be sufficiently advanced to admit the execution of a public instrument.

15. In providing a suitable maintenance for the successor of Omdut ul Omrah, I have thought it more advisable to render the amount dependent on the general prosperity of the country, than to fix an unconditional stipend for the support of his dignity: this mode of arrangement, while it cannot encroach upon our security, is calculated to qualify the entire transfer of the civil government of the Carnatic to the hands of the British, with the preservation of an active principle for securing an union of interests between the nabob of the Carnatic and the Company in the administration of the affairs of the country; and this mode possesses the farther recommendation of relieving the provision for the maintenance of the nabob from the appearance of a mere pension. On the same grounds of reasoning, I have judged it expedient to secure the income of the nabob from the effects of any considerable failure in the revenues of the Carnatic. On the principle adopted, I expect that the income of the nabob will not much exceed two lacks of pagodas, and the future augmented income will probably never exceed the sum of three lacks of pagodas.

16. I have adopted the principle stated in your lordship's letter to his highness the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, of the 24th April 1799, containing the plan of a proposed treaty for the complete adjustment of all his highness's affairs with respect to the Company, and a clause has accordingly been introduced into the present treaty, by which Azeem ul Dowlah formally acknowledges, on the part of himself and of his predecessors heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, the debts due by their highnesses to the Company, on account of the cavalry loan, and on account of the proportion of the consolidated debt of 1777, paid by the Company to the creditors of

* *Vide* Copy of Treaty transmitted in the dispatch from the governor in council of Fort St. George, dated 31st July 1801;—No. 6.

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of the nabob Mahommed Ally. By the ſame clauſe his highneſs Azeem ul Dowlah has further bound himſelf to acknowledge, as a juſt debt, the amount which ſhall be decided to be the juſt balance of the unadjuſted accounts referred to the determination of the governor-general in council, by his late highneſs the nabob Mahommed Ally.

17. I have judged it to be my duty to ſtimulate this formal acknowledgement of the debts due to the Company by the nabobs of the Carnatic, not more from the deſire of providing a final ſettlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, than from a regard to juſtice in ſecuring to the public a portion of whatever ſum may eventually be appropriated to the liquidation of the floating debt of the late nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah. I have conſidered this duty to be the more urgent, from the reports now prevailing with reſpect to the progreſs already made towards an arrangement for the conſolidation of thoſe debts, and from the manifeſt neceſſity of ſecuring, in ſuch an event, a more adequate proportion of the revenues of the Carnatic for the defence of the territories ſubject to this preſidency.

18. I have introduced into the declaration tranſmitted to me by your lordſhip, ſuch alterations as the change of circumſtances appears to have rendered neceſſary; and I have now the honour of ſubmitting to your excellency a copy of the declaration *, in the form in which it is my intention to tranſmit it to the reſidents of Hyderabad and Poonah, and to the government of Bombay. I ſhall not take any farther means for the publication of this paper, until I may become acquainted with your lordſhip's ſentiment on that ſubject.

19. It is neceſſary to apprize your lordſhip, that upon the death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, I conſidered it to be inconſiſtent with my deſire of negociating an amicable adjuſtment of the affairs of the Carnatic, to iſſue the orders I had propoſed previouſly to the receipt of your excellency's diſpatches, to tranſmit to the officers of the Company for the purpoſe of authorizing them to exerciſe the government of the Carnatic. The delay which has in conſequence occurred in the transfer of authority, is not likely to produce any ſerious inconvenience, particularly with reſpect to the revenue, at this ſeaſon of the year; and it will enable me to tranſmit, together with the orders of the governor in council to the officers of the Company, thoſe of his highneſs Azeem ul Dowlah to the officers of the late government, for the regular and formal eſtabliſhment of the authority of the Company in the civil government of the Carnatic.

20. Circumſtances connected with the ſituation of his highneſs Azeem ul Dowlah, and of the family of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, will render it neceſſary to poſtpone the ceremony of inſtalling his highneſs for a ſhort period of time; and until theſe arrangements can be adjuſted, it will be impracticable to tranſmit the treaty in an official diſpatch, from the governor in council, for the purpoſe of being notified by the governor-general in council.

21. Since the termination of the conferences with the khans, on the part of Omdut ul Omrah's ſon, I have received from them an addreſs, con-

* *Vide* Copy of the Declaration accompanying the diſpatch from the governor in council of Fort St. George, of 31ſt July 1801;—No. 7.

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containing a formal communication of the succession of Ally Hussain to the rank and titles appointed by the will of his supposed father, together with an intimation of the readiness and desire of that person to perform the obligations of the treaty of 1792. This communication was immediately subsequent to a positive, formal, and personal declaration from myself, that I could no longer consider Ally Hussain to have any pretensions to those titles, in consequence of the refusal on his part to afford the degree of security required by your lordship's orders. The conduct of those khans, and of Ally Hussain, has since been conformable to this affectation of independent rights. The positive and direct communication of the intention of the British government, has not deterred those persons from proceeding to the ordinary ceremonies of instating Ally Hussain in the ostensible rank of nabob of the Carnatic. This mode of procedure manifests, on the part of Omdut ul Omrah's reputed son, and of his advisers, a systematic adherence to the spirit of hostility which animated that faithless ally, and a perfect obedience to the testamentary councils of his father. I have therefore been compelled to guard against the consequences which such an appearance of opposition to the British authority is calculated, and may be intended to produce on the internal tranquillity of the country; and I have judged it expedient for that purpose to take complete possession of the palace of Chepauk, by means of the British troops, and to close the public offices until the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah shall be instated.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CLIVE.

Fort St. George, 27th July 1801.

(Official, No. 20.—Most secret.)

To His Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis WELLESLEY, K.P.

MY LORD,

1. The general grounds of belief of the existence of a very large treasure in the family of the late nabob Mahommed Ally, has been considerably strengthened by circumstances which have occurred during the recent negociations with the prince Azeem ul Dowlah; I have therefore judged it to be my duty to endeavour, by the present arrangements, to provide that a proportion of the treasure should be appropriated to the liquidation of the cavalry loan.

2. No doubt can exist of the justice or of the expediency of such a provision; but under the actual circumstances of the case I fear that considerable difficulties will be opposed to the execution of it. The prince Azeem ul Dowlah has been so long excluded from the knowledge of public affairs, at the durbar of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, that it may be practicable to conceal from his knowledge the mode in which the treasure may have been distributed, if (as may be expected) the greatest portion of the treasure has been disposed of among the female part of the late nabob's family, or if it should have been deposited in the interior apartments of the palace, the recovery of it must be attended with much embarrassment: the necessity of resorting to the measures requisite for that purpose could not fail of rendering the elevation of Azeem ul Dowlah unwelcome to many branches of the family, and impede, to a certain extent, that general submission to the arrangement concluded with him, which I consider it of importance to conciliate from all our mussulman subjects.

3. In

3. In this view of the queſtion I have judged it adviſeable to ſtipulate with Azeem ul Dowlah a ſeparate and ſecret article, providing for the eventual diſcharge of the cavalry loan from the treaſures which may be diſcovered. The knowledge of the exiſtence of this article, after Azeem ul Dowlah ſhall have been eſtabliſhed in the ſubahdarry of the territories of Arcot, not being liable to the inconveniences which render the diſcovery at preſent inconvenient, it is my intention to keep this article profoundly ſecret; and I truſt that your lordſhip will conſider me to have provided by this mode the beſt ſecurity for the diſcharge of the debt, which is conſiſtent with the extreme delicacy of the queſtion, and with the advantages of relieving the firſt meaſures of Azeem ul Dowlah's government from the ungracious conſequences of demanding the immediate reſtoration of the public property.

4. I have the honour of enclоſing a copy of the article for your lordſhip's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CLIVE.

Fort St. George, 27th July 1801.

No. 11.

Copies and Extracts of LETTERS *from the Governor-General and the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors; relative to the Revolution in the Carnatic, and the Aſſumption of its Government by the Company.*

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Par. 1. Your honourable committee has been already made acquainted, by the diſpatches of his excellency the moſt noble the governor-general, with the written evidence diſcovered at Seringapatam, of the treacherous conduct of their highneſſes the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah.

2. On the receipt of the governor-general's ſeparate diſpatches, Lord Clive, in conformity to his excellency's deſire, expreſſed in a private diſpatch, appointed Mr. Webbe, the chief ſecretary of this government, and Lieutenant Colonel Cloſe, the reſident in Myſore, to be commiſſioners, for the purpoſe of conducting the oral examination neceſſary to complete the proofs of theſe moſt extraordinary tranſactions.

3. The report of the commiſſioners, with the proceedings, was received by Lord Clive, and tranſmitted to his excellency the governor-general, in the month of May 1800, with a diſpatch from Lord Clive, containing his lordſhip's ſentiments on the reſult of the enquiry inſtituted at Seringapatam.

4. Circumſtances connected with our general policy and intereſts, rendered it expedient for the governor-general to poſtpone his excellency's determination, with reſpect to the meaſures to be adopted in conſequence of this flagrant violation of the ties of amity and alliance by the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah. The cauſes of this unavoidable delay are explained in a recent diſpatch, received by Lord Clive from the governor-general, containing the reſult of his excellency's deliberation on this important queſtion, together with his lordſhip's inſtructions in regard to the nature and extent of the ſecurity to be required for the rights and intereſts of the Company in the Carnatic.

5. During

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5. During the time when this subject was under the consideration of the governor-general, the state of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's health became so precarious as to portend consequences fatal to the existence of his highness.

6. At an early period of time after the discovery of the papers found at Seringapatam, the governor-general had judged it expedient and prudent to transmit eventual instructions to Lord Clive, applicable to the contingency of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's death, previously to the determination of the measures which might be rendered necessary to our safety by the detection of the faithless and hostile conduct of his highness. Lord Clive was also enabled to receive instructions from the governor-general, applicable to the contingency of the nabob's death, subsequently to the determination of the system of policy to be pursued for the future security of our interests in the Carnatic.

7. These dispatches were entrusted by the governor-general, together with his excellency's verbal instructions, to Mr. Webbe, who arrived at Fort St. George previously to the dissolution of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah. Although the important measures connected with the execution of the governor-general's orders rendered Lord Clive extremely anxious to demand, at the earliest practicable period of time, an adequate security for the British interests against the hostile councils of his highness, yet the extreme debility of Omdut ul Omrah appeared, upon the affidavit of his highness's physician, to be such as to deter Lord Clive from communicating to his highness the arrival of the governor-general's dispatches. The subsequent death of Omdut ul Omrah, which happened on the 15th ult. frustrated the intention of Lord Clive to open a negociation with his highness according to the instructions of the governor-general.

8. On the demise of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, Lord Clive deputed Mr. Webbe and Lieutenant-Colonel Close to open a conference with the principal officers of the late government, for the purpose of demanding from the successor of Omdut ul Omrah the security required by the instructions of the governor-general.

9. * The manner in which those conferences were conducted, is described in a report of the deputies; and the result of them was a declaration by Ally Hussain, (the reputed son, and the heir appointed by the will of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah,) of his final resolution not to acquiesce in Lord Clive's demand of security to the extent considered by the governor-general, and by his lordship, to be indispensably necessary to the security of the British interests.

10. During these conferences with the persons appointed by Omdut ul Omrah to assist the councils of his highness's reputed son, the deputies nominated by Lord Clive endeavoured to impress on the minds of those khans the nature of the proofs established on the written and oral testimony taken at Seringapatam; and no means of assurance, argument, or persuasion were omitted, which could tend to convince those persons of the existence of the governor-general's orders, founded on the instructions of your honourable committee, and of Lord Clive's serious determination to carry those orders into effect, to the extent of obtaining

* See No. 4.

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ing an adequate ſecurity for the rights and intereſts of the Company in the Carnatic. Under theſe circumſtances, of the recent death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and of the indeterminate ſtate of the affairs of his highneſs, ſome degree of delay was inſeparable from theſe negociations; but we have no doubt that your committee will conſider the inconveniences ariſing from that delay to be compenſated by the generoſity of affording to the family of Omdut ul Omrah, in this ſpirit of temperance and moderation, ſufficient leiſure to appreciate the ſerious effects of this alternative choice on its immediate intereſt. The khans appointed to act on the part of Ally Huſſain having perſiſted to refuſe to the deputies the ſecurity required by the governor-general, Lord Clive judged it to be his lordſhip's duty, previouſly to the adoption of the meaſures dependent on that refuſal, to obtain, if poſſible, a knowledge of the genuine ſentiments of Ally Huſſain himſelf on this important propoſition. Lord Clive accordingly held two perſonal interviews with the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah, at which none of the officers or adviſers of the late government were preſent, the place at which theſe interviews were held being within the encampment of the Britiſh troops. The mode of this meeting was attended with the further advantage of affording to Ally Huſſain immediate ſecurity and protection in the event of his deſiring to relieve himſelf from the deſperate and infatuated councils of his adviſers. At theſe perſonal interviews, the nature of the rights acquired by the Britiſh government was explained to Ally Huſſain; the determination to exerciſe thoſe rights was ſtated; and the conſequences of a refuſal on his part to afford, in an amicable manner, the ſecurity required by the Britiſh government, were announced in the moſt ſerious and formal manner by Lord Clive to the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah. In reply to this communication, Ally Huſſain diſtinctly and formally ſtated his reſolution to adhere to the councils of the khans appointed to aſſiſt, and to refuſe, with a perfect knowledge of the conſequences of that refuſal, to accede to the demand for the eſtabliſhment of an adequate ſecurity for the intereſts and rights of the Company in the Carnatic.

11. In conſequence of the reſiſtance, unexpectedly oppoſed by Ally Huſſain to this reaſonable demand, it remained for Lord Clive to apply the inſtructions and authority conveyed to his lordſhip by the governor-general to the actual ſtate of circumſtances. In proceeding to exerciſe the rights of the Britiſh government, which the conduct of Ally Huſſain had compelled his lordſhip to aſſert, Lord Clive ſtill judged it to be conſiſtent with the ſentiments of national magnanimity and generoſity, that the Britiſh government ſhould refrain from the exerciſe of the Company's power, and from the abſolute humiliation of the family of Mahommed Ally, if an adequate ſecurity could be obtained through the channel of an amicable adjuſtment. Under the impreſſion of theſe ſentiments, Lord Clive directed his attention to the claims and to the ſituation of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behauder. This prince is the only ſon by a formal marriage of the late Ameer ul Omrah, who was the ſecond ſon of the late nabob Mahommed Ally, and is the immediate great grandſon, by both his parents, of the nabob Ameer

Ameer ud Deen Khan, the founder of the family. The rights of Omdut ul Omrah, founded on the treaty of 1792, having been vitiated by that prince's violation of the alliances, and of the stipulations of that instrument, the hereditary claims of the house of Mahommed Ally descended to the second branch of the family, represented by the prince Azeem ul Dowlah, the son of Ameer ul Omrah, who was the second son of the nabob Mahommed Ally.

12. As soon as the restraint imposed by the family of Omdut ul Omrah on the person of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah could be removed, Lord Clive directed the deputies, Mr. Webbe and Lieutenant Colonel Close, to open a communication with that prince, for the purpose of reviving the alliance between his ancestors and the Company, and of establishing the rights and interests of the British government in the Carnatic on a permanent basis of security. The grounds* of the reasoning in which this determination was founded, are stated in a separate dispatch from Lord Clive to the governor-general, to which we refer your honourable committee.

13. The prince Azeem ul Dowlah having been informed by the deputies, of the foundation on which the right of the British government to demand an adequate security was supported, and of the nature of the security required, signified his acknowledgement of that right, and his willingness to afford, in the event of his elevation to the musnud of his ancestors, the security demanded by the authority of the governor-general. The deputies accordingly proceeded to frame a written engagement on these principles, which was executed by the prince Azeem ul Dowlah.

14. In conformity to this arrangement we have acknowledged Azeem ul Dowlah to be nabob of the Carnatic, and refer your committee to the detailed† grounds of this measure to a declaration, which has been transmitted to the governor-general in council, to the governor in council at Bombay, to the governor of Ceylon, and to the residents at Hyderabad and Poonah; for this purpose we also refer the committee‡ to the treaty which has been concluded with the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah behauder.

15. The mode of providing for the support of the dignity of his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah is conformable to the principles on which the alliance between his highness's family and the Company has been revived and established. By these means the interests of his highness will become united with those of the Company in the general prosperity of the Carnatic; and while the actual security of the British interests, provided by the present arrangement, remains undiminished; the mode of supplying a fund for the expences of the family in the manner suitable to its rank, and to the dignity of the British government, by the allotment of a proportion of the public revenues for that purpose, is entirely relieved from the degrading name and appearance of a stipendiary maintenance.

16. In conformity to the plan described in the governor-general's letter of the 24th of April 1790, to the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, for including in the treaty, at that time proposed to his highness, a complete adjustment of all the affairs

* See No. 10. † See No. 7. ‡ See No. 7.

fairs of his highneſs, and of his highneſs's anceſtors, which yet remained unadjuſted with the Company, Lord Clive deemed it to be his duty to ſtipulate an entire adjuſtment of the debts due by the family of the nabob to the Company. His highneſs having aſſented to this demand, a clauſe has accordingly been introduced into the treaty, by which the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah acknowledges, on his own part, and on that of his anceſtors, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, the debt commonly called the cavalry loan, and the debt ariſing from the proportion of the conſolidated debt of 1777, paid by the Company to the private creditors of the late nabob Mahommed Ally, to be juſt debts due to the Company, together with intereſt ariſing thereon. His highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah farther binds himſelf to acknowledge, as a juſt debt due to the Company, the amount which may be pronounced by the Governor-general in council, to be the juſt and fair balance of the unadjuſted accounts between his family and the Company, according to the engagement by which the nabob Mahommed Ally bound himſelf to abide by the deciſion of the Governor-general in council, when his highneſs referred thoſe accounts to the determination of the ſupreme government.

17. It will be obvious to your honourable committee, that the intention of Lord Clive, in ſtipulating this article of the treaty, was directed to ſecure to the Company the appropriation of the ſum of ſix lacks and twenty-one thouſand pagodas, unincumbered by any deductions, to the diſcharge of the public debt due to the Company, as ſoon as the conſolidated debt of 1777 ſhall have been liquidated, under the exiſting engagements with the conditions of the nabob Mahommed Ally.

18. The object of ſecuring this ſum, for the liquidation of the debt due to the Company, did not appear leſs important to Lord Clive, than the expediency of providing that, under any circumſtances which may occur, a more adequate proportion of the revenues of the Carnatic ſhould be applied to the military defence of thoſe valuable poſſeſſions, than can now be appropriated to that purpoſe. The calamitous impoveriſhment of every ſource of wealth and population, of which the cauſes have been repeatedly ſtated to your honourable committee, leaves no immediate expectation that the net revenues of the Carnatic will exceed the ſum of nineteen lacks of ſtar pagodas. This fund, after allotting a ſufficient ſum for the ſupport of the expences of the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, for the maintenance of the principal officers, miniſters, dependants, and family of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and for the payment of the amount appropriated to the liquidation of the conſolidated debt of the nabob Mahommed Ally, will afford a ſum probably not exceeding nine lacks of pagodas for the defrayment of the charges of defending theſe extenſive territories.

19. That ſum exceeds, by a very ſmall amount, the proportion of the revenue which the province of Tanjore contributes to the general exigencies of the ſtate, and bears a very inadequate proportion, either to the expence of defending the Carnatic, or to the rate of aſſeſſment levied for the public protection in every other part of the territories ſubject to this preſidency. The preſent deduction of ſix from fifteen lacks of pagodas, is therefore ſo diſproportioned to the preſent revenues of

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the Carnatic, that we can indulge no very ſanguine hope of an immediate augmentation of our pecuniary reſources from the adminiſtration of the civil government of the Carnatic. The progreſſive decline of the revenues of the Carnatic may be conſidered to have approached that ſtage, at which your committee have been prepared to expect the entire failure of the nabob's government, and, under the exiſting engagements, the augmentation of our reſources muſt be proportioned to the gradual reſtoration of the wealth and proſperity of the country; every conſideration, therefore, of the actual expence of protecting the extenſive provinces of the Carnatic, every view of the indiſpenſable neceſſity of maintaining an adequate military force for the defence of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the peninſula of India, and every motive of attention to the alarming preſſure on the finances of this preſidency, required Lord Clive to eſtabliſh, by the preſent treaty, the beſt poſſible ſecurity for a more adequate application, in future, of the public revenues of the Carnatic to the exigencies of the public ſervice.

20. We feel great pleaſure in congratulating your honourable committee on the completion of an arrangement, which has at length ſecured the Britiſh intereſts in the Carnatic on the ſolid baſis of territorial poſſeſſion; and which is, at the ſame time, calculated to confirm the reputation of our national magnanimity, generoſity, and moderation. We have no doubt, that your honourable committee will concur in our ſentiments, that the negociation, which has terminated in the accompliſhment of theſe important objects, has been conducted in a manner conſiſtent with the liberal policy of the nation, unbiaſſed by the adventitious advantage which might have been derived from the early excitement of a competition, founded on the variety of adverſe intereſts dependent on the determination of the Britiſh councils.

We have the honour to inform you, that, in conformity to the terms of the treaty, the inſtallation of the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah was completed on the 31ſt ult. accompanied with every demonſtration of public reſpect, ſupported by every poſſible degree of ſplendour, and confirmed under the obſervance of the moſt formal procedure.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CLIVE,
T. STUART,
W. PETRIE,
E. W. FALLOFIELD.

Fort St. George, 3d Auguſt 1801.

Extract of a Letter from Marquis WELLESLEY, *to the Secret Committee.*

Dated Moonghyr, 28th Sept. 1801.

THE principal documents reſpecting the final ſettlement of the Carnatic, have already been forwarded to you from Fort St. George; I have the honour to annex to this diſpatch copies of ſuch documents *, relating to that ſubject, as are now at this preſidency. The *Georgiana* will touch at Madras, in order to take duplicates of the papers already tranſmitted to your honourable committee from that preſidency, with ſuch farther advices, reſpecting the ſtate of the Carnatic, as the right honourable the governor in council may be prepared to tranſmit to Europe. The *Mornington* packet will convey to you a review, which I am now preparing,

* The documents here referred to, form an Appendix to this diſpatch, and a liſt (A.) is enclоſed.

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preparing, of the circumſtances which have led to the late arrangements in the Carnatic; in the mean while, the diſpatches from Fort St. George will have ſufficiently apprized your honourable committee of the principles which governed my conduct in my inſtructions to Lord Clive, and in the ratification of the treaty concluded by his lordſhip with the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah.

Extract of a Secret Letter from Fort St. George, dated 1ſt October 1801.

Par. 1. On the third of Auguſt laſt we had the honour of communicating to you, by the *Whim* packet, the death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and the progreſs of the tranſactions which had terminated in the elevation of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behauder to the rank of the nabob Soubadar of the Carnatic, and in the eſtabliſhment of the rights and intereſts of the Company in the Carnatic, on the ſolid foundation of territorial ſecurity. Duplicates of that diſpatch having been tranſmitted by the overland conveyance, and ſubſequently by the extra ſhip *Bridgewater*, we truſt that your honourable committee will have received the earlieſt intelligence of thoſe important events.

2. We have ſince had the honour to receive the determination of his excellency the moſt noble the Governor-general in council, on the ſubject of the treaty concluded by us with his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah; and we have the ſatisfaction of informing the committee, that the Governor-general in council has expreſſed his excellency's entire approbation of the conduct of this government, during the progreſs of the various events which have terminated ſo highly advantageous to the intereſts of the honourable Company.

3. The reputed ſon of his highneſs the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, having met the juſt and moderate propoſitions, founded on the inſtructions of the Governor-general, for the ſecurity of the Britiſh intereſts in the Carnatic, by a deliberate refuſal to enter into any engagements, abſolutely neceſſary to that indiſpenſable object, his excellency conſidered the general ſpirit of the inſtructions conveyed to Lord Clive at different times under the various changes which have taken place in the ſituation of affairs, entirely to warrant this government in offering to the ſon of the late Ameer ul Omrah the ſame terms which had been offered to the reputed ſon of Omdut ul Omrah; and the eſtabliſhment of the acknowledged heir of the Ameer ul Omrah in the rank of nabob of the Carnatic, was therefore, in the judgement of the Governor-general, a meaſure of moderation and wiſdom.

4. Under theſe circumſtances, his excellency in council has been pleaſed to expreſs his entire approbation of the general ſpirit and ſtipulations of the treaty concluded with the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah.

5. The governor in council accordingly ratified the treaty executed at Fort St. George; but being deſirous of introducing ſome improvements of importance into that treaty, the Governor-general ſtated his opinion of the propoſed modification, ſubjecting the adoption or rejection of it, without farther reference, to the diſcretion of this government.

6. The Governor-general having deemed it to be neceſſary that a change of the terms of the preamble,

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and of the firſt article of the treaty, ſhould be introduced, for the purpoſe of ſpecifying more diſtinctly, that the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah owed his elevation, not to any hereditary pretenſions, but to the liberality and generoſity of the Britiſh government; a copy of the treaty, ſo modified and ratified by his excellency in council, was tranſmitted to us. The Governor-general in council having alſo deemed it to be expedient, that explanatory articles of charge to be permanently deducted from the revenue, previouſly to the allotment of the nabob's proportion, for the purpoſe of relieving the Company from the appropriation of the jaghires in land, and of ſubſtituting pecuniary ſtipends for the ſupport of the families of the nabob Mahommed Ally and of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah; and for the purpoſe of limiting the income of the nabob, on account of his proportion of the revenue, to an ultimate ſum, his excellency in council tranſmitted to us inſtructions for framing additional articles, in conformity to the ſuggeſtions of the Governor-general.

7. Lord Clive had great ſatisfaction in remarking the peculiar delicacy obſerved by the Governor-general in propoſing thoſe modifications, and the confidence which his excellency repoſed in this government, by committing to the exerciſe of its diſcretion the eventual adoption of the improvements conſidered by his excellency to be requiſite to the final arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic.

8. In the mode adopted by the Governor-general for conveying his excellency's obſervations and inſtructions, Lord Clive had ſincere pleaſure in receiving the moſt flattering teſtimony of the ſucceſs which has attended his lordſhip's anxious and uniform endeavours to cultivate the confidence of the ſupreme government, by a zealous and cordial co-operation in the ſyſtem of meaſures adopted by the Governor-general, with reſpect to this government; and Lord Clive took that opportunity to aſſure his excellency of the unfeigned ſatisfaction which he felt on this occaſion, and which he will feel on all occaſions, in carrying into execution thoſe arrangements which his excellency may judge moſt conducive to the honour and proſperity of the Empire in India.

9. We have the honour of informing the Committee, that the reference to the hereditary pretenſions of Azeem ul Dowlah, as ſtated in the preamble and firſt article of the treaty, was entirely voluntary on the part of Lord Clive, and that throughout the late negociations, the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah ſtated his conviction that the right of his highneſs's family, founded on its connection with the Company, had been annihilated, and that his highneſs conſidered the cauſes of his own elevation to have flowed from the generoſity and moderation of the Britiſh government. Lord Clive was therefore relieved from the ſuppoſed difficulties ſtated in the Governor-general's diſpatch, in propoſing to the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, the modification of the preamble, and of the firſt article of the treaty executed at Fort St. George.

10. In conformity to the principles repeatedly declared by his highneſs, the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah received this propoſition with the utmoſt degree of cheerfulneſs, and relinquiſhed all claim to the acknowledgements of his hereditary pretenſions, without expreſſing any diffidence or alarm with reſpect to the intention of the propoſed modification.

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dification. The modified treaty, tranſmitted by the Governor-general, has accordingly been executed by us, and formally delivered to the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah.

11. In obedience to the further inſtructions of the Governor-general in council, with reſpect to the explanatory articles, we have executed and interchanged with the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah ſeparate articles, to be annexed to the treaty, and we have tranſmitted a copy of thoſe articles for the purpoſe of being ratified by the Governor-general in council.

12. In fixing the ultimate amount of the nabob's income, we have been guided by the Governor-general's ſeparate diſpatches to Lord Clive; and your committee will obſerve, that the principle of calculation adopted by us will limit his highneſs's proportion to about three lacks of pagodas, under the moſt beneficial arrangements now adopted for the adminiſtration of the revenues of the Carnatic.

13. We have the honour to inform the committee, that the ratified treaty, with the explanatory articles, was interchanged with his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, on the 16th ultimo, under every circumſtance of public reſpect ſuited to the importance of the occaſion.

14. We entertain a juſt ſenſe of the honour which the Governor-general in council has conferred on us, by the expreſſion of his excellency's public thanks on the occaſion of executing this treaty; and we have aſſured his excellency, that we conſider the manner in which his ſentiments have been conveyed to us, highly honourable to the adminiſtration of the affairs of this government.

15. Reflecting on the progreſs and termination of this tranſaction, Lord Clive deemed it his duty to beſtow that tribute of praiſe which is due to Mr. Webbe and to Lieutenant-colonel Cloſe. His lordſhip conſidered himſelf fortunate, that circumſtances permitted him to employ the ſervices of thoſe gentlemen, according to the wiſhes of the Governor-general, in the oral examinations taken at Vellore and Seringapatam, and that he ſhould be enabled, at a ſubſequent period of time, to avail himſelf of the ſame ſervices in the conduct of the late negociation.

16. Lord Clive has no doubt that the Governor-general and the honourable committee, will concur in the importance which his lordſhip attaches to the conſiſtent form preſerved by thoſe means, in the progreſs of the tranſaction, and to the peculiar advantage derived from the employment of European gentlemen of honour, eminently qualified, by their knowledge of eaſtern manners and languages, to conduct an affair of ſo much delicacy.

17. Lord Clive knew that it was unneceſſary for his lordſhip to direct the attention of the Governor-general to the merits of Lieutenant-colonel Cloſe and Mr. Webbe; but his lordſhip felt it to be no leſs an act of juſtice, than of perſonal ſatisfaction, to expreſs to his excellency in council, his lordſhip's high ſenſe and approbation of the temper, judgement, and ability manifeſted by thoſe gentlemen in the accompliſhment of an arrangement, by which the government, acting under the authority of the Governor-general in council, has been enabled to adjuſt the affairs of the Carnatic in a manner ſo honourable and advantageous to the Company and the nation.

18. Lord Clive having, in con-

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cert with his highneſs the nabob, and in conformity to the inſtructions of his excellency the Governor-general in council, framed an arrangement for the ſupport of the families of the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, and for the maintenance of the principal officers of the late government, has communicated to us the plan propoſed by his lordſhip; in which we entirely concur.

19. We have the honour of tranſmitting a copy of Lord Clive's ſeparate minute for the information of the committee; who will have the ſatisfaction of obſerving, that the total amount of the pecuniary ſtipends, penſions, and eſtabliſhments, is leſs than the ſum provided by the treaty of 1792, for the family jaghires of the late nabobs; and that the ſtated principle of diſtinction, while it ſecures a liberal ſupport to every branch of the family, will neceſſarily produce a gradual diminution of the total expence to be incurred by the Company.

From Marquis WELLESLEY *to the Secret Committee; dated 21ſt October* 1801.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

PAR. 1.—At the moment of cloſing my letters intended for the preſent diſpatch overland, I received a letter from the right honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, under date the 22d ultimo, notifying the final concluſion and exchange of engagements between the honourable Company and his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, in conformity to the directions contained in the orders of the Governor-general in council to the government of Fort St. George, under date the 18th of Auguſt (a copy of which accompanied my diſpatch (D), dated the 28th September, by the *Georgiana* packet,) and incloſing for my ratification two explanatory articles, framed according to the inſtructions of the 18th Auguſt; which articles had been executed by the right honourable the governor in council and his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah.

2. Being abſent from the preſidency of Fort William, on my progreſs towards the upper provinces, I have this day ratified the explanatory articles of the treaty of the Carnatic.

3. By the *Georgiana* packet, I have had the honour to tranſmit, for the information of your honourable committee, a copy of the treaty of the Carnatic, as it was originally concluded between the government of Fort St. George and his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, together with all the documents connected with the ſubject of this important arrangement.

4. By thoſe diſpatches your honourable committee will be appriz-ed of the ſtate of the negociation with his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah at the period of time when thoſe documents were tranſmitted. Your honourable committee will certainly receive a communication of the reſult of the late negociation with his highneſs, from the right honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, by the ſhips under diſpatch from that preſidency, together with copies of his lordſhip's addreſs to this government of the 22d ultimo, and of the explanatory articles which accompanied it.

5. With the view, however, to afford your honourable committee

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the earlieſt information of the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, as well as to multiply the channels of intelligence upon this important ſubject, I deem it expedient to tranſmit by the preſent diſpatch overland the following documents:—

Copy of a letter from the governor in council of Fort St. George, dated 31ſt July 1801:

Copy of the treaty concluded with his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, tranſmitted in the foregoing:

Copy of a letter from the Governor-general in council, dated the 18th Auguſt.

Memorandum of the propoſed modification of the treaty with his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah:

Copy of a letter from the right honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, dated 22d September:

Copy of the explanatory articles incloſed in the foregoing.

6. I requeſt your honourable committee to accept my congratulations on the concluſion of an arrangement, which, while it is highly creditable to the juſtice and moderation of the Britiſh character, has happily eſtabliſhed the rights and intereſts of the honourable Company in the Carnatic upon the ſecure and permanent foundations of territorial poſſeſſion, of excluſive civil and military government, and of undivided influence and power. It is a great ſatisfaction to have ultimately accompliſhed an object, long and anxiouſly deſired by the honourable Company, and earneſtly recommended by the court of directors to my ſpecial attention, when I had the honour to receive the charge of this government.—Your honourable committee is apprized of the early ſolicitude which I manifeſted for the accompliſhment of this important meaſure, upon my firſt arrival at Madras in the month of April 1798, as well as of the repeated attempts which I made on various occaſions in the years 1798 and 1799, to effect the ſame ſalutary arrangement; the ſucceſſive failure of theſe attempts, combined with the reflections ariſing from the equally unpropitious reſult of every preceding propoſition of a ſimilar nature, have enhanced in my mind the pleaſure of witneſſing the concluſion of the late treaty. The intimate connexion of this happy event, with the ſucceſs of your arms in Myſore, forms a peculiar and intereſting feature of the whole tranſaction; nor can your honourable committee fail to remark, that the poſſeſſion of the records of the houſe of Hyder Ally, in diſcloſing to your government the whole ſyſtem of the policy of your enemies in India, is the ſource from which we have derived that information which has enabled us to complete the ſettlement of the Carnatic.

7. The introduction into the Carnatic of the wiſe and benevolent ſyſtem of government, to which theſe provinces are indebted for their preſent happineſs and proſperity, will be the next object of my anxiety and care. The union of all local authorities, and the extinction of every principle of conflicting power, will preclude the operation of thoſe cauſes of diſcord and counteraction, which muſt ever have impeded the progreſs of good government in the Carnatic, while the adminiſtration of affairs continued in the hands of the nabob.

8. I conſider it to be a moſt grateful part of my duty to expreſs to your honourable committee the high ſenſe which I entertain of the zeal, judgement, and temper, which has diſtinguiſhed the conduct of Lord Clive, and of the government of Fort St. George, during the whole courſe of thoſe important tranſactions, and arduous negotiations, which have terminated in a manner

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ſo advantageous to the intereſts of the honourable Company in India.

9. To his lordſhip's judicious exerciſe of the powers veſted in him by my authority for the ſettlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, is principally to be aſcribed the ſucceſs of thoſe meaſures which the treachery and ingratitude of their late highneſſes the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, compelled me to adopt for the preſervation of the rights and intereſts of the honourable Company in that country.

10. Juſtice to the merits of Mr. Webbe, chief ſecretary to government at Fort St. George, and of Lieutenant-colonel Cloſe, late reſident in Myſore, requires me to expreſs to your honourable committee my cordial and grateful approbation of the important ſervices rendered by thoſe gentlemen to the public, during the courſe of the late tranſactions and negotiations at Fort St. George. The aſſiſtance which Lord Clive has derived from the zeal, talents, and knowledge of Mr. Webbe and of Lieutenant-Colonel Cloſe, contributed in an eſſential degree to the ſucceſs of his lordſhip's meaſures for the arrangement of affairs in the Carnatic.

11. The diſcretion manifeſted by thoſe gentlemen in the conduct of the examination of Gholaum Ally, and Ally Rezza, inſtituted by the government of Fort St. George, under my orders of the 7th April 1800, under circumſtances of peculiar delicacy and difficulty, deſerves the higheſt applauſe.

12. I acknowledge with gratitude the aſſiſtance which I received from the abilities and local knowledge of Mr. Webbe, whom I directed to attend me at Fort William, for the purpoſe of aiding me in [illegible]ming the ſyſtem of meaſures to be adopted for the future adminiſtration of affairs in the Carnatic, in conſequence of the detected treachery of their late highneſſes the nabobs Walajah, and Omdut ul Omrah.

13. The eminent ſervices of Lieutenant-Colonel Cloſe, have already attracted the diſtinguiſhed notice of the honourable Company.

14. The obligations of public duty, and the moſt indiſpenſable rules of juſtice, concur to demand from me a recorded teſtimony in favour of the indefatigable activity, the powerful abilities, and proved integrity of Mr. Webbe, who adds to thoſe qualities a moſt accurate knowledge of the oriental languages, and an intimate acquaintance with every branch of your affairs in the peninſula.

15. In confirming the honourable teſtimony afforded by the right honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, in his lordſhip's addreſs to this government, under date the 22d ult. to the public merits and ſervices of Mr. Webbe and Lieutenant-Colonel Cloſe, on the important occaſion which attracted his lordſhip's approbation, I conſider it to be incumbent on me to ſolicit the ſpecial attention of your honourable committee, and of the court of directors, to the unremitting exertions of Mr. Webbe in the ſervice of the honourable Company, ſince the commencement of the late war in Myſore; being ſatisfied, through the regular public channels of information, as well as by my perſonal obſervation, that the laborious induſtry of that gentleman has been employed in the moſt diſintereſted zeal, and with great ſucceſs, to render himſelf an uſeful inſtrument, under the government of Fort St. George, of promoting the intereſts of the honourable Company,

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of securing the integrity and vigour of the administration of government, of improving the condition of our native subjects in the peninsula, and of augmenting the reputation and honour of the British name in every part of the extensive dominions subject to the presidency of Fort St. George.

16. By the next dispatch I hope to be able to transmit to your honourable committee a detailed review of the causes, and a prospect of the probable consequences, of the settlement of the Carnatic.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WELLESLEY.

Patna,
21 Oct. 1801.

No. 12.

Copy of ORDERS *published to the Settlement of Fort St. George, dated* 31*st July* 1801, *relative to the Treaty between the Company and* AZEEM UL DOWLAH.

Revenue Department.

PROCLAMATION.

1. Whereas the object of the connexion subsisting between the honourable Company and their highnesses, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, was intended to cement the union and alliance between the contracting parties, and to establish, on a solid foundation, the security and rights of the said contracting parties in the territories of the Carnatic: and whereas the several engagements concluded for that purpose have failed to answer the intention of the contracting parties, whereby the form of government throughout the provinces of the Carnatic has been subjected to changes injurious to established opinions, to general confidence, and to permanent prosperity: And whereas the munsub of the subadarry of the territories of Arcot having become vacant, his highness the nabob Walajah Ameer ul Omrah, Madar ul Mulk, Ameer ul Hind, Azeem ul Dowlah, Shewkul Jung Sepah, Salar Anweer ud Deen Khan behauder, has succeeded by the hereditary rights of his father, and by the full acknowledgment of the honourable Company, to the possession of the said munsub: Wherefore his said highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah behauder, and the said Company, being desirous of correcting such errors as have been heretofore introduced into the government of the Carnatic, and of supplying the defects of all former engagements between the said contracting parties; and being also anxious to give full vigour and efficiency to the government of the Carnatic, with a view to fix the rights of the people, and the interests of the state, on a broad and stable foundation, have mutually, and of their own accord, agreed, by a treaty bearing date the 31st July 1801, that all former provisions for securing a partial or temporary interference on the part of the honourable Company in the government, or in the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic, shall be entirely annulled; and that, in lieu thereof, a permanent system for the collection of the revenue, and for the administration of civil and criminal judicature, under the sole and undivided authority of the honourable Company, shall be established throughout every village, purgunnah, and province, of the entire territories of the Carnatic.

2. Now proclamation is hereby accordingly made to all zemindars, jaggeerdars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of every description of the Carnatic, that the honourable Company have, by the

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the treaty above mentioned, acquired a perfect right to aſcertain, determine, and eſtabliſh rights of property, to fix a reaſonable aſſeſſment upon the ſeveral purgunnahs and villages of the Carnatic, and to ſecure a fixed and permanent revenue, to be collected and accounted for by ſuch officers as ſhall from time to time be appointed for that purpoſe by the ſaid Company. And it is further publiſhed and declared, that the ſaid Company have alſo acquired a perfect right to eſtabliſh courts for the due adminiſtration of civil and criminal judicature, under the ſole authority of the ſaid Company, which ſaid courts ſhall be conducted by officers to be appointed from time to time by the ſaid Company, under ſuch ordinances and regulations as ſhall from time to time be enacted and publiſhed by the governor in council of Fort St. George.

3. And whereas his ſaid highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah behauder has diveſted himſelf, by the treaty abovementioned, of all controul, authority, or interference in the collection of the revenue, or in the adminiſtration of civil and criminal judicature: Wherefore all zemindars, jaghiredars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are hereby required to take notice of the ſame accordingly. And it is hereby farther proclaimed and declared, that the engagement now entered into between the contracting parties for the purpoſes above mentioned, are unconditional, and liable to no change whatever. Therefore the ſaid zemindars, jaghiredars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are required to take notice, that the right and power of fixing and collecting the revenue, as well as of adminiſtering civil and criminal judicature throughout the provinces, purgunnahs, and villages of the Carnatic, are veſted in the ſaid Company alone, as long as the ſun and moon ſhall endure.

4. Wherefore all zemindars, jaghiredars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, officers, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are ſeverally and collectively required, by virtue of the rights and powers acquired to the ſaid Company by compact with the preſent lawful nabob of the Carnatic, his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah behauder, to yield due obedience to ſuch officers as may be appointed, and to ſuch ordinances or laws as may be enacted by the ſaid Company alone, for the adminiſtration and government of the territories of the Carnatic, and in all time to come.

5. Although the right honourable the governor in council truſts that the experience which the inhabitants of the Carnatic have already had, will have rendered it unneceſſary for his lordſhip to explain the general principles of moderation, juſtice, protection and ſecurity, which form the characteriſtic features of the Britiſh government; yet his lordſhip, in accepting the ſacred truſt transferred to the Company by the preſent engagements, invites the people of the Carnatic to a ready and cheerful obedience to the authority of the Company, in a confident aſſurance of enjoying, under the protection of public and defined laws, every juſt and aſcertained civil right, with a free exerciſe of the religious inſtitutions and domeſtic uſages of their anceſtors.

By order of the right honourable the governor in Council.

(Signed) J. WEBBE,
Chief Sec. to Govt.

Fort St. George,
31ſt July 1801.

No.

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No. 13.

INFORMATION *submitted to the Honourable House of Commons, in obedience to several Orders dated 11th June* 1802:

Stating reasons why the same have not been fully complied with.

The papers required by the 3d order, are presumed to be contained in the documents numbered 1 and 2.

The paper required by the 4th order, is contained in paper No. 4, page 17; and that required by the 5th order in the same document, page 15.

The attestation of the Mahommedan lawyers, and of the families of the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, required by the 6th order, have not been transmitted to the court of directors by the government of Fort St. George; nor has the correspondence required by the 8th order, or the proceedings and minutes required by the 13th order, or the separate minutes required by the 15th, or the proceedings required by the 16th, been yet received.

The Company have not any record in England of the will of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, required by the 20th order.

No. 14.

Copy of the AFFIDAVIT *of the Physician of the late Nabob of Arcot, on the State of his Highness's Health; dated 22d June* 1801.

Maurice Fitzgerald, esq. physician to his highness the nabob of the Carnatic, having been apprized by the right hon. Edward Lord Clive, governor in council of Fort St. George, of his lordship's desire to communicate to the nabob of the Carnatic the arrival of a dispatch from the most noble the Governor-general in council, involving considerations of great importance relative to the affairs of the Carnatic, and of the government of Fort St. George; and the said M. Fitzgerald being farther informed, that it is the intention of Lord Clive to solicit the nabob's appointment of an early period of time for the consideration of the object of that dispatch, unless the medical gentlemen attending his highness's person should be of opinion that such a communication would be attended with consequences injurious to the state of his highness's health: Declares upon oath, that although from the actual state of his highness's illness, he the said M. Fitzgerald cannot take upon himself to swear, that the communication of Lord Clive's intentions above described would produce effects immediately dangerous to the existence of the nabob; yet, as a professional man, he can have no doubt, and accordingly declares on oath, his belief that the knowledge of the arrival of dispatches from the Governor-general, seriously affecting the interests of the Carnatic, would tend to aggravate and inflame the dangerous symptoms which now threaten his highness's life.

(Signed) M. FITZGERALD.

Sworn before me at Fort St. George, this 22d of June 1801,

(Signed) CLIVE.

Witnesses present,

(Signed) { A. GRANT, M. WILKES.

No. 15.

Copy of the EXAMINATION *of certain Persons, taken before Messrs.* WEBBE *and* CLOSE, *at Vellore and Seringapatam, in the Month of May* 1800, *by order of Marquis* WELLESLEY.

Vellore, 3d May 1800.

Ally Rezza having been required by

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by Lieutenant Colonel Doveton to attend the commissioners, is accordingly introduced, and is informed of the orders of the right honourable the governor in council, and of his lordship's authority committed to the commissioners, for the purpose of conducting an inquiry into certain transactions of great importance, connected with the interests of the honourable Company.

Previously to the commencement of his examination, the following introductory explanation having been translated into the Persian language, is read, and explained to Ally Rezza.

"The consideration which the English Company has shewn to the family of Tippoo Sultaun, and to the dependants of his government, must have manifested to all descriptions of persons the liberality and moderation by which it has been always guided; and it must be equally evident, that having consulted the claims of humanity, as well as the dignity of its own character, in this distinguished manner, the English government would meet, with the utmost degree of regret and concern, any necessity which should compel it to modify the arrangements which have been made for the comfort and happiness of the dependants of the late Tippoo Sultaun.

"It is, however, not inconsistent with this magnanimity, that the British government should exact from those who have accepted its bounty, the duties of attachment and truth, in all matters connected with its interests; and it requires no explanation to shew, that as the British government has the generosity to forgive, so, if necessary, it possesses the power to punish those who may wilfully depart from the duties which they owe to it.

"It is known to you, that, after the fall of Seringapatam, the whole of the records and papers, public, secret, and confidential, of the government of Tippoo Sultaun, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and, considering the causes which produced the necessity of the late war, it will be obvious to you, that the English government has been inquisitive to discover the arrangements and councils, by which it was the intention of the late sultaun to have effected his purposes of enmity against us.

"This inquiry has naturally led to the discovery of much important matter, and many original documents, plain as well as in cypher, relative to the measures and intentions of the late sultaun.—Some of these measures require the explanations which it is known to be in your power to give: the English government has therefore appointed us to be commissioners for receiving this information; and it will be your duty, as well as your very near interest, reflecting on what is already stated, to give a faithful and just explanation.

"From the treatment which you have already experienced, it will be evident to you that the British government places too just a value on the observance of fidelity, to impute to the servants of the late sultaun any blame for being the channel of executing his orders or measures. According to the established practice of the law of nations; according to the principles of justice and reason, servants are not held to be responsible for executing the orders of their sovereigns, as far as they may be consistent with the public law, by which the intercourse between independent states is regulated; you may therefore rely on a liberal construction of your conduct by the British government; and it is not the intention of that government to deprive you of any of the works of the public bounty which you now enjoy, unless by prevarication, or any treacherous attempt to conceal the truth, you should render yourself unworthy of the continuance of its favour.

"From the manner in which this inquiry has originated, as well as from the means adopted for carrying it into effect, you will perceive that it is matter full of importance and gravity; it will therefore be expedient for you to deliver your sentiments and explanations, with the degree of consideration and respect which is becoming the occasion."

Ally Rezza acknowledges that he comprehends and feels the force and meaning of the foregoing exhortation, and having himself perused it in the Persian language, professes his entire readiness and desire to answer all questions, and to give all information which may be required, to the best of his power and knowledge.

The commissioners proceed to the examination of Ally Rezza.

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The papers marked (Nos. 14 and 15,) in the correſpondence tranſmitted from Bengal, having been produced and read to the witneſs, are immediately recognized by him.

Queſtion. What did Omdut ul Omrah communicate to you in the ſecret meeting which you held with him in the garden, ſubſequently to the 23d of July 1793?—*Anſwer.* Omdut ul Omrah informed the vakeels, of the probable rupture between the French and the Engliſh, and of the conſequent attack on Pondicherry: he ſtated that Tippoo Sultaun had a vakeel, Ram Row, at that place; that the keeping a vakeel at that time might give offence; and that therefore the nabob Walajah, from his attachment to the faith, made this communication to prevent any indiſpoſition between Tippoo Sultaun and the Company; that theſe ſentiments were communicated from a regard to the welfare of Tippoo Sultaun. He recommended, that after the departure of the hoſtages, the ſultaun ſhould appoint an ambaſſador at Madras, which would be attended with the beſt conſequences, and ſtated that this was not communicated from any partiality to the Engliſh, but from good wiſhes towards Tippoo Sultaun.

Q. What were the particular expreſſions of his attachment to Tippoo Sultaun, which Omdut ul Omrah required you not to commit to writing, but to defer the communication of them until your return to the preſence of your maſter?—A. Having repeated the ſubſtance of his anſwer to the preceding queſtion, Ally Rezza was about to explain the expreſſion of the "affair known," which is mentioned in the laſt paragraph of papers (Nos. 14 and 15,) but was interrupted.

Q. What anſwer did Tippoo Sultaun return to the ſaid communication from Omdut ul Omrah, and through what channel was that anſwer tranſmitted?—A. The ſultaun replied, that the vakeels were perſons of ability and information, and would conduct their affairs for the benefit of the circar. The vakeels communicated the meſſage after their arrival in the preſence, that no immediate obſervation was made upon it; that nine days after they fell under the diſpleaſure of the ſultaun, and that the intercouſe between them and the ſultaun was in conſequence diſcontinued. The only ſubſequent communication was on the ſubject of a letter from Bengal, relative to the releaſe of the Engliſh priſoners, and to the war between England and France. Tippoo Sultaun, notwithſtanding the contents, fully directed him (Ally Rezza) to prepare an anſwer, and ſend it to the preſence that it might be diſpatched.

Q. Did Tippoo Sultaun return any anſwer to the letters Nos. 14 and 15?—A. Yes; he directed us to enquire into the particulars of the affair, to repreſent them after our arrival, when he would act according to propriety.

Q. Have you any recollection of receiving from Tippoo Sultaun, a letter directing you to commit to writing, and to tranſmit to the preſence, the communications of Omdut ul Omrah?—A. No; he wrote nothing more than the above.

He (Ally Rezza) ſays, that, at the departure of the vakeels, Omdut ul Omrah made three obeiſances; and directed them to aſſure the ſultaun of his (Omdut ul Omrah's) regard, and to adviſe him not to break with the Engliſh; that he ſhould not conſider this communication to be a deviation from the principles of their religion, but that the true Iſlaam conſiſted in preſerving unity with the Engliſh.

The paper (No. 13) is produced.

Q. Do you recollect this letter?—A. Yes; and he wrote beſides to the above effect.

Q. State the nature and object of the agreement which was eſtabliſhed through you between the nabob Walajah and Tippoo Sultaun?—A. At the time of the departure of Lord Cornwallis, his lordſhip deſired me to proceed to Seringapatam, and to communicate to the ſultaun much matter of advice, containing obſervations on the ſtate of hoſtility, which had been protracted for a long time, from the early deſcent of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, and the action of colonel Baillie: that lord Cornwallis wiſhed the ſultaun to preſerve the relations of peace and friendſhip; and deſired that Ally Rezza ſhould proceed from Madras to Seringapatam, to repreſent verbally and fully the ſubject of this diſcourſe. That at the ſame time the nabob Walajah alſo made ſimilar obſervations, with profeſſions of his friendly diſpoſition towards the Sultaun. On his arrival at Seringapatam, he (Ally Rezza) repreſented the whole of this diſcourſe, and, according to the orders of the ſultaun, committed it to writing, which was delivered to him (the ſultaun:) that Tippoo Sultaun wrote an anſwer to lord Cornwallis, profeſſing his diſpoſition and wiſh

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wiſh to preſerve peace and friendſhip; that the letter was very full on this point, and was accompanied by preſents to Lord Cornwallis, Governor Oakeley, Mr. Cherry, &c. He (Tippoo Sultaun) alſo ſent letters to the nabob Walajah certainly; but the witneſs does not recollect whether any were ſent to Omdut ul Omrah.

Q. In the preceding queſtion, you were deſired to explain the nature of the agreement eſtabliſhed between Tippoo Sultaun and the nabob Walajah; in your anſwer you have not done ſo?—A. The agreement was to preſerve the friendſhip eſtabliſhed between the two durbars, the Engliſh and Tippoo Sultaun, as well as the intercourſe of civility and attention. Beſides this, the nabob Walajah, at the time of taking leave, preſented khelauts, &c. and Omdut ul Omrah delivered a khelaut into the hands of Sir Charles Oakeley, to be given to the vakeels of the ſultaun; which was accordingly done. Omdut ul Omrah told them that it recommended the preſervation of friendſhip, peace, and attention. A copy of this letter was delivered to the vakeels, which they opened at Conditoor*, and were ſurpriſed to find, that it contained nothing more than the ordinary expreſſions of friendſhip, and a liſt of the preſents. The letter was delivered to the ſultaun. The nabob informed the vakeels, that it was his highneſs's wiſh to grant a jaghire for the private expences of the princes, as well as of the vakeels: they replied, that it was contrary to the cuſtoms of their government to receive thoſe jaghires; but that they ſhould repreſent this wiſh of his highneſs on their arrival at Seringapatam.

Q. Did you, according to the ſultaun's orders, commit to writing the matter of a ſecret nature, which was communicated to you by Omdut ul Omrah?—A. I complied with the orders in the ſultaun's letter.

Q. In what manner?—A. By writing to the ſultaun the particulars of the profeſſions of regard which had been communicated by Omdut ul Omrah.

Having again referred to Nos. 14 and 15, and 13, the witneſs is aſked, what anſwer he gave the ſultaun?—A. That he had been enjoined at his departure to poſtpone the communication until his arrival at Seringapatam, and that he would accordingly repreſent it in the preſence.

Q. Why did Omdut ul Omrah defer this communication till your departure? And why did he exact an oath of ſecrecy on the communication of this regard and friendſhip for the ſultaun?—A. Perhaps from apprehenſions that this intercourſe ſhould be known, and give diſpleaſure to the Engliſh.

Q. Did he exact a formal oath?—A. No; he conjured us.

Q. It appears that the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah ſtated, in the preſence of Engliſh gentlemen, their regard and friendſhip for Tippoo Sultaun: Why ſhould they be ſo anxious to conceal it in the private meeting?—A. He repeats the ſame anſwer, and can give no other explanation.

The paper, No. 14, is again produced and read.

Q. Reconcile the formality of the proceeding deſcribed at the moſque, with the mere profeſſions of friendſhip?—A. He acknowledges that the formality may be conſidered preparatory to more important matter; but nothing paſſed except profeſſions of regard, the propriety of keeping up a friendly intercourſe, and an offer of ſettling ſome munſbon themſelves, which they declined in a ſuitable manner.

Q. During your reſidence at Madras, did you underſtand that there was any reſtraint on the intercourſe of the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah with the hoſtages, or with the vakeels?—A. There was no reſtraint; they had but four or five meetings, which were with Major Doveton's previous knowledge.

Q. Did Major Doveton know of the meeting at the moſque?—A. No; the vakeels told him that they were going to the moſque for the fatihah. In regard to the meeting at the garden, they informed him that they were going to arrange their effects for the journey.

Q. As you found at the firſt meeting with Omdut ul Omrah at the moſque, that he had nothing to communicate but profeſſions of friendſhip, why did the vakeels depart from their eſtabliſhed cuſtom, by concealing from Major Doveton the intended meeting at the garden?—A. As the nabob Omdut ul Omrah intimated a wiſh of ſeeing them privately, they thought that the preſence of Major Doveton would be embarraſſing to his highneſs. At my departure from Seringapatam on my return to Madras, Tippoo Sultaun communicated to me his deſire of forming a connection by marriage between his own family and that of the nabob Walajah. This meſſage I delivered by the ſultaun's orders to Gholaum Ally Khan; and on our meeting at the garden a ſecond time I withdrew; a converſation took

* Two ſtages from Madras.

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took place between Omdut ul Omrah and Gholaum Ally Khan. From him I afterwards underſtood that the agitation of the affair was ſuſpended until the entire completion of the treaty of Seringapatam, and the releaſe of the hoſtages, in order that the diſpoſition of the ſultaun might be well aſcertained at the diſtance of ſome time; that in the mean while there was neither a poſitive deſire nor indiſpoſition expreſſed by the nabob Walajah for this connection. The propoſal was firſt made from the ſultaun; and as it paſſed in the lifetime of the nabob Walajah, I conclude that the anſwer of Omdut ul Omrah was with his knowledge. After the return of the vakeels to Seringapatam, they fell under the diſpleaſure of the ſultaun: and I underſtood that Gholaum Ally Sudder and Pooniah were deputed to Gholaum Ally Khan to aſcertain what progreſs had been made in the affair of the connection, wiſhing at the ſame time that Gholaum Ally Khan ſhould give a letter on that ſubject to Omdut ul Omrah. This letter he ſuppoſes to have been granted, but does not know.

Q. Did any orders paſs from the ſultaun on the ſubject of the marriage before your return to Seringapatam from Madras? —A. No; this queſtion was not agitated before. On my arrival at Seringapatam, Tippoo Sultaun inquired of me the particulars relativeto the children of Walajah.

Ally Rezza, of himſelf ſtates, that the nabob Walajah communicated in the moſt earneſt manner, taking God to witneſs, his entreaty to the ſultaun, that he ſhould refrain from breaking with the Engliſh, and that he ſhould adhere to the friendſhip eſtabliſhed between them.

Q. The propoſal of marriage having been made in the firſt inſtance on the part of the ſultaun, it was certainly evidence of his wiſh to cultivate a good underſtanding with the nabob Walajah's family. It is extraordinary therefore that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, on making a ſimple propoſition of friendſhip, ſhould doubt the ſultaun's acquieſcence, and ſhould on that doubt poſtpone the final communication of his ſentiments until the anſwer of the ſultaun ſhould be received?—A. He (Ally Rezza) acknowledges that the propoſition for the marriage was an indication of entire and cordial friendſhip. But although he underſtood from Gholaum Ally Khan, that the nabob Walajah was diſpoſed to this connection, he yet learned from others that the caſe was different: he therefore conjectures that the nabob ſhewed a deſire of ſimple friendſhip, without reference to the marriage.

Q. When the nabob Walajah made his propoſition of ſimple friendſhip, requiring an anſwer, how did it happen that the vakeels, who were in poſſeſſion of the ſultaun's orders to effect a much more intimate connection, did not ſatisfy the nabob Omdut ul Omrah of the diſpoſition of the ſultaun, without farther reference to Seringapatam?—A. A propoſition of marriage being of a very delicate nature among Muſſulmans, and confined in this inſtance to Gholaum Ally Khan only, it was not proper for both vakeels to interfere on this ſubject; the converſation was entirely confined between Omdut ul Omrah and Gholaum Ally Khan at the garden; when they took leave at parting, Ally Rezza ſtates of himſelf, that after the vakeels had arrived at the Mount, (on their final return to Seringapatam,) Omdut ul Omrah came to the Mount, and had a ſeparate converſation with Gholaum Ally Khan, which he ſuppoſes to have related to the propoſition of the marriage.

Q. Were you, or were you not, on terms of confidential communication with Gholaum Ally Khan, relative to the progreſs of this affair of the marriage?—A. I was; and heard from Gholaum Ally Khan, that the nabob Walajah had conſented, although I had underſtood from other quarters that this was not the caſe.

Q. Both vakeels being (as is ſtated in your anſwer,) in confidential communication relative to the point of the marriage; how did it happen that they did not take on themſelves to ſatisfy the doubts expreſſed by the nabob Walajah, in order to promote the wiſhes of the ſultaun; there being no impediment to a proper communication either between the vakeels themſelves, or between Gholaum Ally Khan and Omdut ul Omrah?—A. Having obſerved the doubts of the nabob with reſpect to the diſpoſition of the ſultaun, I took occaſion to ſuggeſt to Gholaum Ally Khan, at the time of the meeting at the Tomb, the expediency of ſatisfying the doubts of Omdut ul Omrah, by pointing out the poſitive proof of the ſultaun's diſpoſition evinced in his propoſal of marriage. I then retired with Khadir Newaz Khan, and underſtood from Gholaum Ally Khan, after the nabob Omdut ul Omrah went away, that he (Gholaum Ally Khan) had made a communication to his highneſs to that effect, and that his highneſs had acquieſced. The witneſs repeats that he had heard from others, that the nabob Walajah was averſe to this connection.

Q. As

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Q. As the nabob Omdut ul Omrah acquiesced in the arguments of Gholaum Ally Khan, why did it become necessary to apply for a further declaration of the sultaun's disposition, on the proposition of simple friendship?—A. I conceive that there are two different questions, one of the marriage, the other of simple friendship, and the vakeels thought it necessary to address the sultaun on that point.

Q. In the paper, No. 14, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah is stated to communicate his wish of discovering a matter of secrecy, and accordingly a secret meeting was contrived for that purpose. By your foregoing answers, the result of this proposition is nothing more than a simple proposition of friendship, connected with a doubt of its being received by the nabob Tippoo Sultaun. At the very same time that this doubt is stated, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah is said to have been reminded of the proof of the sultaun's disposition, contained in his proposal of marriage, and (according to Gholaum Ally Khan) to have acquiesced in the arguments. It is extraordinary that Omdut ul Omrah should require so much secrecy in declaring his wish of cultivating the friendship of Tippoo Sultaun; and it is inconsistent with reason that he should doubt this proof of the sultaun's disposition at the moment of his endeavouring to discover it. This explanation of Omdut ul Omrah's proposition cannot be therefore reconciled with the explanation which has been given; for as the respective propositions of marriage, and of simple friendship, did not depend on each other, either the doubt of Omdut ul Omrah must have been without foundation, or the necessity of farther reference to the sultaun under the appear- of secrecy, must refer to other matter?—*Mem.* The foregoing question is explained and stated in every point of view to Ally Rezza, with a serious warning to consider it, and to declare the truth.—A. He acknowledges the inconsistency, but takes God to witness in the most solemn manner, that nothing passed at the mosque with his knowledge, save the communication between Omdut ul Omrah and Gholaum Ally Khan, on the subject of the marriage, the declaration of Omdut ul Omrah's desire of cultivating Tippoo Sultaun's friendship, and his offer for establishing jaghires and munsubs for the princes and the vakeels.

Q. You have stated, that on perusing the copy of the letter delivered to you through the means of Sir Charles Oakeley, you were surprised to find that it contained nothing but expressions of civility and a list of presents. What did you expect the letter to contain?—A. I expected that the letter would relate to the proposition of marriage, or friendship, or to the jaghires or munsubs.

Q. What do you mean by the expression in No. 14, "to redeem the time past?"—A. That the injuries of enmity would be replaced by the benefits of friendship. The letter in figure cypher is now produced, and Ally Rezza acknowledges it to have been written by him.

Q. Was any other cypher used in the correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun?—A. I do not recollect any other.

Q. When was the cypher delivered to you?—A. When I was returning from Seringapatam to Madras.

Q. For what purpose was it given to you?—A. For the purpose of writing intelligence and other matters of a secret nature.

The witness states, that he once received a letter in cypher in Tippoo's own hand-writing, which could not be explained, and was referred back to him.—He also states, that the sultaun was at the time extremely interested in the state of French affairs; and was desirous of obtaining information respecting them by every possible means; and he told the vakeels so, upbraiding them for not having transmitted intelligence.

Q. Explain *the affair* referred to in the last paragraph of No. 15; and state how Omdut ul Omrah became the means of laying the foundation of it?—A. It refers to the proposition of marriage; and Ally Rezza explains, that it was the wish of Tippoo Sultaun to obtain a daughter either of Walajah or of Omdut ul Omrah, for sultaun Moyen ul Deen. The affair was communicated to Omdut ul Omrah, and he was made the farther instrument of communication to the nabob Walajah.

Ally Rezza states of his own accord, during this part of the examination, that he took occasion of stating to General Harris, (he believes through Captain Macleod,) at Seringapatam, the anxiety which had been expressed by Lord Cornwallis, the nabob Walajah, and Omdut ul Omrah, that Tippoo should refrain from the infraction of the treaty, and should be induced to preserve friendship and cordiality with the English, as the only means by which the fortunes of his house could be supported; and that he (Ally Rezza) had explained these sentiments to Tippoo Sultaun in vain.

The Paper, No. 16, is produced and read.

Q. Was

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Q. Was Omdut ul Omrah present at the ceremony described in this letter?—A. No: the younger sons of Walajah were present.

Q. What was the object of this ceremony?—A. He explains; that it was a practice of Tippoo Sultaun's to administer oaths to his servants, dependants, and officers of his government, on the points stated in the paper, and that the order was received by the vakeels for swearing those at Madras, which was accordingly done in the manner described.

Q. Was it not to engage the congregation present to assist the Khodadaud Circar, and to throw off their allegiance to the British government?—A. The oaths were administered only to the servants of the Khodadaud Circar. The discourse was addressed to all the mussulmans present; and it is obvious, from the letter itself, that the intention was to attach the mussulmans to Tippoo Sultaun, and to reprove them for adhering to those of a different persuasion. He (Ally Rezza) adds, that he divests himself of all difficulty in making this confession, since it is the object of the present inquiry to obtain the truth.

Q. Did the nabob's sons, who were present, join in the prayer, that the Khodadaud Circar might be triumphant and victorious?—A. The prayer for victory and triumph refers entirely to the servants of the Khodadaud Circar.

Q. Why did Tippoo Sultaun imagine that you might feel apprehensive in fulfilling his orders respecting this ceremony?—A. Because the ceremony was to be performed in the territories of a foreign power, and because the nature of the oath to be administered to the servants was adverse to those of a different persuasion.

Q. Was the obligation and engagement taken on that day in the mosques from the servants of Tippoo Sultaun only; or was it a general union among those professing the Mahommedan faith, resident at Madras?—A. No persons but the servants of the Khodadaud Circar received the oath.

Q. When did you leave Madras for Seringapatam?—A. On the 22d Jaffer 1209 Hijerah*.

Q. How often did you go to Seringapatam?—A. Once during the residence of the princes at Madras.

Q. When did you return to Madras?—A. I was absent nearly three months, and returned about the 18th or 19th of Jemady ul Auval.

The paper, No. 7, is produced.

Q. Who was meant by the term 'well-wisher of mankind?'—A. The nabob Walajah.

Q. Why was he distinguished by that name?—A. In consequence of a desire expressed by the nabob Walajah to be distinguished by that epithet, in order to shew that he was not confined to any party, but well-disposed to all mankind.

Q. What are the points which could not be committed to paper, and could only be communicated in person?—A. To recapitulate, according to Lord Cornwallis's directions, the course of hostile transaction which had taken place from early times between the two states; to insist on the detention of the prisoners by Tippoo Sultaun, and his cruelty towards them; to inculcate the necessity of a reform in his sentiments towards the British nation, and to lay the foundation of permanent friendship, to be farther confirmed in Europe. These propositions of Lord Cornwallis were confirmed by the advice of the nabob Walajah, founded on his long experience and age.

Q. What sirdars are meant in the passage "At this time the friendship and goodwill of both the sirdars is from God and the royal auspices?"—A. Lord Cornwallis and the nabob Walajah.

Q. Why could not these points be committed to writing at Madras, since they were committed to writing after your arrival at Seringapatam?—A. The time of paying the kists had passed; and the prisoners were still detained: it was with the intention therefore of using my personal influence with the sultaun in these points, since all writing had proved vain. Ally Rezza states from himself, that about this time he had received a letter from Tippoo Sultaun, mentioning that no prisoners remained in his dominions; that this communication was in consequence made to the British government, but that in one month three prisoners made their escape and arrived.

Q. Where were you in the months of Mohurrem and Suffer 1209?—A. In Seringapatam.

Q. Were you at that time in the habit of attending the durbar of Tippoo Sultaun?—A. It was stopped; no.

Q. Were you in the habit of corresponding with the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, after your final re-

* A mistake, this answers to September 1794. N. B. Edmonstone.

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turn to Seringapatam?—A. No: there was intercourse between these nabobs and Tippoo Sultaun by means of letters, and of Mahommed Ghyauss and Mahommed Ghose Khan.

Q. Were any other persons employed besides those two persons as vakeels at Madras?—A. I was under confinement; but I believe not.

Q. Did you at any time receive letters from the nabobs Walajah or Omdut ul Omrah, after your departure to Seringapatam?—A. None.

Q. Did you receive any verbal messages?—A. None; I was confined.

Q. Do you know whether the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah used any cypher in writing to Tippoo Sultaun?—A. I do not; I only recollect two letters from the nabob Walajah, and one to him from Tippoo Sultaun.

The paper, No. 6, is produced.

Q. Did you ever see this paper?—A. I have; it was instituted by Walajah for purposes of secret communication, and the original I believe was written in pencil by Khader Newaz Khan, or some person about the nabob Walajah.

Q. You stated that you knew but of one cypher, and you acknowledge to have seen this second cypher now produced?—A. It is very true; but although this paper was intended for purposes of secret communication, it was of a different description from what I meant by the cypher. To my knowledge this paper was not brought into use, it having been intended for use after the departure of the hostages, in case of necessity.

Q. Did you carry this paper with you to Seringapatam when you went with Lord Cornwallis's propositions?—A. Yes, I did.

Q. From whom did you receive it; and to whom did you deliver it after your arrival at Seringapatam?—A. It was delivered to Gholaum Ally Khan by Khader Newaz Khan, and to me, at my departure, by Gholaum Ally Khan, who told me that it had been composed for communication between Tippoo Sultaun and the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah; that a copy should be given to Tippoo, and the original brought back to Madras. Tippoo Sultaun however kept the original paper.

Q. It appears that pains were taken to procure private meetings with the vakeels at Madras by Omdut ul Omrah, and it appears that two cyphers were established for the purpose of secret communication. It is therefore very extraordinary, that so much trouble should have been taken to conceal matters, which, if accomplished or known, must have tended to increase the friendship between Tippoo and the British nation?—A. I acknowledge another inconsistency between the means used and the purposes already stated, and that such an inconsistency does afford ground for suspicion. With respect to the second paper, I do not know of its having been brought into use; and I call God to witness, that I am ready to meet any extremity which the English government may choose to inflict, if any point was agitated with my knowledge besides those already stated. Ally Rezza adds, by way of explanation, that the real cypher (in figures) was intended for communication of intelligence between the vakeels and Tippoo Sultaun, and not to be used between the two durbars. He (Ally Rezza) once took occasion to inquire of Gholaum Ally Khan what was the reason of this attention to the observance of secrecy in affairs which were apparently innocent. Gholaum Ally Khan said, that a certain delicacy of concealment (hijalee) was to be observed in the affair of the marriage.

Q. You have stated, that when you received from Gholaum Ally Khan the cypher (No. 6.) you considered it to be for purposes of secret communication. What was your idea of the nature of the intended secret communications?—A. I concluded it to be for the purpose of concealing the mention of any affair whatever; whether relating to the English, or the Nizam, or the Mahrattas, or any other point referred to in the paper.

Q. A paper of this nature is generally prepared for some particular purpose; for what particular purpose do you believe this paper, No. 6, to have been prepared?—*Mem.* Great pains have been taken to explain the above question. Ally Rezza, after fully comprehending the purport, and after due consideration, states,—A. That he conceives the paper, No. 6, to have been prepared for use, in case of any necessity whatever, but that it was not intended for any particular purpose.

Q. It appears that all intercourse had been suspended for a long time between the durbar of Tippoo Sultaun and that of the nabob Walajah; that a communication was opened on the conclusion of peace, under great suspicions and doubts on the part of the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, with respect to the disposition of Tippoo Sultaun; and although that intercourse is stated to be merely

merely for a friendly communication between the two durbars, yet the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah put into the hands of Tippoo Sultaun a confidential paper, calculated to conduct hidden correspondence of a general political nature.—A. I acknowledge that to an indifferent person there are strong grounds to suspect that more was intended than appears; but I repeat, that I do not know of any particular object for which the paper, No. 6, was prepared. He (Ally Rezza) adds, that it was delivered by Khader Newaz Khan to Gholaum Ally Khan, between whom some communications passed, of which he (Ally Rezza) had no knowledge.

Mem.—The foregoing answer being judged inadequate to the weight of the question which it follows, the commissioners think it necessary to explain this deficiency in the fullest manner; to refer Ally Rezza to the distinct explanations contained in the preamble, and to attract his serious attention to the difficulty of this passage in the examination.—With a full sense of this serious exhortation, Ally Rezza repeats, that he has stated every thing within his knowledge, on the points stated in the examination; that the inconsistencies pointed out are obvious, but that he is unable to give a further explanation of them.

Q. Do you attach any other meaning to the expression of "the affair known of" except that of the proposed marriage?—A. None whatever. If I had, I would have mentioned it.—*Mem.* Here Ally Rezza insisted how much it would be adverse to his interests, and contrary to the devotion he owes to the Company, to withhold any part of the truth. The fac-simile of the indorsement on the cypher, No. 6. is produced.

Q. Do you know this hand-writing?—A. I do not.

Q. Where were you in the month of Zawkry, of the year Shaud 1223, A. M.?—A. Under displeasure at Seringapatam.

Q. Were you in the habit of being in any degree consulted by Tippoo Sultaun?—A. I was not consulted; Tippoo Sultaun instructed Mahommed Ghyaus and Mahommed Ghose Khan to say, in the event of Omdut ul Omrah making any inquiry for Ally Rezza or Gholaum Ally Khan, that they attended the durbar as usual.

Q. What was the object of that deputation?—A. I do not know; I was in confinement.

Q. Did you send any letters or messages by those ambassadors to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah?—A. None.

Q. Did you receive any letter or verbal message by them from Omdut ul Omrah?—A. None.

Q. Did you receive any letters from Khader Newaz Khan?—A. None; I had no intercourse.

Q. What were the couplets which Tippoo Sultaun sent to you soon after your arrival at Madras?—A. I have no recollection of them. The papers (Nos. 2 and 3,) are produced.

Q. What are the couplets of which you acknowledge the receipt?—A. Ally Rezza repeats the following couplet, which was intended, he says, to explain or serve as a key to the cypher in figures, *viz.*

Q. What is "the writing you know of" mentioned in the letter?—A. The couplets explaining the cypher.

Q. You have stated that the cypher in figures (the specimen of which is produced) was brought to Madras at the time of your return to that place from Seringapatam?—A. It was first delivered to me at that time.

Q. If so, it is impossible that the couplets can refer to the cypher, because by dates they appear to have been sent from Seringapatam before your departure from Madras with Lord Cornwallis's propositions?—A. Ally Rezza ascribes this to some mistake of his memory, but makes no change in the matter of fact with respect to the cypher.

The paper, No. 5, is produced.

Q. What were the expressions of friendship which Tippoo Sultaun states you to have heard from his mouth?—A. I never heard any expressions of friendship from his mouth, and consider the expression to be nothing more than form.

The papers, Nos. 1 and 4, are produced.

Q. It is stated that the nabob Walajah dissuaded Lord Cornwallis from the war. Did you hear the nabob say so?—A. The nabob Walajah did address himself particularly to me, and did use those expressions.

Q. Did you believe the nabob Walajah sincere in these expressions?—A. I did not; there was no sincerity on either part in those expressions.

Q. Although you do not believe any sincerity to have been intended by the nabob Walajah, in his expressions of friendship towards Tippoo Sultaun, do you give any credit to his professions of interference founded on his attachment to the religion of Mahommed?—A. The whole is compliment. How is it possible that the nabob Walajah could forget the indignities

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sustained by his own family at the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, when Aboo Wahab Khan was confined, and his daughter and grand-daughter taken into the mahal? And if there was any sincerity in these expressions of friendship, why was not the chain preserved after the departure of the princes from Madras?

Q. Is the warmth of the expressions in this letter (No. 4.) consistent with the general forms of civility?—A. In the western world people are correct and limited in expressing themselves, but the people of India exaggerate extravagantly their expressions of regard. I regard the whole of the expressions in this letter (No. 4) to be exaggerated.

Q. Did the nabob Walajah actually make use of these expressions?—A. It was customary for the vakeels to heighten the expressions of regard which fell from Lord Cornwallis, or the nabob Walajah, or any other person, for the purpose of conciliating the mind of Tippoo Sultaun.

Q. Did the nabob Walajah actually use the expression, "That the sultaun was the only pillar of the faith; and that with respect to himself, the state of affairs here (meaning at Madras) was well known?" A. The expression is certainly heightened; but the nabob Walajah did allude to the difference of circumstances between himself and the sultaun, with respect to power and independence, so as to form a sufficient foundation for the representation of the vakeels.

Mem.—It being now eleven o'clock, and impossible to conclude the examination of Ally Rezza this night, great pains are taken by the commissioners to impress on him, in the most earnest manner, the absolute necessity of observing the strictest secrecy on the subject of this inquiry. It is further explained to him, that the knowledge of the circumstances of the inquiry being confined to the commissioners and himself, any disclosure of the proceedings must certainly be traced to him, and as certainly followed by the privation of his pension.—Ally Rezza stated, in a very impressive manner, the duties which he owed to the Company; and urged, as a confirmation of his own desire to adhere to those duties, the intimate connexion of his personal interests, which could in no manner be so well secured to him, as under the liberal protection and provision which he now enjoys from the Company.

Vellore, 4th May 1800.

Ally Rezza again attends the commissioners, and, previous to his examination, he requests permission to state two points, which did not occur to him in the examination of yesterday.—The first was, that at the departure of the vakeels from Madras, they had been charged with some rich presents and jewels, by the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, for Tippoo Sultaun, which were accordingly delivered to him.—The second was, that the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah had expressed a strong desire of obtaining an establishment of land within the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun. The ostensible object was, the greater convenience of sending presents and pilgrims to Mecca from some place on the Malabar coast, than from any part of the Carnatic; and the nabobs were in consequence desirous of obtaining an interchange of districts for this purpose.

The commissioners proceed to the examination of Ally Rezza.

Q. Did you ever send to Tippoo Sultaun a description of the works of Fort St. George?—A. I did.

Q. By what means did you become acquainted with the description of them?—A. I made the best description I was able, from my own observation, and from the information of a maistey carpenter, sent for that purpose from Seringapatam by Tippoo Sultaun.—Tippoo Sultaun was desirous of building a fort on the model of Fort St. George, and also an arsenal, of which the maistey took a drawing.

Q. Was the nabob Omdut ul Omrah privy to this order?—A. No; the order was kept secret.

Q. Did you ever receive any intelligence from the nabobs Walajah or Omdut ul Omrah of a secret nature?—A. The vakeels received intelligence of the death of the king of France, with advice from Walajah to withdraw Tippoo Sultaun's vakeel from Pondicherry.

Q. Did the nabob explain his intention in giving this intelligence?—A. The nabob explained, that his motive for doing so arose from good wishes towards Tippoo Sultaun.

Q. In your first visit to the nabob Walajah, he appears to have made a proposal

posal for the eſtabliſhment of union and harmony between his highneſs and Tippoo Sultaun. Soon after he inquired whether any anſwer had been received at a ſubſequent period; Omdut ul Omrah inquired whether you had full powers, and poſtponed the communication of his ſentiments until the final departure of the vakeels. He then did not make the communication until he had exacted the moſt ſolemn adjuration of ſecrecy. What did you ſuppoſe to be the cauſes of this anxiety and caution, and what did you expect to be the reſult of this preparation?—A. I certainly expected that ſome affair of importance to Tippoo Sultaun, and of a ſecret nature, would in conſequence be communicated; but I had no fixed idea of what that affair would be.

The paper, No. 11, is produced.

Q. What do you ſuppoſe to have been the intention of Omdut ul Omrah's propoſitions of friendſhip deſcribed in this letter?—A. The eſtabliſhment of cordiality.

Q. Conſidering the long eſtabliſhed rivalry and enmity between the two families, ſomething more than mere cordiality appears to be imputable to the anxiety of Omdut ul Omrah?—A. The proſecution of the former wars had been attended with great detriment to both parties, and he (Ally Rezza) conceives that Omdut ul Omrah's motive was to repair thoſe loſſes by the preſervation of peace.

Q. From the general warmth of theſe expreſſions in the correſpondence of Tippoo Sultaun and Omdut ul Omrah, do you ſuppoſe that it was the intention to extend the union and harmony of thoſe princes, to a means for the general advancement of the Mahommedan cauſe?—A. I do not believe that their views were extended to any object of that kind.

Q. It appears from many paſſages in the correſpondence, as well as from the proceedings at the jummah moſque, that prayers were offered for the triumph and victory of Tippoo Sultaun; if thoſe prayers had been ſucceſsful, there is no reaſon to believe, from the former conduct and enmity of Tippoo Sultaun, that his victory would have been attended with any temporal advantage to the nabob Walajah's family?—A. Of courſe the ſucceſs of thoſe prayers would have been extremely diſadvantageous to the nabob Walajah.

Q. Then the object of Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, in offering thoſe prayers, muſt have been extended to the general ſucceſs of the Mahommedan intereſts?—A. It was the language of the tongue, and not of the heart.

Q. Is not that language ſtronger than that uſed in the ordinary intercourſe between princes?—A. It certainly has the appearance of exaggeration, but to my knowledge it did not extend beyond civility.

The paper, No. 12, is produced.

Q. What is meant by the expreſſion, "It is certain that no aſſiſtance will be offered from thence?"—A. That the ſultaun, attending to the circumſtances ſtated in the letter, would not certainly aſſiſt the French.

Q. Was there any communication between the vakeel Ram Row, at Pondicherry, and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah?—A. None.—At the time of the equipment againſt Pondicherry, Sir C. Oakeley acquainted the vakeels in a private manner, that Pondicherry would certainly fall into the hands of the Engliſh: and that if Tippoo ſhould offer the French aſſiſtance, it would as certainly be attended with injurious conſequences to him.

The papers, Nos. 8 and 9, are produced.

Q. Conſider the particular points inſiſted on in theſe letters, and explain the object of them?—A. It is well known that the object of the ſultaun was to unite all muſſulmans for the purpoſe of extirpating the Engliſh, or of falling in the attempt; and the frequent repetition of oaths to his ſervants and army was directed ſolely to that object.

Q. This intention of the ſultaun's being well known, is it not reaſonable to conclude, that the frequent alluſions of the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, to the intereſt taken by the ſultaun in the Mahommedan cauſe, may be referred to the ſame intention, and included under the ſame conſideration?—A. I think not; but that they were expreſſions of civility. On one occaſion the nabob Walajah ſtated, that the ſultaun ſhould conſider the connexion with the Engliſh to be the proper object of his religious care.

Q. Was Khader Newaz Khan the only perſon of rank through whom communications between the vakeels and the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah paſſed?—A. Yes.

Q. Was Khader Newaz Khan acquainted with "the affair known?"—A. He was.

Q. Was it intended to have kept the marriage, if it had taken place, ſecret from the Engliſh?—A. It was intended to have been effected with the knowledge of the Britiſh government. I brought preſents

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for the purpoſe, which were to have been delivered in caſe of ſucceſs; and otherwiſe to be returned to Seringapatam, which was accordingly done.

Q. Was Khader Newaz Khan acquainted with the uſe of the cypher, No. 6?—A. He was; he gave it to Gholaum Ally.

Q. Do you recollect the particular phraſes uſed by Omdut ul Omrah, in communicating his ultimate meſſage previouſly to your leaving Madras?—A. I do not; but am certain that nothing more paſſed with my knowledge than what I have ſtated.

Q. You are acquainted, that your report on the works of Madras, and your exhortations to the muſſulmans at the jaumah moſque, have come to the knowledge of the Britiſh government: You muſt be ſenſible alſo, that in the one caſe you had taken the advantage of the confidence repoſed in you by the Britiſh government, as an hoſtage, to betray its intereſts under the maſk of friendſhip; and that, in the ſecond caſe, you have preached the language of rebellion in the capital of the Company's dominions. In both inſtances you can have no doubt that you have acted contrary to the laws of nations, and are therefore liable to the reſentment of the Britiſh government. The principles on which the Britiſh government acts, in reference to theſe points, were explained to you at the commencement of this examination; and as you will juſtly have forfeited all claim to its favour, if, on the examination of other perſons, you ſhould be proven to have deviated from, or to have ſuppreſſed the truth, which is the object of this inquiry; it is earneſtly recommended to you by the commiſſioners to trace the whole ſubject in your mind, and to correct any errors which you may have committed, while it is yet not too late.

Mem.—The foregoing queſtion, being of a very ſerious nature to Ally Rezza, is tranſlated and committed to writing; and Ally Rezza, after full conſideration, delivers the following anſwer, written by himſelf in the Perſian language:

Anſwer.—The truth is, that in giving this information I was under the orders of my maſter. He gave me particular injunctions to procure information on theſe points, and alſo ſent a carpenter in order to examine the works. In this caſe it was not in my diſcretion to act contrary to thoſe orders; I therefore made known whatever I had obſerved. According to the rights of peace, this conduct was improper in a perſon entruſted: being without reſource, I acted in conformity to the orders of my maſter. In reſpect to the exhortation, I acted under ſimilar circumſtances. Although theſe acts, in a foreign territory, were improper, yet I was without reſource, and acted accordingly. With regard to the recommendation of the commiſſioners to trace the ſubject of the inquiry in my mind, in order to correct any errors which may have occurred, or any omiſſions of the truth, the caſe is this; The tranſactions are of long ſtanding; in every caſe in which I have been queſtioned, I have anſwered to the beſt of my remembrance; if any thing farther ſhould occur to me, I will repreſent it without any deviation. It is for conſideration, whether a perſon like me, enjoying ſuch favour from the Company, would, by concealing any matters in his knowledge, wilfully expoſe himſelf to injury. It will never be, that I ſhall conceal from the Company any thing of a ſecret nature in my knowledge. In every point in which I have been queſtioned, I have repreſented whatever I knew; and I repeat, that if any new matter ſhall ariſe in the inquiry, I ſhall be ready to give information to the extent of my ability.

The injunctions on the ſubject of ſecrecy having been repeated to Ally Rezza, his examination is cloſed; and the commiſſioners think it their duty to ſtate, that throughout the examination of Ally Rezza they have obſerved (as far as depends on exterior manner) a ready diſpoſition on his part to give the fulleſt information; and that although great inconſiſtencies appear in the courſe of the inquiry, the commiſſioners did not diſcover any wilful prevarication, or outward endeavour to ſuppreſs the truth.

(Signed) J. WEBBE,
B. CLOSE.

Seringapatam, 9th May 1800.

Gholaum Ally Khan attends the commiſſioners, by the directions of the hon. Colonel Welleſley; and they proceed to take his examination;

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tion; Colonel Wellesley being present.

The introductory paper of explanation, translated into the Persian language, and prefixed to the * examination of Ally Rezza, is read and minutely explained to Gholaum Ally Khan, who acknowledges himself to understand the meaning and extent of the paper, and professes himself at the same time ready to answer any questions that may be proposed to him.

The papers Nos. 14 and 15, of the correspondence, are produced, and Gholaum Ally Khan acknowledges the contents of them.

Q. What did Omdut ul Omrah communicate to you in the secret meeting which you held with him in the garden, subsequently to the 23d of July 1793?—A. I recommended to Lord Cornwallis, that before his lordship's departure, some means should be taken to establish harmony and cordiality between the families of Tippoo Sultaun and of the nabob Walajah; and the best means which occurred to me of doing so, was that of reciprocal marriages in the two families; and this affair is the ground of the two letters, Nos. 14 and 15.

Q. What were the particular expressions of attachment to Tippoo Sultaun, which Omdut ul Omrah required you not to commit to writing, but to defer the communication of them until your return to the presence of your master?—A. That the enmity between the families of Tippoo Sultaun and the nabob Walajah had been removed by the interference of Lord Cornwallis; and that unity had been established between them. The whole substance of the discourse however referred to the object already explained.

Q. What answer did Tippoo Sultaun return to the communication from Omdut ul Omrah, and through what channel was that answer transmitted?—A. The answer was, that on the arrival of the vakeels this communication would be made known, and taken into consideration.

Q. In what manner did the affair of the proposed connexion arise? and how was it conducted?—A. The object of our mission was to attend the hostages until the completion of the treaty. Tippoo Sultaun, finding that there was a disposition on the part of the nabob Walajah to establish cordiality and harmony between the two families, thought that the best means of effecting it would be by marriage; and therefore directed the vakeels to make a proposition to that effect.

Mem. It is explained to Gholaum Ally Khan, that this inquiry is of great importance, and that it will be necessary for him to recollect, in order that his answers may be consistent.—*Answer.* Gholaum Ally Khan then states, that the agitation of the affair of the connexion first originated with the nabob Walajah.

Mem. This answer being so inconsistent with the fact, as it appears from the correspondence and from the other testimonies; the caution is repeated: and,—A. He still adheres to the last explanation. Gholaum Ally adds, that Tippoo Sultaun, on receiving this communication, considered it to be an affair of great delicacy, and not to be conducted by writing. He therefore ordered Ally Rezza to attend the presence, and returned by him a message, with considerable presents.

Q. You have stated that the nabob Walajah was the first agitator of this affair. In your letter (No. 15,) you state, that you have made Omdut ul Omrah the foundation of the affair. Explain the inconsistency?—A. It is true that the nabob was the first agitator of it, but in a disguised manner; and therefore Omdut ul Omrah was made the instrument of communication.

Q. What was the object and intention of Ally Rezza's journey from Madras to Seringapatam, during the residence of the hostages at Madras?—A. The sultaun considered the affair to be of great importance, not to be committed to writing; he therefore ordered Ally Rezza to attend the presence on that point.

The paper, No. 7, of the correspondence, is produced and read.

Q. It is stated in this letter, that the affair cannot be committed to writing; and that therefore *you* (the vakeels) considered the departure of Ally Rezza to be particularly necessary?—A. The departure of Ally Rezza was considered particularly necessary, "in conformity to the orders of the presense."

Gholaum Ally states, of his own accord, that after the death of the nabob Walajah, he (Gholaum Ally) wrote to Omdut ul Omrah, renewing the negociation by order of Tippoo Sultaun, which letter was sent to Madras by

* See before, p. 172.

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Mahommed Ghyauſs of Cuddapah. The anſwer was not brought to him, but he has ſince underſtood from Ghyauſs, that Omdut ul Omrah had ſaid in reply, that the princeſſes were daughters of the late nabob Walajah, and his property; with which Omdut ul Omrah was not at liberty to interfere.

Q. The propoſal having originated with the nabob Walajah, and Tippoo Sultaun having ſhewn his diſpoſition to agree, by ſending Ally Rezza with preſents for the occaſion; how did it happen that the affair failed of accompliſhment, both being willing?—A. The nabob Walajah conſidered Lord Cornwallis's leave to be neceſſary, but which was not obtained. This was the cauſe of the impediment.

Q. Was the firſt propoſal, on the part of the nabob Walajah, communicated to the vakeels, with the knowledge of Lord Cornwallis?—A. The nabob ſaid ten times, in the preſence of the whole durbar, that it was proper to eſtabliſh ſuch a connexion, and that, for his part, he would conſent to and effect it, if his lordſhip would have no objection.

The Paper, No. 6, is produced, and an immediate change was obſerved, as well in the countenance as in the manner of Gholaum Ally Khan.

Q. Did you ever ſee this paper?—A. I never ſaw it before this day, and do not know the intention of it.

The paper, No. 7, is again produced.

Q. Who is meant by the term, "The well-wiſher of mankind?"—A. Walajah.

Q. Why did you call him The well-wiſher of mankind?—A. The nabob told me to uſe that phraſe, and not his own name, Walajah.

The paper, No. 8, is produced.

Q. Who is meant in this letter by the term, "Well-wiſher of mankind?"—A. The nabob Walajah, who was always diſtinguiſhed by that name in Tippoo Sultaun's letters.

Q. Who was meant by the term, "The diſtinguiſhed in friendſhip?"—A. Ally Rezza.

Q. Was that a title conferred on him?—A. It was a mode of addreſs fixed for him.

Q. By whom?—A. The author of the letter.

Gholaum Ally ſtates, of his own accord, that formerly Tippoo Sultaun diſtinguiſhed the nabob by the name of Walajah, and latterly by that of "Well-wiſher of mankind." He adds alſo, that the paper, No. 6, contains certain figurative terms, eſtabliſhed in the ſecretary's department.

Q. At what time was it eſtabliſhed?—A. I do not know.

Q. You ſay that it was eſtabliſhed for the conduct of buſineſs in the ſecretary's department; on what occaſion?—A. I did not attend the durbar for five years, and I ſuppoſe it to have been invented for that purpoſe.

Q. What is meant by this paſſage in No. 8, viz. "I am perfectly ſatisfied, that you will ſhew that kindneſs, which is becoming your exalted perſon, towards * *hearts* your gueſts."—A. The children.

Mem.—It is neceſſary here for the commiſſioners to explain, that the witneſs at once gave the above anſwer; but on recollection, he endeavoured to refer the term "HEARTS" to its literal meaning in the compoſition of this paſſage, by explaining that Tippoo Sultaun meant his hearts (which was the ſame as heart, *i. e.* the plural for the ſingular) ſhould be the gueſt of the nabob Walajah, and that Walajah ſhould beſtow his affection on it. It being evident to the commiſſioners that the witneſs is wilfully prevaricating on this point, from a remarkable change of manner and countenance; it is judged proper to repeat the injunctions contained in the preamble to this inquiry, and that paper, in the Perſian language, is again read to him, and minutely explained. Gholaum Ally Khan again repeats, that he perfectly underſtands the paper, and acknowledges himſelf liable to the penalty eventually or conditionally denounced.

Q. You have ſtated that the nabob Walajah expreſſed his deſire of being diſtinguiſhed by the name of "Well-wiſher of mankind." Recollect yourſelf, and deſcribe the particulars reſpecting the communication of that deſire?—A. At the time of Ally Rezza's departure from Madras to Seringapatam, the nabob Walajah expreſſed his deſire to both the vakeels, that the name of "Well-wiſher of mankind," and not of Walajah, ſhould be uſed whenever it became neceſſary to mention his name.

Q. Did the nabob Walajah deſire that his name might be uſed only in Tippoo Sultaun's letters, or did he deſire that it ſhould alſo be uſed in the letters of the vakeels?—A. The vakeels being both preſent when Ally Rezza took leave, the nabob Walajah ſaid, that he was become an old man; that he was a fakeer; that he had

* Refer to the Perſian Letter.

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had now nothing to do with the title of Walajah, and directed the vakeels to tell Tippoo Sultaun, that he wiſhed to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of "The well-wiſher of mankind."

Q. Did you receive the expreſſion of Walajah's deſire from his own mouth, or through the medium of another perſon?—A. From Walajah's own mouth.

Q. In what place did he communicate this deſire?—A. In the fort, when the nabob Walajah came laſt to give leave to Ally Rezza.

Q. Who were preſent beſides yourſelf and Ally Rezza?—A. No perſon.

Q. Did the nabob retire to a place of ſecrecy, as only three perſons were preſent?—A. I was ſitting in my chair*, and the nabob and Ally Rezza came cloſe to make the communication to me.

Q. Did the nabob Walajah expreſs any wiſh that any other perſons or things ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by ſimilar fictitious titles?—A. No; only with reſpect to himſelf.

Q. When was the title of "Diſtinguiſhed in friendſhip" firſt conferred on Ally Rezza?—A. It appears from the correſpondence of Tippoo Sultaun, Ally Rezza was formerly diſtinguiſhed by another title, which I forget; but on Ally Rezza's return to Seringapatam, he requeſted that his title might be increaſed. This was done.

Q. Did Tippoo Sultaun communicate to you this increaſe of Ally Rezza's title? A. No.

Q. As no communication was made to you of the increaſe of Ally Rezza's titles, how was it poſſible for you, or for the nabob Mahommed Ally, to know who was meant by The diſtinguiſhed in friendſhip?—A. Becauſe Ally Rezza was himſelf the bearer of the letter.

Q. At what time did Ally Rezza return from Seringapatam to Madras?—A. I do not recollect; but believe that I can aſcertain the point, from a memorandum of the preparation made by me to receive Ally Rezza.

Q. Both vakeels being preſent at Madras, did it ever happen that one of them wrote ſeparate addreſſes to Tippoo Sultaun?—A. When both were preſent, they wrote jointly.

Q. The explanation which you have given of the expreſſion "*Hearts*," &c. being ſo conſtrained as to render the paſſage almoſt void of meaning, how do you reconcile the abſurdity of this paſſage, according to your conſtruction, with the uſual ſtyle of Tippoo Sultaun's letters, which is evident and reaſonable?—A. I explain it thus; viz. "Our heart is in fact, or truly, (for) your houſe, and (for) your little ones. In this manner (for this reaſon) there is the fulleſt confidence, that kindneſs becoming exalted (great) characters, will be put in practice."

Q. Do you think that Tippoo Sultaun would have written a paſſage ſo abſolutely deſtitute of meaning?—A. He has written it.

Mem.—After a full diſcuſſion of this conſtruction, it is ſtated to the witneſs, that the inconſiſtencies and abſurdities of his explanation have eſtabliſhed a belief, that he is endeavouring to conceal the true meaning, which it remains for him either to remove, or to be anſwerable on his reſponſibility to the Company.

Q. On this queſtion being firſt put to you, you gave a direct anſwer, which was intelligible; but, on conſideration, you have ſubſtituted an anſwer which is not to be underſtood.—A. It is true, I may have ſaid ſo.

The paper, No. 6, is put into the hands of Gholaum Ally Khan again, and he is aſked, in the moſt ſerious manner,

Q. Did you ever ſee this paper, or not? or did you ever hear of its being brought into uſe?—A. I now ſee that Omdut ul Omrah's name is at the bottom of the paper. After the death of his father, Omdut ul Omrah ſent it to Tippoo Sultaun, to be uſed in their correſpondence.

Q. How do you know this?—A. Becauſe it is indorſed by one of the moonſhees of Tippoo Sultaun.

Q. What connexion is there between the indorſement and the period you have deſcribed? and on what grounds have you fixed the period at the death of Walajah?—A. (It is impoſſible to obtain any anſwer: but he ſays, that) it came in the cover of a letter, which muſt have been dated. I am reſponſible for this fact.

Q. It has been explained to you, that the Engliſh government is in poſſeſſion of the records and ſecret papers of the late Tippoo Sultaun; and conſequently that they have ample means of examining all perſons who appear to have had any ſhare in the tranſaction of his affairs; conſider well, and anſwer this queſtion on your reſponſibility to the Company:—Did you, or did you not, receive this (No. 6,) written in pencil, from Omdut ul Omrah?—A. No; I did not. After further heſitation, Gholaum Ally ſays, if he ſent

* He is lame, and cannot move.

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sent it, he may have sent it by means of Ally Rezza.

Q. If he sent it at the time of the death of the nabob Walajah (as you have stated,) how could he have sent it by means of Ally Rezza?—A. I spoke from conjecture.

Mem.—It appears from the whole of Gholaum Ally Khan's answers, that he is wilfully prevaricating, and that no explanation can be obtained from him. As he appears, therefore, to be callous to the manifest falsehoods in his testimony, the commissioners deem it unnecessary to pursue this part of the examination further.

Q. Was there any cypher in use in your correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun?—A. If there was, it was lodged with Ally Rezza, and I understand that such a paper was given to him on his return to Madras. After further hesitation, Gholaum Ally states, that Ally Rezza desired him to take a copy of the cypher, which he declined, saying that he was not a person to be engaged in those affairs.

Q. Was it ever used by Ally Rezza?—A. He never told me of his having done so.

Q. Did you ever hear that it was brought into use?—A. Never, never.

Q. Did Ally Rezza ever communicate to you that he had used it?—A. One thing is true, that Tippoo Sultaun did write a letter in cypher to Ally Rezza.

Q. Did it ever happen, that both vakeels being present at Madras, they corresponded separately with Tippoo Sultaun?—A. No.

Q. Did Tippoo Sultaun ever send any letter separately to either vakeel, when both vakeels were present at Madras?—A. No.

Q. Did the letter above-mentioned in cypher come to Ally Rezza alone, or addressed to both vakeels?—A. Ally Rezza told me that he had received the cyphered letter, but I declined having any concern with it.

Q. Was you not considered to be the principal vakeel?—A. Ally Rezza had charge of the expenses, and I was entrusted with political negociation.

Q. Was it usual for Tippoo Sultaun to write in cypher on the subject of your expenses at Madras?—A. I know that he wrote one letter in cypher.

Q. Did Tippoo Sultaun ever communicate to you any circumstance whatever by means of a cyphered letter?—A. No.

Q. Did he ever communicate any circumstance in cypher to Ally Rezza?—A. No; no letter was received. He shewed me one letter.

Q. Did you ever hear that Ally Rezza had, on any occasion whatever, written to Tippoo Sultaun by means of a cyphered letter?—A. I did not know of it. I never heard of it; and never was told of it.

Q. What were the orders of Tippoo Sultaun for conducting your correspondence?—A. He gave us no orders; none whatever.

Q. Did you ever hear that Tippoo Sultaun had ordered an oath of fidelity to be administered to his servants, at the mosque in Madras?—A. Yes; orders came for that purpose, which were executed by Ally Rezza.

Gholaum Ally Khan having earnestly requested permission to retire, leave is accordingly granted to him: it being evident, from his determination to prevaricate, that no farther useful matter can be obtained from his testimony.

Seringapatam, 11th May 1800.

Gholaum Ally Khan again attends the commissioners, agreeably to his appointment.

The paper, No. 7, in the correspondence, is produced.

Q. What are the points which could not be committed to paper, and could only be communicated in person?—A. The communication of the friendship and harmony which was felt for Tippoo Sultaun.

Q. What sirdars are meant in the passage, "At this time the friendship and good-will of both sirdars is from God and the royal auspices?"—A. Lord Cornwallis and the nabob Walajah.

Q. What appeared to you to be so extraordinary in the friendship and good-will of both sirdars, as to make you think and say that it could only have proceeded from God and the auspices of Tippoo Sultaun?—A. Formerly enmity was established between the two states; I therefore considered this disposition now manifested to be a most fortunate occurrence.

Q. Why did you consider what had passed between you and the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, as an unlooked-for good?—A. Because I found a better disposition than I expected towards my master.

Q. What was the subject alluded to in this letter, in which Tippoo Sultaun was to deliberate maturely, and to bring fully home to his mind?—A. The harmony and friendship which is mentioned in the letter.

Q. What

Q. What was meant by the alluſion in this letter to the changeableneſs of the times?—A. The inſtability of human affairs; I therefore meant to impreſs on the ſultaun's mind the neceſſity of forming uſeful friendſhips.

Q. What was the affair which you were deſirous Tippoo Sultaun ſhould agree to?—A. My object was to promote a diſpoſition on the part of the ſultaun to cultivate this friendſhip.

Q. How did you mean to apply the paſſage from the poet Hafiz? who were the friends with whom Tippoo was to maintain cordiality? and who were the enemies with whom he was to diſſemble?—A. I meant to impreſs the policy of cultivating the friendſhip of the two ſirdars, and of keeping apart from the Mahrattas and the Nizam.

Q. Did you at any time receive letters or meſſages from the nabobs Walajah or Omdut ul Omrah, after your final return to Scringapatam?—A. Soon after my return I was put under reſtraint, and I received no communication whatever, either by letter or meſſage, from the nabob Walajah, or from Omdut ul Omrah.

The paper, No. 17, of the correſpondence, is produced.

Q. Do you recollect receiving from Omdut ul Omrah the letter, of which this is a copy?—A. As it is an anſwer to the letter which was written under my ſeal, by the nabob Tippoo Sultaun, I did not receive it.

Q. Did you receive any verbal meſſage or letter from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, or from any perſon in his confidence, through the channel of the ambaſſadors Mahommed Ghyauſs and Mahommed Ghoſe?—A. None.

The paper, No. 20, is produced.

Q. Do you recollect to have received this letter?—A. No.

Q. Was your ſeal ſent for more than once by Tippoo Sultaun?—A. No.

Q. How many years are paſſed ſince the ſultaun ſent for your ſeal?—A. I do not recollect; it is a conſiderable time, upwards of two years, as far as I can gueſs.

Q. You ſay that the ſultaun ſent for your ſeal but once; two letters have been produced from Omdut ul Omrah to you, after an interval of two years and a half, in each of which a letter from you is acknowledged; one of them therefore muſt have been written by yourſelf?—A. The ſultaun kept my ſeal for five days, and may have prepared different covers of letters with it; I know nothing of the letter myſelf.

Q. Did you at any time receive a letter from Khader Newaz Khan?—A. I received one; it was a letter of recommendation.

Q. Reſpecting whom?—A. I do not recollect his name; he was a gentleman deſtined for this quarter; I returned no anſwer.

Q. Did you receive any other letter from Khader Newaz Khan?—A. No.

The paper, No. 21, in the correſpondence, is produced.

Q. Did you not receive from Khader Newaz Khan, ſome time in the month of Rejub 1211 Hejirah, a letter, of which this is a copy?—A. I did receive it.

Q. When?—A. I have no recollection of the time.

Q. It does not appear to be a recommendation of any gentleman?—A. It is the only letter I received: and it might have contained a ſeparate note of recommendation.

Q. By whom was it brought?—A. The gentleman above-mentioned, about a year after my return from Madras.

Q. What were the contents of your letter to Khader Newaz Khan, which is acknowledged in this letter?—A. Informing him of my arrival, and communicating the expreſſions of friendſhip and good wiſhes towards the ſultaun.

Q. What was the nature of the intimations of Khader Newaz Khan's attachment to Tippoo Sultaun, which had occaſioned Tippoo Sultaun to expreſs through you his ſatisfaction?—A. Nothing more than the deſire already expreſſed of eſtabliſhing and preſerving cordiality and friendſhip between the two durbars.

Q. Through what channel were the ſaid intimations conveyed to Tippoo Sultaun?—A. I delivered the meſſage of Khader Newaz Khan, on my return to the preſence, and acquainted him with the reception of it by the ſultaun. This is the anſwer to my letter.

Q. What did Khader Newaz Khan mean by ſaying, that the ſyſtem of harmony and union between Tippoo Sultaun and Omdut ul Omrah had acquired the requiſite degree of ſtability and firmneſs?—A. I explain, that being a man not very opulent, Khader Newaz Khan was deſirous of rendering his inſtrumentality in eſtabliſhing the friendſhip and cordiality uſeful to himſelf, by obtaining a preſent from Tippoo Sultaun.

Q. Did he obtain any?—A. None. The object of the connexion was not accompliſhed.

Q. You muſt be ſenſible, that, from the inconſiſtency of your anſwers, you have

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have endeavoured to frustrate the object of this inquiry, and we have explained to you that this examination will be transmitted to our superiors. We refer you, therefore, again to the serious exhortation which was given to you at the commencement of this inquiry; and, as the prevarication in your testimony is too obviously intended to conceal some matters connected with the inquiry, we recommend that you should consider the nature of the evidence you have given, lest it should subject you to the serious displeasure of the British government?

Mem.—The above question having been verbally explained to Gholaum Ally Khan, he is informed, that it will be translated into the Persian language, and sent to him in the morning, (it being now very late,) and that he will be required to subscribe his own answer in the same language at the bottom of the question.

Gholaum Ally Khan accordingly withdraws.

Seringapatam, May 12th, 1800.

The question recorded yesterday, having been translated into the Persian language, is sent to Gholaum Ally Khan, by colonel Close's moonshee; and after a considerable interval, the following note is received from Gholaum Ally himself.

"The moonshee is desirous that I should write at the bottom of the paper sent to me. At one o'clock to-morrow I will wait on the gentlemen, and communicate something. For the present, I request that the moonshee may be recalled."

Seringapatam, May 14th, 1800.

In conformity to his note of the 12th instant, Gholaum Ally Khan attends the commissioners: and, after stating the reluctance which he felt for disclosing the secrets of his master entrusted to him, delivers the following answer (written by his own moonshee) to the question recorded in the proceedings of the 11th instant; viz.

"God and his prophet know and witness, that whatever was known to me from the beginning of the year 1207 to the year 1214 Hejirah, has been explained, without deviation or difference, before the gentlemen of the Company."

Q. In your note of the 12th instant, you stated, that you had something to communicate. What is that something?—A. It was my intention to mention, that on the departure of Ally Rezza from Madras, he was charged by the nabob Walajah with a sword and a saddle of value as a present to Tippoo Sultaun. It was also my intention to state, that the ink was scarcely dry on the treaty (of 1792,) when Tippoo Sultaun sent for his vakeel from Pondicherry; I did not know what passed between them, but I explain the obscurity of the passage in the letter (No. 8,) by referring the word "*Hearts*" to Tippoo Sultaun himself, and the word "*Khordegaum*" to the French.

Q. There being the most rooted enmity between the French and the nabob Walajah, how could Tippoo Sultaun, in a letter of civility to the latter, denominate the former The children of his highness?—A. It was an allusion.

The paper, No. 10 of the correspondence, is produced.

Q. Did the nabob Walajah actually communicate this intelligence to you? and did you transmit the message without addition to Tippoo Sultaun?—A. I received the intelligence through the means of Khader Newaz Khan. On drafting the letter, I shewed it to Khader Newaz Khan, and he having approved of it, it was dispatched to the presence.

Q. What is the meaning of this passage, viz. "What in the judgment of this well-wisher now appears expedient is this. In a short time his lordship will go to Europe, and the kists are in a course of payment. After his lordship's departure the liquidation of the kists and other points, whatever may be his highness's (Tippoo's) pleasure, will be right and proper. At present it is better to be silent in every thing, because at this time his highness's honour would at all events be called in question. When another shall arrive from Europe, the imputation will in every event and in every measure fall upon him?"—A. The French,—the French,—the French,—a thousand times the French.

Q. How could the agitation of the affairs here alluded to, before the departure of Lord Cornwallis, be attended with disreputation to Tippoo Sultaun?—A. Because Lord Cornwallis himself being a party to the treaty, any deviation from it on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, at so early a period as during his lordship's residence in India, would be particularly injurious to the character of Tippoo Sultaun.

Q. How could the departure of Lord Cornwallis remove any part of the disreputation of violating the treaty?—A. By the possibility of *their* being able to conciliate the new-comer to *their* views.

Q. Do you mean to include the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah in this intended

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intended arrangement for conciliating the new comer?—A. I received the meſſage from Khader Newaz Khan on the part of the nabob Walajah, and therefore only include him in it.

Q. What anſwer did Tippoo Sultaun return to this propoſition?—A. An anſwer was received and delivered to the nabob Walajah, but the contents were not explained to me. The ſultaun informed us that he had received our diſpatch, and encloſed a letter for the nabob Walajah from himſelf, which was accordingly delivered.

Q. Was the letter tranſmitted to the nabob Walajah by means of Khader Newaz Khan?—A. It was delivered to the nabob Walajah himſelf, at one of his viſits to the princes.

Q. The original meſſage from the nabob Walajah having been verbally communicated to the vakeels, did his highneſs make no mention to you of the purport of the anſwer which he had received from Tippoo Sultaun?—A. No; I made no inquiry on the ſubject.

Q. You have ſtated, that the whole of the affair alluded to in this letter refers to the French; but the very ſubject of the letter is founded on the too frequent communication between the ſultaun and the government of Poonah. How do you reconcile this?—A. It is true, that the letter refers principally to Poonah; but the nabob Walajah's caution was general, and included all.

Q. Do you underſtand, that in giving this advice, the nabob Walajah communicated his intention to the Britiſh government?—A. I have no knowledge on this point.

The letter in figured cypher is produced, and recognized by Gholaum Ally Khan.

Q. Did you tranſmit to the ſultaun the deſcription of the works of Fort St. George, promiſed in this letter?—A. No, we did not; who would permit us to obtain the information?

Q. The Britiſh government is in poſſeſſion of a very long and detailed deſcription of the works of Fort St. George, written during the reſidence of the vakeels at Madras?—A. It may be, but I have no recollection of it. If ſuch a letter was written, it will have fallen into the hands of the Britiſh government.

Q. At what place did you take your laſt leave of Omdut ul Omrah?—A. At the mount.

Q. As Omdut ul Omrah appears to have met the vakeels at the garden on the plain for the purpoſe of delivering his laſt meſſage, why did he follow them to the mount?—A. After our return from our meeting at the garden, we received a meſſage from Khader Newaz Khan, that the nabob would entertain us at the mount, and accordingly Omdut ul Omrah came thither.

Q. Had you any particular converſation with Omdut ul Omrah on that occaſion?—A. No; none whatever.

Q. Had you any particular converſation at the garden when you took leave of Omdut ul Omrah?—A. None. That meeting was five or ſix months previous to our actual departure.

Q. Was the affair which Omdut ul Omrah required you not to commit to writing, communicated only to yourſelf, or to both the vakeels.—A. To both.

Q. Was there at that meeting any converſation between yourſelf and Omdut ul Omrah unknown to any other perſon?—A. Yes: we converſed on the ſubject of the connexion by marriage, and of the harmony of Tippoo Sultaun and the Engliſh, during which time Ally Rezza was on one ſide.

Q. Was there any ſeparate converſation between yourſelf and Omdut ul Omrah at the tomb?—A. Yes. There was on the ſubject of the connexion.

Q. It appears that you held private converſations with Omdut ul Omrah at the moſque, and in the garden; recollect whether you had not alſo yourſelf a ſeparate converſation with him at the mount?—A. None whatever.

Gholaum Ally Khan retires.

(Signed) J. WEBBE.
B. CLOSE.

No. 16.

Copy of ſuch Parts of the CORRESPONDENCE *diſcovered in the Palace at Seringapatam, and alluded to in the Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor in Council of Fort St. George to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 3d of Auguſt* 1801, *as are not included in the Appendix to the Declaration of the Governor of Fort St. George, dated 31ſt of July* 1801.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Mahommed Oſmaun, Vakeel at Madras,

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Madras, to Hyder Ally Khan; dated the 30th of Jan. 1773.

Agreeably to your orders, I had an audience of the nabob, at which, after expreſſing in ſtrong terms the friendſhip that ſubſiſted between us, I requeſted the paſſport for the arms. Immediately on hearing theſe expreſſions of friendſhip, his highneſs acquieſced in my demand of the paſſport, and taking me by the hand, led me to the top of the houſe, where there was a room, from whence the beautiful proſpect of the ſea, Fort St. George, &c. like a plain, appearing to our view, he remarked what a beautiful ſpot it was, and added, May Almighty God ſoon produce a cauſe, from which the nabob Hyder Ally Khan and I ſhall be enabled here to ſit and enjoy ourſelves together." He proceeded in theſe words, "The nabob Hyder Ally Khan, inattentive to the value of my friendſhip, has always conſidered me ſeparate from himſelf; whilſt I have ever conſidered us as one: I may ſay indeed, that I look on his exiſtence as my own fleſh and ſkin, and it is incumbent upon him to do the ſame. It is neceſſary that a friendſhip ſhould ſubſiſt between us ſo firm, as that both our countries alſo ſhould be one; that if any enemy (which God prevent!) ſhould burn one of his villages, I ought to feel as if one of my own was conſumed; and were one of mine to be deſtroyed by the fire of an enemy, he ought to feel as if one of his were deſtroyed. Again he obſerved, your maſter may make many friends, and doubtleſs will, but ſuch a friend as I am he never can acquire; when friendſhip ſhall be eſtabliſhed between us, then it will be ſeen what the friendſhip of friends is. I am that friend, who, if he (which God prevent!) ſhould require the ſacrifice of my child, as a means of promoting his proſperity and dominion, would, looking upon this as the greateſt bleſſing in the world, moſt willingly deliver my offſpring up to him. It is my wiſh to eſtabliſh ſuch a friendſhip with your maſter, that our children after us may be united in the bonds of affection and of love. Let us therefore, during this tranſitory life, be friendly and united, and render good offices to each other, ſince in the next no perſon can be connected with another; it is indeed ſingularly happy that Almighty God has been ſo bounteous to each, as that we want for nothing elſe than friendſhip and affection; it is incumbent upon us mutually to tranſmit to one another preſents and rarities, &c. which God has beſtowed on both, which, amongſt friends, is a ſource of ſatisfaction, a means of over-awing others, and in every reſpect ſeemly. If therefore any thing in your maſter's country ſhould be wiſhed or required by me, let me take it without any apology; and in like manner ſhould he want any thing from mine, let him ſend for it without excuſe: this is the mode in which the princes of former times diſplayed their friendſhip for each other, and in the preſent times it is the ſame." Your ſlave, (Mahommed Oſmaun,) upon hearing all theſe friendly expreſſions, made the two following remarks: "Almighty God has beſtowed upon your highneſs (the nabob) a general knowledge of every matter, and a clear underſtanding, my maſter (Hyder Ally) contemplating by anticipation from his own great foreſight all that I have now heard, and wiſhing to promote a unity with you, addreſſed to you a letter, wherefore did your highneſs not write him in return?" He anſwered, "I am convinced that your maſter wrote me that letter of condolence in friendſhip; but while I cheriſhed in

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in my mind his friendly ſentiments, I judged it unproſperous and improper, as a beginning of friendſhip, to reply to a letter of condolence, and therefore failed to write to him; but ſhould he wiſh in future to maintain a correſpondence with me, I will look upon him, and addreſs him as a king." My ſecond obſervation was as follows: "Almighty God has made your highneſs powerful and great. The Mahrattas you know to be evil-minded and wickedly diſpoſed; during three years they were at war with my maſter, and over-run and deſtroyed his country to the value of many crores. Notwithſtanding his repeated demands of aſſiſtance from you, with an offer of paying the expenſes of the troops, how did you continue inattentive to his wiſh, and an inactive ſpectator? it would appear then, that you were unwilling to have him for a neighbour, (or a friend,) and preferred the neighbourhood (or friendſhip) of the Mahrattas." He replied, "the ſentiments you expreſs are preciſely my own. May the Almighty deſtroy and root out the Mahrattas. It is with this object in view that I am anxious to eſtabliſh an alliance with your maſter, that in future whatever we may do may be concerted and engaged in with one heart and tongue, whether to make war or peace, becauſe hitherto he has not, in the firſt inſtance, made application to me, nor communicated with me upon any ſubject. When he attacked the Europeans, and made peace with the Engliſh, who were my ſervants, it depended upon my conſent to conclude it. I was the prince and owner of the country, and was at no great diſtance from the ſcene; but not a word, not a ſentence, nor even a man, did he think proper to ſend to me. Hence I could not but conclude, that he wiſhed not to be in unity and friendſhip with me, and conſequently what ought I to have to do with his other wars and pacifications? Had your maſter maintained friendſhip and correſpondence with me, and had I then neglected to fulfil my obligations, and remained an inactive ſpectator, theſe might be grounds for complaint: But let us totally forget the paſt, and if the nabob Hyder Ally Khan ſhould conceive that nothing or no advantage is to be gained from my friendſhip, let him reflect that the moſt trifling degree of its advantage is this; that if every year, whatever number of arms he may be able to purchaſe and carry away from this quarter, he may do ſo without moleſtation; it is no leſs a privilege than what he poſſeſſes in his own country. In the preſent inſtance, when you applied for a paſſport to the governor, you knew the anſwer he gave; he does not chooſe to comply with your requeſt. Upon a principle of foreſight, I conſider your maſter's friendſhip as paramount to every thing; it is incumbent likewiſe on your maſter to do the ſame by me, and continue firm in his friendſhip, for our two hearts are in reality one."

His highneſs further added, that an odd incident had occurred, and told me, laughing at the ſame time, that when your highneſs came down upon the Engliſh, he was in this very garden where we were, and ſending anſwers to the letters which he received; that the people told him, "To-day the Engliſh gentlemen are embarking upon a pilgrimage." Here the converſation broke up, and his highneſs deſired me to come to-morrow for the duſtuck.

P. S. In your former letter to the nabob, your addreſs was ſuch as

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to produce an obſervation from him, "that people in general write thus to their ſervants." It will be neceſſary therefore to conſider this in future, that no offence may be taken. His highneſs gave me an Engliſh pocket-book, as a preſent for you, which I encloſe. If you ſend him ſomething handſome in exchange, I think it would be proper.

(A true tranſlation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.
Perſ. Tranſl. to the Gov.

No. 17.

Minute of Lord Clive, dated 29th of September 1801, relative to the pecuniary Proviſion to be made for the Families of the late Nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, &c. &c.

I have the honour of communicating to the board a ſtatement of the pecuniary proviſion which I propoſe to make for the family of their late highneſſes the nabob Mahommed Ally, and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, as well as for the principal officers and dependants of the late government. This ſtatement has been prepared in communication with his highneſs the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah. Reaſon therefore exiſts for believing that the proviſion now propoſed extends to every branch of the family, and that the Company will be liable to no further expence for its ſupport.

It appears by the accounts with which I have been furniſhed from the durbar of the nabob, that the appropriation of the family jaghires by the nabob Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah has been extremely capricious; by theſe means many members of the family have lived in the enjoyment of ſuperfluous abundance, while the greater part has with difficulty commanded the means of ſubſiſtence. This mode of appropriation has therefore afforded no guide for the allotment of the pecuniary ſtipends; and I have judged it moſt expedient to divide the family and its connexions into ſeparate claſſes, according to the reſpective gradations of the different branches.

In propoſing half a lack of rupees for the ſupport of each of the legitimate ſons of the nabob Mahommed Ally, I have allowed myſelf perhaps to exceed the bounds which a ſtrict interpretation of the ſituation of thoſe princes might juſtify; but I have been unwilling to detract from the liberality by which the Britiſh government has been guided throughout the recent tranſactions connected with this family; and it did not appear to be conſiſtent with this plan of arrangement, that a leſs income ſhould be allotted to the legitimate ſons of Mahommed Ally, than that appropriated to the ſupport of the elder ſons of the late Tippoo Sultaun. To the inferior branches of the family I have allotted ſtipends, calculated in a relative proportion, according to the reſpective claſſes to which they have been referred.

Some oppreſſive exactions having been made by Huſſain ul Mulk, (the ſecond ſurviving ſon of the nabob Mahommed Ally,) in his capacity of foujdar of Tritchinopoly, particularly in the pagoda of Seringam, the means of recompenſing the ſufferers will hereafter be a ſubject of conſideration for the governor in council, but I ſhall conſider it indiſpenſably neceſſary to apply a great portion of the ſtipend of Huſſain ul Mulk to this purpoſe; for the ſame reaſon I ſhall propoſe to reimburſe the Company in the amount of the arrear paid to the troops

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troops of Sultauna ul Niſſa Begum, the favourite ſiſter of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, from the ſtipend allotted to that princeſs.

The only deviation I have admitted from the principle of diſtributing the family into claſſes, is in favour of Taje ul Omrah, the eldeſt reputed ſon of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah. The operation of that principle would have referred him to the claſs of Nekail ſons; and perhaps a ſtrict interpretation of his condition might be more conſiſtent with that principle, becauſe a deviation in his favour can only be founded on conſiderations connected with his former rank and expectations, and might therefore be liable to the imputation of encouraging hopes, which have been decidedly cut off, it may be unwiſe to indulge. I am diſpoſed, however, in the preſent ſtate of circumſtances, to conſider Ally Huſſain to be more an object of compaſſion than of danger, and I think that the propoſed ſtipend of rupees 24,000 per annum, affords ſufficient means of gratifying his wiſhes, without encroaching on the expediency of ſuppreſſing his pretenſions to the government of the Carnatic.

The liſt of the officers of the late government is not extenſive, and the proviſion which I propoſe to make for them is liberal. Of the four principal officers of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, introduced to the deputies after the death of that prince, I have included only Tukhia Ally Khan; and I have allotted to him a ſtipend proportioned to his former rank in the durbar. Najeeb Khan (the other perſon named in the will of Omdut ul Omrah,) holds at preſent a jaghire which will hereafter come under the conſideration of the Board, and will afford, I have no doubt, ample means of maintaining that khan. The part which Khader Newaz Khan has acted in the extraordinary negociations of the late nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, has rendered it impoſſible to include him in the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic upon the preſent foundation; and with reſpect to Mr. Barret, it will be manifeſt, from the deſcription of that perſon, contained in the report of the deputies, that the ſame conſiderations do not apply to him, which apply to the Muſſulman gentlemen of rank and character in the ſervice of the late government.

The three princes connected with the family of the emperor of Delhi have, I underſtand, reſided in the neighbourhood of this preſidency, and have been ſupported by the bounty of the late nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah during a long period of time; I have therefore judged it neceſſary, in framing the preſent arrangement, to ſecure to perſons of their deſcription, the certain means of ſubſiſtence through the channel of the Company's government.

Having concluded theſe arrangements with his highneſs the nabob, in conformity to the ſtipulations of the treaty, I conſider it to be conſiſtent with the ſpirit of that inſtrument, to give every appearance of ſupport to the dignity and rank of his preſent highneſs, and to reſtrain the ſpirit of hoſtility which has been avowed by many branches of the family towards the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah. While, therefore, I propoſe to ſecure to each branch of the family the actual enjoyment of the penſion allotted to it, by rendering it payable at the Company's treaſury to ſuch perſons as may be appointed to receive it, I judge it to be indiſpenſably neceſſary, to the-

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preſervation of good order and harmony in the family, that the receipts to be granted by the different members of it ſhould be previouſly ſubjected to the nabob's inſpection, and that the payment of the penſions ſhall be ſuſpended unleſs ſuch receipts ſhall bear the ſeal and ſignature of his highneſs.

I conſider it to be extremely deſirable that every precaution ſhall be uſed for ſecuring the happineſs and comfort of the nabob on the foundation of the preſent arrangement; in order therefore to preſerve his highneſs from the errors of his predeceſſors, to defend him from the machinations of intereſted perſons, to reſtrain his expenſes within the limit of his income, and to impreſs conſtantly on his mind the principles of his connexion with the Britiſh government, I judge it to be expedient that a perſon ſhould be appointed to attend his highneſs's durbar, and to hold a conſtant perſonal communication with him on the part of this government. The general objects of this arrangement will be ſubject to the immediate ſuperintendance of the government; and the duties of the ſubordinate office, which I propoſe to create, will be directed to the maintenance of that intercourſe, to the timely communication of the intended meaſures of the nabob, and to the eſtabliſhment of an immediate control, under circumſtances contributing at the ſame time to the honour and reſpect due to his highneſs's ſtation.

The nature of theſe duties is ſuch as to require the appointment of a Muſſulman of good character and underſtanding, rather than an European gentleman. I have the beſt opinion of the fidelity of Gholaum Huſſain, the principal moonſhee in the Perſian office, and of his qualifications to diſcharge the duties of that ſtation with ſatisfaction to this government and advantage to the Company. I propoſe accordingly to nominate Gholaum Huſſain to attend (under the immediate orders of the governor,) the durbar of his highneſs the nabob, with a ſalary of one hundred pagodas per month, and with an allowance of fifty pagodas for equipage and ſervants. Theſe ſums of money it is my intention to charge on the fund to be appropriated to the ſupport of the family and dependants of the nabob.

The board will obſerve, by the ſtatements which I have the honour of communicating to it, that the amount of the propoſed pecuniary proviſion for the family and dependants of the nabob, is leſs than the amount appropriable to that purpoſe, according to the ſtipulations of the treaty of 1792; and the nature of the preſent arrangement is calculated to ſecure a gradual diminution of this expenditure.

I propoſe that the payment of the ſtipends ſhall commence from the 1ſt day of October.

1. STATEMENT *of the pecuniary Proviſion to be made for the ſurviving Branches of the Families of their Highneſſes the late Nabob Mahommed Ally and the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah.*

FAMILY of the Nabob MAHOMMED ALLY.

Three ſons by legitimate marriage, viz.

	Rupees.	
Sief ul Mulk — —	50,000	
Huſſain ul Mulk —	50,000	
Nuſſer ul Mulk —	50,000	
		150,000

Three daughters by legitimate marriage, viz.

Sultauna ul Niſſa Begum	25,000	
Mullick ul Niſſa Begum	25,000	
Omdut ul Niſſa Begum	25,000	
		75,000

Ten ſons by Nika, viz.

Huſſain Newaz Khan	10,000	
Serafraz Khan — —	10,000	
Carry forward		225,000

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	Rupees.
Brought forward	245,000
Abdul Hamud Khan — 10,000	
Nuffur Oollah Khan — 10,000	
Gholaum Mahomed Khan 10,000	
Ifmael Khan — — 10,000	
Huffain Mahommed Khan 10,000	
Aboo Tufab Khan — 10,000	
Abdul Mahmood Khan 10,000	
Abdul Ghuffar Khan 10,000	
	100,000
Five Nekail ladies, viz.	
Rief-ul Niffa Begum — 5,000	
Zub ul Niffa Begum — 5,000	
Lal Mahal — — — 5,000	
Khuttajah Begum — 5,000	
Padfhaw Begum — 5,000	
	25,000
Twelve daughters by Nika, viz.	
Nejub ul Niffa Begum — 5,000	
Aziez ul Niffa Begum — 5,000	
Seroj ul Niffa Begum — 5,000	
Afzul ul Niffa Begum — 5,000	
Fachn ul Niffa Begum 5,000	
Dowlut ul Niffa Begum 5,000	
Rizzia Begum — — 5,000	
Reheem ul Niffa Begum 5,000	
Fuzulut ul Niffa Begum 5,000	
Raabia Begum — — 5,000	
Lutf ul Niffa Begum — 5,000	
Hafiza Begum — — 5,000	
	60,000
One grandfon by Nika, viz.	
Abdul Bofil Khan — —	3,000
Inferior Nekail ladies, viz,	
Purfun Beeby — — 3,000	
Hudjaing Beeby — — 1,200	
Aumunah Beeby — — 1,200	
Kanullah Beeby — — 1,200	
Four Circaffians — — 4,200	
Muddary Begum — 1,200	
	12,000
The Haram — — —	8,400
Total	453,400

2. FAMILY of the Nabob OMDUT UL OMRAH.

	Rupees.
The Begum Dolary Begum	25,000
Three Sons by Neka, viz.	
Taje ul Omrah — 24,000	
Shab Sowar Jung — 10,000	
Bakir Huffain Khan — 10,000	
	44,000
One daughter by Neka, viz.	
Huffab ul Niffa — —	5,000
Four Nekail ladies, viz.	
Guffaty Begum — — 5,000	
Colfum Begum — — 5,000	
Chuloor Begum — — 5,000	
Mahatab — — — 5,000	
	20,000
One inferior concubine, recently admitted into the Mahal with her infant fon — — —	2,400
The Haram — —	4,053
Total	1,00,453

3. The FAMILY of ABDUL WAHAB KHAN, the legitimate Brother of the Nabob Mahommed Ally, viz.

	Rupees.
Two fons by legitamate marriages, viz.	
Dileer Jung — — 24,000	
Khan Jehan Khan — 12,000	
	36,000
Four fons by Neka, viz.	
Serafraz Khan — — 3,000	
Needum Oollah — — 3,000	
Abdoo Rezza Khan — 3,000	
Kurrein ud Deen Ahmed 2,000	
	11,000
One legitimate wife, Lally Begum	6,000
Three Nekail ladies, viz.	
Allah Rukhy — — 2,000	
Muftura Khanum — 1,000	
Sulliah Beeby — — — 500	
	3,500
Five daughters, viz.	
Kurrem ul Niffa — 2,000	
Rahmul ul Niffa — 2,000	
Ahmedy Begum — — 2,000	
Buddy ul Begum — 2,000	
Wugjy ul Niffa — — 2,000	
	10,000
The Family of Eftadar Khan, a fon by Neka —	2,000
Total	68,500

4. The FAMILY of MAPHOOZ KHAN, the brother of the Nabob Mahommed Ally by Nika.

	Rupees.
One fon Maphooz Khan —	6,000
Three daughters, viz.	
The wife of Mahommed Merad — — 2,000	
Ditto of Mahommed Ally Khan — — 2,000	
Beeby Saheb — — 1,200	
	5,200
Total	11,200

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	Rupees.
5. Separate Connexions of the Nabob MAHOMMED ALLY ABDUL KHADER, the Nephew of Mahommed Ally, by his legitimate Sister — — — —	12,000
The Family of Jan Jehan Khan, Nephew of Mahommed Ally, by his legitimate Sister — —	5,000
The Family of Lewad Khan, a Nekail, son of Mahommed Ally	5,000
The Family of Huſſain Ally Khan, a Nekail, ſon of Mahommed Ally — — — — —	5,000
The Family Najeeb Oollah Khan, a Nekail, brother of Mahommed Ally — — — — —	2,000
The Family of Budder ul Iſlaam Khan, a Nekail, brother of do.	3,000
Total	32,000

	Rupees.
6. Offices of the Government of the Nabob OMDUT UL OMRAH, not included in the proviſion made for the family of his highneſs Mochtar Jung Foujdar of Tinnevelly — —	4,200
Ally Newaz Khan, Killadar of Arcot — — — — —	4,200
Purky Ally Khan, one of the Miniſters at Madras — — —	4,200
Meer Aſſud Oollah Khan — —	4,200
Kuttub Oodun Khan — —	4,200
Jowaher Ally Khan, Killadar of Rylaſgur — — — —	1,200
Serafraz Ally Khan, Killadar of Terrioor — — — —	1,200
Bakir Gowar, Killadar of Chittoor	1,200
Ameen ud Deen Ally Khan Behauder — — — — —	2,400
Commandant Mahommed Ibrahim — — — — —	1,200
Moonſhee Gholaum Huſſain —	6,320
Total	34,520

	Rupees.
7. Three Relations of the Emperor of Delhi penſioned by the Nabob MAHOMMED ALLY.	
Humaioin Bucht — —	6,000
Ally Bucht — — —	4,200
His young brother — —	1,200
	11,400

RECAPITULATION:

	Rupees.
1. Family of the Nabob Mahommed Ally — — —	4,33,400
Brought forward	4,33,400
2. Family of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah — — — —	1,00,453
3. Family of the Nabob Abdul Wahab Khan — — —	65,500
4. Family of the Nabob Maphooz Khan — — — — —	11,200
5. Separate Connexions — —	32,000
6. Officers of the late government	34 520
7. Relations of the Emperor —	11,400
	6,98,473

(Signed) CLIVE.

No. 18.

Copy of a paper, purporting to be a Letter from Huſſain Ally, the reputed Son of the late Nabob of Arcot, to James Stuart Hall, and Samuel Johnſtone, Eſquires.

From his Highneſs the Nabob Walajah, Ameer ul Hind, Taje ul Omrah, Ameer ul Mulk, Moyen ud Dowlah, Mahommed Ally Huſſain Khan Behauder Zuffer Jung, &c.

To James Stuart Hall, and Samuel Johnſtone, Eſquires.

WHEN I look around me, and perceive the many dangers which beſet me, I am overwhelmed with difficulties; every object occaſions new alarms, and my little experience in buſineſs, my unacquaintance with the world, and my great want of friends in a trial ſo ſerious, leaves me little able to encounter the difficulties which preſent themſelves. Though a ſtranger in perſon, yet I would perſuade myſelf that, in relation and character, I am not wholly unknown; nor will you forget the anxious ſolicitude with which my ever honoured and lamented father recommended his only offspring to you, at your departure from theſe regions; a pious ſolicitude, which ſeemed to anticipate the awful and melancholy moment which has ſince enſued.

Apprized

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Apprized as I am of the eſteem in which you was held by his late highneſs the nabob, of your unalterable concern for his true intereſts, and of your ſincere friendſhip for his family, I naturally turn to you in this embarraſſment of my affairs, and moſt earneſtly entreat the benefit of your advice and endeavours to extricate me from ſurrounding perils.

I have not truſted to a ſtranger's aid to make known theſe circumſtances, which it is my firſt wiſh to be communicated to you: I will detail them to you with my own hand; I will trace the unhappy events which have happened, and the evils which they have introduced in their train; I will explain to you the ſentiments to which they have given riſe, the reſults to which they have already led, and the conſequences which they may eventually occaſion. Theſe will not only direct your ſervices, of which I conſider myſelf ſecure, to proper objects, but will be the means (for I am confident in the juſtice of my claims,) of obtaining the redreſs which I am ſeeking. A true and faithful account of my ſituation, to whom it may be required to be made known, will be all ſufficient to the ſucceſs of my application.

In order that you may have a complete knowledge of all that has happened, it will be neceſſary to begin with circumſtances apparently remote, though certainly not unimportant nor unconnected with the preſent ſituation of affairs: I ſhall therefore firſt acquaint you, that early in the month of June laſt his highneſs the nabob of the Carnatic was ſeized with very dangerous ſymptoms, which continued, with little variation, for the ſpace of ſeveral days, and were ſufficient to alarm his family and friends for his highneſs's ſafety and life: It pleaſed the Almighty to allow his highneſs an interval of a few days of quiet and tranquillity, to arrange and ſettle the particulars of his houſe, and to provide for the ſucceſſion to his dominions; and ſo ſerene and untroubled a moment of freedom from bodily pain and infirmity did his highneſs enjoy, that his family and ſervants had a moſt reaſonable hope that he might be able to overcome the violence of the attacks. After a few days, however, the diſeaſe returned with an increaſe of violence, and diſappointed all the expectations and prayers which had been kindly conceived and fervently offered up for his highneſs's recovery: tears will not allow me to deſcribe with exactneſs the ſcene which followed: you will in a word learn, that his highneſs lay on the extreme bed of ſickneſs, awaiting the ſummons from an eventful life with a dignified patience and reſignation, affording a ſtriking leſſon, never to be forgotten, of the vanity of ſublunary greatneſs; and in this painful and agonizing ſtate he continued until the 15th of the ſucceeding month, when his ſpirit and ſoul forſook him, in their way to a higher glory and more perfect happineſs.

On the 5th July, about ten days previous to the melancholy event which I have laſt mentioned, a large body of troops, conſiſting of European and native infantry and cavalry to the number of 800 men, with a proportionable number of artillery, ſupplied with requiſite ſtores and field equipage of every denomination, were ſent by government under the command of Colonel MacNeil (one of the Company's officers,) to take poſſeſſion of the garden and palace of Chepauk,

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under the pretence of defending them againſt any inſult or violence, which the deceaſe of his highneſs the nabob might poſſibly produce; a meaſure which had been adviſed and adopted without any communication either with his highneſs or his miniſters, until the very moment of its execution, when Major Grant, the town major of Fort St. George, was ſent to the ſick chamber of his highneſs, to acquaint him with the inſtant approach of the troops, and to explain to him the reaſons which had determined that extraordinary act of government.

It will not be neceſſary for me attempt a relation of the various emotions, under the conflict and agony of contending paſſions, which this ſudden and unſeaſonable communication unfortunately excited; you will be able to form ſome conjecture at them, if you advert to the ſituation and condition of his highneſs at that moment, and to the hand which executed the meaſure. Whether from this or ſome other cauſe, I am too deeply and dearly intereſted to dare to form an opinion, his highneſs's diſorder augmented daily in violence, and ended in the unfortunate way which I have before been obliged to ſtate.

The troops, notwithſtanding the repreſentations and laſt entreaties of his highneſs, ſurrounded his highneſs's apartments, and the inmoſt receſſes of his palace at the time of his demiſe; and although but one mind manifeſted itſelf amongſt his highneſs's relations, and the miniſters of his affairs; although the moſt uninterrupted order and regularity every where appeared, and a ſpirit of loyalty, I am proud to ſay it, univerſally ſhewed itſelf to his highneſs's ſucceſſor; yet the military force ſtill kept its poſition under the ſame inſtructions, and ſeemingly with a view to dictate the order and terms of the ſucceſſion.

Under theſe unhappy circumſtances, did an old and honourable ally draw his extreme breath. In this degrading ſituation did his unoffending ſucceſſor begin the cares of his government and dominion.

Decent attentions had ſcarcely been paid to the inanimate form of his highneſs to prepare it for its ſhroud, when Mr. Webbe, the ſecretary of government, and Colonel Cloſe, the reſident of Myſore, were ſent to the palace under the inſtructions, as they repreſented, of the right honourable the governor.—His highneſs departed this life at about a quarter paſt ten, and at a quarter paſt one of the ſame day, I was adviſed of the approach of the commiſſioners of government: I am thus circumſtantial in my detail, as I cannot but conceive that it will tend to ſhew the features of the policy which was intended to be adopted in the beginning, and which has eventually terminated in the utter ſubverſion of every thing like right and juſtice.

Though ſecure from the poſition of the force about the palace of every acceſs to it, and of the knowledge of every act which might paſs within it, yet at the ſacred hour of ſorrow, and into the chamber of hallowed affliction, did theſe cold commiſſioners obtrude themſelves, not with the tender offers of friendſhip or condolence, but with offers of indignity and inſult.

It would not be believed, unleſs ſolemnly aſſerted, and I do aſſure you, on the honour and faith of a prince unuſed to any ſubterfuge or compromiſe, that at this melancholy juncture, I was drawn by peremptory meſſages from the ſide of the great deceaſed, to anſwer to the

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the countleſs interrogatories of commiſſioners inſtructed to examine me: I hope I ſhall not ſuffer in the eyes and contemplation of good men, in yielding to importunities ſo unworthy of myſelf and them, which nothing leſs than the peace and tranquillity of my family, and the fear of pollutions, which I cannot bring myſelf to think of, could poſſibly have led to; but they are paſt, and I will endeavour to be calm.

Attended by ſeveral of my principal officers, I went to the apartment where the commiſſioners were waiting, when I was immediately accoſted by one of them with an inquiry as to the diſpoſition which his highneſs had made of his affairs: I anſwered with calmneſs, but not without a ſenſibility natural to my favoured ſituation, (from the bounty of my royal predeceſſor,) that ſuch diſpoſition was clear, ſhort, and unequivocal, and was contained in a written paper, which had been executed in a quadruplicate, the ſeveral parts of which had been ſent many days previous to his highneſs's demiſe, to their ſeveral deſtinations; one of them had been forwarded to his majeſty the king of Great Britain, one to the court of directors, one to the governor-general, and the remaining part was firſt delivered to his highneſs's chief miniſter, and had by him, ſince the deceaſe of his highneſs, been delivered into my poſſeſſion, where it then remained.

The commiſſioners requeſted to ſee the papers to which I had immediately alluded, when one of my officers, ſtruck with the impropriety of the requeſt at ſuch a ſeaſon, could not reſtrain himſelf from obſerving, that the preſent moment was devoted, as well by feeling as cuſtom, to the indulgence of grief; and he truſted that they would not again advert to the paper, or to circumſtances to which it had relation, but would ſuffer the intervals allowed to humane and religious conſiderations, not to be moleſted with worldly cares or reflections; that, after three days, his highneſs would be happy to produce the will, and conſult with them on the objects connected with it, ſo far as they related to the Company. But the commiſſioners would not hear this conſiderate ſuggeſtion, but inſiſted, with a firmneſs to which I was unuſed, on the immediate production of the paper.

Fearing that ſome poſſible doubts might have been entertained as to the reality of the paper, if it had not been produced at the time when demanded, I gave it to their hands with as little reluctance as the occaſion could permit; they examined it in my preſence, and in the preſence of my officers, with a particular and ſcrupulous care, obſerving, when it was returned to me, "That his highneſs had appointed me to the entire dominion and government of the Carnatic, and, with very ſmall exceptions, to the poſſeſſion of all his property; but that in contemplation of my youth, had placed me under the guardianſhip of two of the noblemen, or khans, about his highneſs's perſon, who were to fill the office of regents, until I ſhould arrive at my nineteenth year." I inſtantly obſerved to them, "That I had been long ſenſible of this diſpoſition of his highneſs's affairs; that I was well aware and greatly thankful for the kind and tender precaution of his highneſs, in committing my inexperience into ſuch able and worthy hands; that I well knew and highly reſpected them, and was ready in all things to abide by their counſel and advice;" and concluded

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with remarking, "That since his highness had so disposed of me, and had so consigned the business of the government, it were unnecessary that I should be consulted further at a moment so inauspicious. The regents, I was sure, had not less inclination to meet and forward the desire of the Company, than what I now felt, and should ever continue to feel, being the first and earliest impression I had received, and would, I hoped, be the last that would remain with me." On this I was preparing to depart, when the commissioners desired that I would yet remain, having something important to communicate to me, and which they begged to deliver in private, or, at least, in the presence only of the regents and myself: On this my officers and servants were instructed to withdraw, when the commissioners proceeded in the manner in which I shall now succinctly and clearly relate.

On the immediate departure of my principal servants, the officers of government produced a letter, represented by them to have been written by the Marquis Wellesley, and intended for his late highness the nabob; which accused my royal grandfather, and my much revered father, of an improper and unjustifiable correspondence with the Sultaun of Mysore, and concluded with demanding an immediate surrender of all the country of the Carnatic for an alleged breach of treaty. After the reading of this correspondence, they remarked, that the territory of his highness had been forfeited to the Company by the act which had been stated in the letter, and that of consequence he had no manner of right to dispose of it by will; yet to shew that the Company had every disposition to serve and protect the son, whom his highness had so favoured, they were fully inclined to make a very liberal provision for him, on condition of his previous surrender of all the dominions which had been nominally willed to him. The regents being present, were as much moved as myself at the extraordinary communication which had been just made to us; and although we were fully convinced that no unauthorized correspondence had ever taken place between his late highness or his predecessor, with the sultaun of Mysore, yet we were so much agitated and afflicted at the serious manner in which the charge was preferred, as not to be able to afford a cool and dispassionate answer. After stating our internal impressions, that neither of the respected personages, to whom allusion had been made, could have ever been engaged in a clandestine communication with any foreign power, in enmity with the British interests, and our great mortification at the proposal which had been offered, as founded on that supposed fact, we begged for a few days consideration of the terms which had been suggested; which was conceded to us after some discussion.

Every inquiry was made in the interval to ascertain the correspondence which had at any time taken place of the nature already mentioned, when no vestige could be traced which could throw the slightest stigma on the venerable names which had been implicated in so unfortunate a charge.

The only correspondence which had ever occurred between the parties in question, and which could have given rise to the suspicion entertained by the Company, happened at the instance of the Earl Cornwallis, of the termination of the war so successfully conducted by

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by his lordſhip againſt the late ſultaun, and related to a family connexion, which, from well known circumſtances, never took place. This correſpondence naturally produced mutual communication of courteſy on ſeveral domeſtic events, which concerned either of the parties perſonally as occaſion happened, but nothing that could affect any intereſts connected with national or public conſiderations.

The regents, at the conference on the next evening, being confirmed in their firſt impreſſions of the rectitude of his late highneſs's conduct in the particulars referred to, ſtated, in perſpicuous terms, the ſteps which they had purſued to inveſtigate into the truth of the accuſations which had been alleged to have been contained in the letter of the Marquis Welleſley; and that they had found, on a full inveſtigation, that there was not the ſmalleſt foundation for the charge which had been urged; but on the contrary, that the only correſpondence which had occurred between his highneſs and the late ſultaun, had been carried on with the knowledge and conſent of the executive local government, and had been forwarded officially by them; and in proof of this aſſertion, referred the commiſſioners to their own immediate records.

The regents then expreſſed their concern that the matter of this accuſation had not been made known, and inquired into, in the lifetime of his late highneſs, when it might have been fairly and candidly explained and anſwered. This circumſtance alone led them to hope, that the Company did not ſeriouſly believe that correſpondence of ſuch a deſcription had in reality happened, though they might have felt themſelves authorized in requeſting an explanation concerning it; and, under this conviction, they could not but conclude the terms propoſed to them at their laſt conference would be given up, as they were applicable to a ſituation of things which did not exiſt.

The regents next profeſſed themſelves moſt ready to receive any propoſals which might ſerve to promote a good underſtanding in reſpect to the exiſting engagements, or might render them more convenient to either of the ſubſcribing parties, though they were not ſenſible how they could be improved, at the ſame time they were apprehenſive that a new arrangement might give riſe to diſcuſſions which had been long ſet at reſt by the ſubſiſting treaty.

The commiſſioners ſtill ſtood on their firſt ground, and inſiſted, in peremptory language, on the propoſal which they had before made. Seeing there was no poſſibility of diverting them entirely from this object, the regents conſidered of an expedient, which, in their expectation, might have induced the commiſſioners to have forgone their propoſal, at leaſt in the extent in which it had been moved, being well aware, from an intimate knowledge of his late highneſs's affairs, that the preceding governors of Fort St. George had looked for poſſeſſion of the Tinnevelly, and ſome of the adjacent countries, as more convenient to their affairs, and ſenſible that the preſent government, from the nature of the propoſal made, had ſimilar views, though in a more extended ſhape; they determined, under the peculiar circumſtance in which they ſtood, to meet their deſires, in as much as they could, conſiſtent with their own honour and intereſts which they had been given in charge; and with this intention, they propoſed

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posed to deliver into the hands of the Company (for their entire management and control,) the whole of the Tinnevelly and Madura provinces to the southward, and Ongole and Palnaad to the north, on the condition that the prince of the Carnatic should be allowed in his periodical kists the amount rent of such districts, agreeable to the schedule No. 2, annexed to the treaty of 1792; being a yearly sum equal to the full amount of the subsidy claimable by the Company by virtue of such treaty.

To the proposal of the regents, the officers of government gave a short reply: "That it would not in that way do; and that nothing short of the demand which had been made could be accepted or considered." In consequence of this disposition, on the part of the commissioners, the regents requested a farther time to reflect, and were indulged to the next day.

I shall not trouble you with the particulars of the next or the succeeding meeting on the day following, for you will find them circumstantially related in the journal of the regents, which I have directed to be forwarded with this. You will readily anticipate, that although the regents have been disposed to have rendered up more of the countries (which really was the case) on a like condition with those already tendered by them, they could not unworthily bring themselves to make an unqualified and unconditional surrender of those rights, which it was their duty to protect and guard. The meetings therefore, to which I have last requested your attention, passed without effect.

Seeing that the regents were inflexible in their duty, and conceiving, from my want of knowledge in public concerns, that I might possibly be rendered an instrument (as I cannot but consider,) to my own undoing; the commissioners, at the last conference, and towards the conclusion of it, sent a note to Lord Clive, who thereupon appeared at the palace; but, instead of going to the apartment where negociations had hitherto been carried on, his lordship went to the tent of Colonel MacNeil in charge of the troops about the gardens, and immediately requested my attendance on him.

I cheerfully complied with his lordship's request, and went with him to the tent: his lordship then accosted me with seeming kindness, and begged "I would well consider the Company's proffered terms, which, if then neglected, would evade my acceptance for ever; that they were now offered for the last time; that a liberal allowance should be made out of the collections, (but which his lordship did not particularise,) if I would listen favourably to his proposals; but that if I did not incline to them, that I should be reduced from the grandeur which awaited me, into an humble and private station." I observed to his lordship, "that I was not acquainted with matters of so high concern; that I was indeed an utter stranger to business; that my royal predecessor had wisely committed me to the care and attention of others, and had recommended my conformity to their advice; that, in respect of my father's will, and to the persons to whom my affairs were trusted, I could not think of answering, of myself, the important propositions made to me; but from regard to his lordship's character, and to the interests which he represented, I was inclined not only to give my ready attention to

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what his lordſhip communicated, but would adviſe the regents, if it were compatible with their honour and my own ſafety, to overlook any formal difficulty which might ſtand in the way of the acquieſcence; for this purpoſe I would beg leave to acquaint them with what had paſſed, and would appoint an early day when his lordſhip ſhould have my anſwer." His lordſhip obſerved, "that he would wait on me the next day at the ſame place, and took his leave."

In conſulting with the regents, and the khans and omrahs of my empire, before whom the whole of what had paſſed at the preceding conferences was laid, I was full adviſed of the dangers to which my affairs and family might be expoſed by the acceptance of terms ſo diſreſpectable and ſo vague, an advice which I had no reaſon to ſuſpect to prejudice or infidelity, and by which, after the moſt mature conſideration, I was determined to govern my conduct: accordingly, when the governor came the next evening, I acquainted him ingenuouſly, "That I could not accede to the offer which he had yeſterday the goodneſs to make me; that I had every perſonal good wiſh for the proſperity of the Company, and for the real and ſubſtantial intereſts of the Britiſh nation, which I had been taught to admire from my earlieſt years; but that I could not ſacrifice my own and my family's rights for any ſuppoſed benefit to the Company, or any proviſional good which I was given to expect; beſides, the mode of ſurrender dictated, and the ground on which it profeſſed to be founded, was ſuch that I could not adopt it, without rendering a credit to ſuggeſtions highly diſhonourable to thoſe whom, by duty and religion, I was bound to honour and revere: I had already ſhewn an inclination to attend to the Company's requiſitions, in ſo far as they could be attended to, and was much induced by my own ſentiments to extend the propoſal which had been made on my behalf, even to a greater latitude, on the principle of the footing on which it had been made. My motives therefore for the non-acceptance of his lordſhip's offers could admit of no doubt, that I had the higheſt perſonal conſideration for his lordſhip, and would hope that the frank and explicit anſwer which I had now given him, would not occaſion offence."

While I was delivering what I had to ſay, a number of troopers rode around the tent with drawn ſwords, and un unuſual guard of ſepoys were poſted at the door, who traverſed conſtantly to and fro; and a certain degree of confuſion ſeemed to reign around; I endeavoured, nevertheleſs, to preſerve a coolneſs and conſiſtency of demeanour ſo requiſite for the occaſion, and have to thank heaven that my reaſon and fortitude was not to be ſhaken by a circumſtance calculated to move them, and which, from after practices, I am ſorry to add, that I cannot but imagine was contrived with that view.

After I had concluded what I had to anſwer, his lordſhip replied, "That I was extremely badly adviſed; that I had ſacrified my beſt intereſts to ſpecious appearances, and that I ſhould rue the rejection of his propoſal; that it was the very laſt time that he ſhould addreſs me on the ſubject," and with a few words of form he departed the tent.

I have taken ſome pains to acquaint you with the foregoing circumſtances, as well by himſelf, as by the more detailed account of the regents, as they tend to ſhew the true

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true grounds of disagreement which existed between me and the government, and which have been made the pretence of dispossessing me of a throne, to which by personal right, as well as by the will of my royal predecessor, I was lawfully and indisputably entitled.

From the detail of which you are in possession, you will readily perceive the policy on which the Madras government have acted; that they had an ambitious design, from the beginning, of possessing themselves of the whole dominions of the Carnatic; a design, which the circumstances of the times seemed peculiarly to favour: apprehensive, however, of the opinions of the European and Asiatic world, they determined on arriving at their ends by means the least alarming and suspicious. They therefore first betook themselves to him, whom they well knew, if he could be brought to consent, could give not only effect but legality to their unbounded views; but they soon experienced, from the wise precautions of his predecessor, that he was not left a ready instrument to their purposes, though not indisposed in sentiment to accept any reasonable terms; and judging from the latter circumstances, (which shewed a pliancy of character,) that he might yet be made, what the government desired to see him, they endeavoured by promises, allurements, and threats, to mould him in their wishes; but seeing in the event, that all their stratagems failed, while their ambition remained unabated, they resort to other expedients that seemed to promise, if not a more honourable, at least a more successful issue. Their ambition still exhibited its original mixed character; it possessed not any of that daring, open, and dazzling quality, which leads the world to overlook the means, in the splendour of the event, but a lofty and towering mind, with a diminutive and half-assured spirit, which affects, but can never perfect, a great or admirable achievement.

Disappointed in their first expectation, the government sought to accomplish their object, by the instrumentality of the next immediate prince to the musnud of the Carnatic; and, unmindful of the order of succession, and of the disposition of his late highness, did not scruple to open negociations with him for filling the imperial seat. But I shall not trouble you at any length, on the many subterfuges used on this occasion, or of the measures adopted, through an oblique medium, of obtaining their originally intended end.

On the 23d July, about eight days after the demise of his late highness, the commissioners of government, whom I have had so often occasion to mention, sent for Hussain ul Dowlah, (son of the ameer and nephew of his late highness) to the tent of colonel MacNeil, and there entered into a conference with him for some hours. They repeated their visits every day, at some times bringing with them large supplies of money, until the ——— instant, when the ameer's son was removed with great ceremony, and under a strong escort of the Company's cavalry, to a house provided for him by the government; at which place a treaty was devised and executed, alienating, as I am told, the whole territories and countries of the Carnatic, to the possession of the Company.

During the time, even when these transactions were passing, several representations were made to me through

through Colonel MacNeil, of the favourable diſpoſitions of the government to me, and of the advantages which would be loſt by my refuſing to meet their wiſhes; that he was well aſſured, that the ameer's ſon would readily accept any terms which the government ſhould graciouſly grant to him. But as I had delivered my ſentiments publicly to the officers of government, and at open conferences, I declined to hear any private propoſals, and ſo informed the colonel; obſerving at the ſame time, that I implicitly believed whatever he told me reſpecting the ameer's ſon; for I well knew that he would receive what the Company would be pleaſed to give him in lieu of the territories of the Carnatic; as he would be receiving every thing, when he had nothing in reality to return.

I need not acquaint you, (for it is a common conſequence of the policy I have been deſcribing,) that every means were uſed to ſpread diſſentions in the family, and provoke counter claims, in order to give the government a colour for interference; and notwithſtanding the variety of contending intereſts which this ſtratagem put in motion, I am happy to ſay, that a ſenſe of juſtice finally prevailed, and that there was but one opinion as to the ſucceſſion which ought to be conſulted, and but one ſentiment of the conduct of government as to the meaſures adopted by them.

And thinking that the united ſenſe of the family, and the moſt learned Mahommedan lawyers, might have had a weight and influence, I incloſed two written inſtruments to the government, declarative of their opinions and ſentiments on the act which government were about to ſanction. Copies of which papers are incloſed for your further information.

And hearing, ſhortly after, that government intended to place the ameer's ſon on the muſnud, at all events, and at all conſequences, I requeſted the regents, in a public letter, (a copy of which accompanies,) to addreſs the right honourable the governor in council on the ſubject of my affairs, recapitulating what had paſſed at the conferences with me and them, profeſſing our joint wiſhes to form ſuch an alliance with the Company as might enſure our mutual intereſts, and begging that they would open a negociation with us in writing, and in a direct way, which they had always previouſly declined, and we would endeavour to ſatisfy their expectations as far as our means would allow. But to the addreſs of the regents the government did not return an anſwer.

Being informed on the 29th, that a public notification had been made through the different ſtreets of Madras, that the ameer's ſon would be placed on the muſnud on the 31ſt inſtant, under the influence of government, I immediately addreſſed the governor, with the advice of the regents, on the ſuggeſted meaſure, and propoſed to accept the terms which had been at firſt offered; a meaſure which my mind revolted at, but ſeemed to be demanded by the trying exigencies of the moment; and I felt confident within myſelf, that if my offer had been accepted, the liberality of the Britiſh nation would never have held me bound by conditions which had been ſo compulſorily impoſed on me, or would have ameliorated a ſituation that had been produced by means which neither honour or juſtice could bear to contemplate.

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My addreſs was wholly and totally diſregarded.

I cannot repeat the ſcene which followed, that inſulted every noble feeling and outraged every right: I have endeavoured, under the mortifying events which have happened, and the variety of ſenſations which have poſſeſſed me, to acquaint you of the unhappy ſituation in which I find myſelf expoſed, and I am afraid that I have ill ſucceeded; I need not endeavour to impreſs you with the horrors of the ſituation to which I feel myſelf reduced; you have but to picture to yourſelves the height of human grandeur, and the ſad and miſerable reverſe of it; the higheſt and loweſt condition of which humanity is capable; but even the meaneſt ſubject of the very worſt government poſſeſſes a bleſſing which my fortune and fate forbid. He owns the gratifying ſenſation of knowing himſelf ſafe amidſt the ſociety of his fellows, while I, alas! have no friendly or kindly ſociality, none of thoſe relations and ties which are made to ſecure the comforts and happineſs of life; an unit, as it were, in the ſum of the people of the Carnatic: I am delivered into the hands of an enemy, who has but one act to execute to finiſh his career.

If I fail of your active ſervices, your zealous and ſtrenuous ſupport, there is but one ſhort ſtep to inevitable deſtruction; let me entreat and implore, that you take the immediate time to ſeek the removal of ills which are about to overwhelm me, from the diſtance which intervenes, from my ignorance of the fit and proper means of remedy, and from my ſenſibility of the injuries with which I am ſeverely galled: I know not what courſe to try; in your judgement, experience, and cooler determination, I confide and reſt.

It is my buſineſs to inſtruct you with a complete information of my ſtate, the amendment of it muſt be your better care, and more fortunate achievement; you have prudence, courage, and ability, and with thoſe no circumſtances or cauſe unattainable are loſt.

I have furniſhed you with a detail of particulars, and with all the documents which it may be neceſſary eventually to uſe; you will eaſily perceive that my firſt object is to obtain what is right at the hand of government by all practicable means, but they failing, we muſt afterwards reſort to the juſtice and ſentiments of the people.

You will firſt betake yourſelves to the ſovereign, the very beſt of kings and men, and preſent my humble addreſſes; and then to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, who has always evinced a very particular and friendly regard for the intereſts of my family. It will be unneceſſary to ſtate any thing to them further than what is mentioned in my letters. Theſe high and auguſt perſonages will want no inducement to lend their utmoſt aid to repel oppreſſion, ſo flagrant and ſo indefenſible as in my unhappy caſe.

To the preſident of the board of control, and the court of directors, whom you will next accoſt, you will uſe all the information and means herein afforded, to explain and enforce my claims, and avail yourſelves of the co-relative aſſiſtance which is requiſite in a cauſe leſs honourable and juſt. For I know you will have to combat with a legion of bad paſſions, and a hoſt of hoſtile intereſts. I almoſt ſhudder for the event.

Your laſt reference will naturally be

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be to the houſe of commons, when the petition of his late highneſs's brother, which alſo accompanies, will afford you no inconſiderable ſtrength, and to this I hope you will be enabled to add the numerous liſt of creditors of his late highneſs the nabob and his illuſtrious predeceſſor, who are intereſted in no ſecondary degree in the ſucceſs of my application; it being my determined reſolution to do them ample juſtice in the allowances and conſolidation of their claims, in the event of my reſtoration to the dignities of my fathers.

This you may juſtly inform them was the only obſtacle to my accepting, in the firſt inſtance, the offers and advances of government, which, if accepted, would have proved an eternal barrier to the recovery of their reſpective credits; for it would have been no difficult matter to have ſtipulated for a clear revenue, which would have ſatisfied individual ſplendour, and every perſonal conſideration. But feeling, I hope honourable, for the character of thoſe who have preceded me in the ties with which they were bounden, and the neceſſary obligations of the ſovereignty, I diſdained to make any compromiſe which I could not reconcile to their memories, and to the opinions of mankind. I have ſuffered a temporary loſs, which I cannot ſay but I feel with great grief and concern, but certainly with leſs emotion than I ſhould regret a departure from thoſe principles which have been religiouſly inſtilled in me. That the loſs may not be more than temporary, I rely moſt firmly on your advice and activity; and that as our cauſe is juſt, the Almighty will it to be proſperous! What need I ſay more?

ACCOUNTS

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ACCOUNTS PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

FROM THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

RESPECTING THEIR ANNUAL REVENUES AND DISBURSEMENTS, &c.

(Ordered to be printed 18th June 1802.)

†‡† Owing to the great length of these Accounts, in detail, as presented to the House of Commons by the India Company, we have been under the necessity of giving only an Abstract, or the Sums Total, of the Receipts and Disbursements for the several years, at the respective Presidencies.

(Abstract) ACCOUNT of the Annual REVENUES of the East India Company, and of the CHARGES defrayed by the said Company, in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and from Benares and Oude, for three years; together with the latest Estimate of the same.

	Revenues. Current Rupees.	*Charges.* Current Rupees.	*Net Revenues.* Current Rupees.
1798-9,	6,15,36,152	3,91,29,003	2,24,c6,159
1799-1800,	6,49,84,726	4,43.74,628	2,c6.1c,c98
1800-1,	6,65,83,346	4,70,24,004	1,95,59,242
1801-2, per Estimate,	7,05,11,644	4,58,22,007	2.46,89,637

(Abstract) COMPARISON of the Estimated and Actual Amount of the REVENUES of the East India Company, and of the CHARGES defrayed by the said Company, in the above Provinces, for the year 18co-1.

	Estimated amount. Current Rupees.	*Actual amount.* Current Rupees.	*Surplus.* Current Rupees.
Revenues,	6,33,92,o47	6,65,8o,346	31,91,309
Charges,	4,42,20,475	4,78,06,115	35,85,639
Net Revenues,	1,91,71,561	1,87,77,231	
Deficiency of Net Revenues,			394,33o

(Abstract) ACCOUNT of the Annual REVENUES of the East India Company, and of the CHARGES defrayed by the said Company, at the Presidency of Fort St. George, and the Settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, for three years; together with the latest Estimate of the same.

	Revenues. Pagodas.	*Charges.* Pagodas.	*Net Charges.* Pagodas.
1798-9,	53,c9,581	82,c4,014	28,94,433
1799-1800,	7o,5o,241	76,64,701	6,c8,36o
1800-1,	88,50,669	1,1o,12,897	21,63,228
1801-2, per Estimate,	97,47,6o1	1,13,98,278	16,5o,677

(Abstract) COMPARISON of the Estimated Actual Amount of the REVENUES of the East India Company, and of the CHARGES defrayed by the said Company, in the above Presidency and Settlements, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, for the year 1800-1.

	Estimated amount. Pagodas.	*Actual amount.* Pagodas.	*Surplus.* Pagodas.
Revenues,	81,92,682	88,50,669	6,57,987
Charges,	94,14,782	1,07,33,276	13,18,494
Net Charges,	12,22,1co	18,82,6c7	
Surplus of actual Net Charges,			6,6o,5o7

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(Abſtract) ACCOUNT of the Annual REVENUES of the East India Company, and of the CHARGES defrayed by the ſaid Company, at the Preſidency of *Bombay*, and the Settlements ſubordinate thereto, for three years; together with the latest Eſtimate of the ſame.

	Revenues.	*Charges.*	*Net Charges.*
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
1798-9,	33,29,657	1,08,72,962	75,43,305
1799-1800,	36,94,783	1,32,87,221	95,92,438
1800-1,	25,46,284	1,15,33,719	89,87,435
1801-2, per Eſtimate,	24,16,227	1,05,36,075	81,19,848

(Abſtract) COMPARISON of the *Eſtimated* and *Actual* Amount of the REVENUES of the East India Company; and of the CHARGES defrayed by the ſaid Company, at the above Preſidency and Settlements, for the year 1800-1801.

	Eſtimated amount.	*Actual amount.*		
	Rupees.	Rupees.		Rupees.
Revenues,	26,70,887	25,46,284	*Deficiency*,	1,24,603
Charges,	91,64,384	1,18,14,898	*Surplus*,	26,50,514
Net Charges,	64,93,497	92,68,614		
Surplus in actual Net Charges,				27,75,117

ACCOUNT of the Annual CHARGES defrayed by the East India Company; for the management of their Trade and Commerce in *Bengal*, at *Madras*, and at *Bombay*, ſo far as the ſame can be diſtinguiſhed from the Civil or other Charges reſpectively, for three years; together with the lateſt Eſtimate of the ſame.

	Bengal.	*Madras.*	*Bombay.*
	Current Rupees.	Pagodas.	Rupees.
1798-9,	13,59,327	2,00,000	2,73,531
1799-1800,	19,32,321	3,54,630	2,77,824
1800-1,	16,30,751	2,05,937	2,67,093
1801-2, per Eſtimate,	11,52,831	1,90,539	3,04,000

(Abſtract) ACCOUNT of the Net EXPENSES of the Reſidency of *Fort Marlbro'* and its Dependencies, the Iſland of *St. Helena*, and the Factory of *Canton*, for three years; together with the lateſt Eſtimate of the ſame.

	Fort Marlbro'.	*St. Helena.*	*Canton.*
	Dollars.	Pounds Sterl.	Pounds Sterl.
1797-8,	435,603	56,262	35,550
1798-9,	459,822	57,048	37,886
1799-1800,	295,125	54,202	43,384
1800-1, per Eſtimate,	296,141		

Dr. *(Abſtract)* ESTIMATE of the Probable RESOURCES and DISBURSEMENTS of the *Bengal* Government, from 1ſt May 1801, to 30th April 1802. *Cr.*

To Balance—Amount remaining in the ſeveral Departments on 30th April 1801.

	Rupees.	Rupees.
Civil department,	46,53,692	
Military ditto,	3,43,563	
	49,97,255	
Reſources.		
Civil depart.	4,64,26,000	
Military ditto,	70,54,429	
	5,34,80,429	
Carried over,	5,84,77,684	

By Ordinary Diſburſements.

	Rupees.	Rupees.
Civil depart.	1,77,35,650	
Military ditto,	1,89,00,000	
		3,66,35,650
Extraordinary Diſburſements.		
Civil depart.	4,86,78,380	
Military ditto,	9,25,000	
		5,36,03,380
Carried over,		9,02,39,030

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	Rupees.		Rupees.
Brought over,	5,84,77,684	Brought over,	9,02,39,030
Extraordinary Receipts.			
Civil depart. - 1,85,84,351		Balance—Amount expected to remain in the several departments on 30th April 1802. - - - - - -	49,23,005
Military ditto, - 7,20,000			
	1,93,84,351		
Amount to be supplied by remittances of bullion from England and China, or by the issue of Treasury bills, or other loan, to be raised in Bengal, - - - -	1,73,00,000		
Rupees,	9,51,62,035	Rupees,	9,51,62,035

Dr. {*Abstract*} ESTIMATE of the Probable RESOURCES and DISBURSEMENTS of the *Madras* Government, from 1st May 1801, to 30th April 1802. *Cr.*

	Pagodas.		Pagodas.
To Balance—Amount remaining in the following Departments on 30th April 1801.		By Ordinary Disbursements.	
Civil department, 29,67,429		Civil department, 30,03,624	
Military ditto, - 6,15,480		Military ditto, - 73,47,000	
	35,82,909		1,03,50,624
Resources.		Extraordinary Disbursements.	
Civil department, 65,77,125		Civil department, 61,50,378	
Military ditto, - 27,94,884		Military ditto, - 7,83,000	
	93,72,009		69,33,378
Extraordinary Receipts.			1,72,84,002
Civil department, - - -	20,95,889	Amount expected to remain in the hands of the officers in the different departments on 30th April 1802, - -	35,82,909
	1,50,50,798		
To Balance—Being the amount which the expected demands exceed the expected resources, - - - -	58,16,113		
Pagodas,	2,08,66,911	Pagodas,	2,08,66,911

Dr. {*Abstract*} ESTIMATE of the Probable RESOURCES and DISBURSEMENTS of the *Bombay* Government, from 1st May 1801, to the 30th April 1802. *Cr.*

	Rupees.		Rupees.
To Balance—Amount remaining in the several Departments on 30th April 1801.		By Ordinary Disbursements.	
Civil department, 4,75,511		Civil department, 29,26,075	
Military ditto, - 2,80,167		Military ditto, - 75,70,000	
	7,55,678		1,04,96,075
Ordinary Receipts.		Extraordinary Disbursements.	
Civil department, 20,27,270		Civil depart. - 1,36,39,937	
Military ditto, - 3,81,457		Military ditto, - 89,600	
	24,08,727		1,36,79,537
Receipts Extraordinary.			
Civil depart. - 1,80,12,700			
Military ditto, - 3,20,000			
	1,83,32,700		
To Balance—Being the amount which the expected demands exceed the expected resources, - - - -	26,78,507		
Rupees,	2,41,75,612	Rupees,	2,41,75,612

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General Abstract of the ESTIMATES of the REVENUES and CHARGES of the Presidencies of *Fort William*, *Fort St. George*, and *Bombay*, from 1st May 1801, to 30th April 1802.

	Fort William. Current Rupees.	*Fort St. George.* Current Rupees.	*Bombay.* Current Rupees.	*Total.* Current Rupees.
Revenues,	7,05,11,644	4,14,27,304	28,02,823	11,47,41,771
Charges,	4,58,22,007	4,84,42,681	1,22,71,847	10,64,86,535
Net Revenues,	2,46,89,637			
Net Charges,		70,15,377	94,19,024	
Total Net Revenues,				82,55,236

ACCOUNT of the Amount received at the above Presidencies, for Sales of Import Goods and Stores, and for Certificates on the Court of Directors, within the last three years respectively; together with the latest Estimate of the same.

	Bengal. Current Rupees.	*Madras.* Current Rupees.	*Bombay.* Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.
1798-9,	21,75,010	13,31,431	19,22,965	Average 58,10,344
1799-1800,	20,32,326	23,88,402	26,44,221	
1800-1,	20,93,364	9,11,094	19,32,219	
1801-2, per Estimate,	23,20,000	7,60,049	25,65,224	

AMOUNT of the BOND and other DEBTS owing by the East India Company, at their several Presidencies in the East Indies, on the 30th April 1801; the Rates of Interest which such Debts respectively carry, and the Annual Amount of such Interest.

Bengal—Debts at Interest.

			Current Rupees.
Loans at 12 per cent.	Sicca rupees,	18,04,694	
Ditto at 10 per cent.		1,89,09,169	
Ditto at 8 per cent.		24,81,481	
Bonds and notes at ditto,		4,99,57,725	
		5,24,39,206	
Bonds and notes at 6 per cent.		* 53,28,547	
		7,84,81,616	
Interest on the above, to 30th April 1801,		35,18,384	
			8,20,00,000
Treasury bills outstanding, at 12 per cent.		1,07,34,000	
Interest thereon estimated,		2,66,000	
			1,10,00,000
			9,30,00,000
Batta 16 per cent.			1,48,80,000
			10,78,80,000
Commissioners for the sinking fund,	Rupees,	5,04,373	
Bills outstanding, drawn by other presidencies, &c.		38,01,118	
Deposits,		17,62,076	
Bonds and notes ordered for payment, on which interest has ceased,		1,75,872	
Due on account of Rohilla donations,		1,66,524	
Carried over,		64,09,963	10,78,80,000

* Of these there were in the hands of the commissioners for the sinking fund, 56,75,257 sicca rupees, or 65,83,298 current rupees, and interest accruing thereon, 2,24,748 sicca rupees, or 2,60,702 current rupees, making together 68,44,000 current rupees; which should be deducted from the total debts here stated.

The sum of 16,94,926 sicca rupees, or 19,66,114 current rupees, remaining to be drawn for by bills on the court for the 12 per cent. remittance loan, is not included above.

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			Current Rupees.
Brought over,		64,09,962	10,78,80,000
Arrears and Debts.			
Civil Department—General, - Sicca rupees,	5,23,169		
Judicial, - - - - - - - - - - - - -	3,58,267		
Revenue, - - - - - - - - - - - - -	3,71,093		
Commercial, - - - - - - - - - - - -	7,45,343		
Marine, - - - - - - - - - - - - -	3,04,429		
		23,02,291	
Military department, - - - - - - - - - -		44,80,281	
		1,31,92,535	
Batta 16 per cent. - - - -		21,10,805	
			1,53,03,340
Total Bengal current rupees,			12,31,83,340
Fort St. George—Debts at Intereſt.			
Bonds at 12 per cent. excluſive of the remittance loan, payable in England, - - - Pagodas,	5,72,793		
Ditto at 10 per cent. - - - - - -	7,428		
Decennial loan certificates at do. -	17,47,821		
Receipts to be exchanged for bonds, at do.	5,27,548		
Treaſury bills at ditto, - - - - - -	4,65,318		
		27,48,115	
Decennial loan certificates at 8 per cent.	15,36,158		
Temporary loan receipts at ditto, -	1,15,490		
Bonds at ditto, - - - - - - - -	17,52,940		
		34,04,588	
Bonds and certificates at 6 per cent. - - - -		3,79,107	
		71,04,603 *	
Intereſt on the above, computed at - - - - -		2,75,000	
		73,79,603	
Bonds, &c. undiſcharged, on which intereſt has ceaſed,		66,579	
Depoſits, - - - - - - - - - - - -		1,28,668	
Arrears and Debts.			
Civil Department—General, - - -	980		
Revenue, - - - - - - - - - -	1,11,720		
Commercial, - - - - - - - - -	25,498		
Military, - - - - - - - - - -	1,11,721		
		2,49,919	
		4,45,166	
Total pagodas,		78,24,769	
At 425 current rupees per 100 pagodas,			3,32,55,268
Bombay—Debts at Intereſt.			
Loans at 12 per cent. excluſive of remittance loan, - - - - - - - - - - Rupees,		24,52,291	
Ditto at 10 per cent. - - - - - - - -		19,64,726	
Ditto at 9 per cent. - - - - - -	6,66,842		
Debts at ditto, - - - - - - - -	27,06,841		
		33,73,683	
Loans at 8 per cent. - - - - - -	14,13,448		
Notes at ditto, - - - - - - - -	24,80,628		
		38,94,076	
Ditto at 6 per cent. - - - - - - - - -		32,80,582	
Demands bearing intereſt, rate not ſpecified, ſuppoſed at 8 per cent. - - - - - - - - -		1,69,008	
Carried forward,		1,51,34,366	

* Of this 1,81,160 pagodas had been liquidated by the commiſſioners for the ſinking fund; which ſhould therefore be deducted.

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			Current Rupees.
Brought forward,		1,51,34,366	
Intereſt eſtimated,		4,55,580	
			1,55,89,946
Bonds adverti[ſ]ed not demanded,		1,11,692	
Depoſits,		2,75,023	
Arrears, viz.			
Civil,	1,27,658		
Judicial,	14,269		
Revenue,	30,506		
Commercial,	9,707		
Marine,	3,13,328		
		5,04,468	
Military,		5,25,054	
			14,16,237
	Rupees,		1,79,06,183
At 116 current rupees per ₹,			1,97,27,172
Fort Marlborough.			
Paper currency outſtanding,	Dollars,	141,424	
Bonds ditto,		46,502	
Sundry debts,		50,570	
Total Fort Marlbro', —	Dollars,		2,38,496
At 243 current rupees per ₹,			5,79,545
Total in India, —	Current rupees,		17,67,45,325

ANNUAL AMOUNT of INTEREST on DEBTS.

	Principal.		*Intereſt.*	Current Rupees.
Bengal—On loans and notes, Sa. Rs.	1,25,38,694	at 12 per cent.	15,04,643	
On ditto ditto,	1,89,09,169	10 ditto,	18,90,917	
On ditto, bonds, and notes,	5,24,39,206	8 ditto,	41,95,136	
On notes,	53,28,547	6 ditto,	3,19,713	
Sicca rupees,	8,92,15,616		79,10,409	
Batta 16 per cent.	1,42,74,498		12,65,665	
Current rupees,	10,34,90,114			91,76,074
Fort St. George—On bonds, Pags.	5,72,793	at 12 per cent.	68,735	
On bonds, certificates, and notes,	27,48,115	10 ditto,	2,74,811	
On ditto, ditto, ditto,	34,04,588	8 ditto,	2,72,367	
On ditto and ditto,	3,79,107	6 ditto,	22,746	
Pagodas,	71,04,603		6,38,659	
At 425 C. Rs. per ₹ pags. C. Rs.	3,01,94,563			27,14,301
Bombay— On loans, Rupees,	24,52,291	at 12 per cent.	2,94,275	
On ditto,	19,64,726	10 ditto,	1,96,473	
On ditto and debts,	33,73,683	9 ditto,	3,03,631	
On loans, notes, and debts,	40,63,084	8 ditto,	3,25,047	
On notes,	32,80,582	6 ditto,	1,96,835	
Rupees,	1,51,34,366		13,16,261	
At 116 C. Rs. per ₹ C. Rs.	1,75,65,864			15,26,868
Fort Marlborough—On bonds, Dollars,	46,502	at 10 per cent.	4,650	
At 243 C. Rs. per ₹ C. Rs.	1,13,000			11,300
Total amount bearing intereſt, C. Rs.	15,18,53,541	Total annual intereſt,		1,24,28,538

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ACCOUNT of the Amount of DEBTS subscribed in India, between 30th April 1800, and 1st May 1801; agreeable to the Court's orders of 25th June 1793.

		Current Rupees.
Bengal, - - -	6,49,911 sicca rupees, or - - - - - - - - - -	7,53,897
Madras, - - -	8,947 pagodas, at 425 current rupees per 100 pagodas, -	38,025
Bombay, - - -	23,238 rupees, at 116 current rupees per 100 rupees, - -	26,956
	Total, — Current rupees,	8,18,878

Dr. *(Abstract)* STATEMENT of the RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS of the *Bengal* Government, from 1st May 1800, to 30th April 1801. *Cr.*

To Balance—Amount remaining in the several Departments on 30th April 1800.

	Sicca Rupees.	Sicca Rupees.
Civil department,	50,88,979	
Military ditto, -	1,73,608	
	52,62,587	
Resources.		
Civil depart. -	4,58,79,022	
Military ditto, -	70,54,429	
	5,29,33,451	
Extraordinary Receipts.		
Civil depart. -	3,32,29,626	
Military ditto, -	8,27,784	
	3,40,57,410	
Sicca rupees,	9,22,53,448	

By Ordinary Disbursements.

		Sicca Rupees.
Civil depart. -	1,79,01,139	
Military ditto,	1,80,27,087	
		3,59,28,226
Extraordinary Disbursements.		
Civil depart. -	4,93,87,392	
Military ditto, -	19,90,573	
		5,13,27,966
Balance—Amount remaining in the following Departments, 30th April 1801.		
Civil department,	46,53,692	
Military ditto, -	3,42,563	
		49,97,256
Sicca rupees,		9,22,53,448

Dr. *(Abstract)* STATEMENT of the RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS of the *Madras* Government, from the 1st May 1800, to the 30th April 1801. *Cr.*

To Balance—Amount remaining in the several Departments on 30th April 1800.

	Pagodas.	Pagodas.
Civil department,	28,11,616	
Military ditto, -	4,24,614	
	32,36,230	
Resources.		
Civil department,	65,17,063	
Military ditto, -	21,05,588	
	86,22,651	
Extraordinary Receipts.		
Civil department,	77,33,876	
Military ditto, -	12,173	
	77,46,049	
Pagodas,	1,96,04,930	

By Ordinary Disbursements.

		Pagodas.
Civil department,	27,18,335	
Military ditto, -	63,00,019	
		90,18,354
Extraordinary Disbursements.		
Civil department,	61,74,587	
Military ditto, -	8,92,150	
		70,66,737
Balance—Amount remaining in the several Departments.		
Civil, - - -	20,04,358	
Military, - -	6,15,481	
		35,19,839
Pagodas,		1,96,04,930

Dr. *(Abstract)* STATEMENT of the RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS of the *Bombay* Government, from 1st May 1800, to 30th April 1801. *Cr.*

To Balance—Amount remaining in the several Departments on 1st May 1800.

	Rupees.	Rupees.
Civil department,	17,35,163	
Military ditto, -	7,51,246	
	24,86,409	
Carried forward,	24,86,409	

By Ordinary Disbursements.

		Rupees.
Civil department,	27,80,151	
Military ditto, -	76,54,844	
		1,04,34,995
Carried forward,		1,04,34,995

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	Rupees.		Rupees.
Brought forward,	24,86,409	Brought forward,	1,04,34,995
Ordinary Receipts.		Extraordinary Diſburſements.	
Civil department, 21,47,419		Civil depart. - 1,15,87,755	
Military ditto, - 3,81,457		Military ditto, - 5.50,327	
	25,28,876		1,21,38,082
Extraordinary Receipts.		Balance—Amount remaining in the following Departments.	
Civil depart. - 1,80,14,129		Civil, - - - - 4,36,805	
Military ditto, - 2,21,039		Military, - - - 2,40,571	
	1,82,35,168		6,77,376
Rupees,	2,32,50,453	Rupees,	2,32,50,453

ACCOUNT of the Balance of QUICK STOCK; exhibiting a State of the Company's Affairs, in reſpect to their DEBTS and ASSETS, as they ſtood at the ſeveral Preſidencies of *Fort William*, *Fort St. George*, and *Bombay*, and at the Reſidency of *Fort Marlborough*, at the concluſion of the year 1800-1801.

	Fort William.	*Fort St. George.*	*Bombay.*	*Fort Marlbro'.*	*Total.*
	Curr. Rupees.	Curr. Rupees.	Curr. Rupees.	Curr. Rup.	Curr. Rupees.
Caſh, - - - - -	53,44,335	1,52,93,761	7,97,974	4,02,459	2,18,38,529
Bills receivable, -	4,87,183	- - -	- - -	- -	4,87,183
Stores, - - - -	78,61,136	63,94,588	28,19,507	2,99,026	1,73,74,257
Debts outſtanding (including advances for inveſtment), -	2,19,58,754	3,78,21,783	20,20,353	16,16,930	6,34,17,829
Export goods, - -	25,46,281	15,19,723	37,82,052	1,70,588	80,18,644
Import goods, - -	10,45,504	3,64,947	20,88,886	- -	34,99,337
Salt, opium, grain, and cattle, - - -	28,20,006	36,71,617	11,826	- -	65,03,449
Total aſſets,	4,20,63,199	6,50,66,419	1,15,20,598	24,89,012	12,11,39,228
Bond or regiſtered debts, - - -	10,34,90,114	3,01,94,563	1,75,55,864	1,13,000	15,13,53,541
Arrears and debts not bearing intereſt,	1,96,93,226	30,60,705	21,71,308	4,66,545	2,53,91,784
Total debts,	12,31,83,340	3,32,55,268	1,97,27,172	5,79,545	17,67,45,325
Exceſs of debts,	8,11,20,141	- - -	82,06,574	- -	8,93,26,715
Exceſs of aſſets,	- - -	3,18,11,151	- - -	19,09,467	3,37,20,618
Net exceſs of debts,	- - -	- - -	- - -	- -	5,56,06,097

ACCOUNT of the Prime Coſt of all CARGOES purchaſed in India, and ſhipped for Europe, in the year 1800-1801; together with the Commercial Charges at each Preſidency, not added to the Invoice.

Bengal, - - - - - - - - -	72,80,565	- - - - - - - - -	10,56,484
Fort St. George, - - - - - - -	50,25,510	- - - - - - - - -	5,05,482
Bombay, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -			1,22,286
Total,	1,23,06,075	- - - - - - - - -	16,84,252

(Errors excepted)

WM. WRIGHT,
Auditor of India Accounts.

East India Houſe, 17th June 1802.

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ANNUAL ACCOUNT, made up to the 1st day of March 1802; containing the Amount of the *Proceeds* of the *Sale* of *Goods* and *Merchandise* of the East India Company, and of their Commercial and other Receipts, Charges and Payments, in Great Britain, under the several Heads thereof, together with an *Estimate* of the same for the current year; and a *Statement* of their *Bond Debts* and *Simple Contract Debts*, with the Rates of Interest they respectively carry, and the Amount of such Interest; and the *State* of *Cash* remaining in their Treasury, and other Effects appertaining to the Company in Great Britain, and afloat.

Amount of the PROCEEDS *of the Sale of Goods and Merchandise of the Company, and of their Commercial and other Receipts, Charges and Payments, in Great Britain, under the several heads thereof.*

Receipts - - 1st March 1801, to 1st March 1802 - - *Payments.*

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Cash in the treasury on 1st March 1801 (morning), exclusive of duty on tea, - -	930,589	18	0	Customs, - -	863,773	19	4
Company's goods sold,	6,336,191	18	6	Freight and demurrage,	1,444,161	16	5
Honourable board of ordnance, for salt petre delivered, - -	60,000	0	0	Goods and stores exported, -	2,014,786	16	9
Private trade goods sold,	1,742,154	12	11	Indian debt, -	475,590	6	1
Charges and profit on private trade, -	193,562	19	6	Bills of exchange drawn from India, -	610,123	4	2
Customs on ditto, -	102,987	6	9	Ditto drawn from China,	475,728	16	0
Freight on ditto, -	168,321	6	0	Bullion exported, -	655,058	4	9
One year's interest received of the Bank of England, being the Company's share of the annuities transferred to the Bank, agreeably to act 33 Geo. III. c. 47,	36,226	15	10	Charges on merchandise, including supra cargoes commission, buildings, interest on loans, commercial residents in India, &c. -	749,536	8	11
Government, on account of stores and supplies,	40,900	18	9	Indigo contractors, -	1,317	9	9
Persons returned from India, - - -	1,320	16	5	Dividends on stock, and interest on bonds,	704,403	12	1
Bonds issued, -	67,000	0	0	Bonds paid off, -	550	0	0
Loyalty loan, -	70,031	5	0	Bonds paid in on sales, and bought up, -	108,000	0	0
				Proprietors of private trade, -	1,939,958	6	8
				Almshouses at Poplar,	4,109	9	8
				Captains whose ships are worn out, -	64,213	15	4
				Pay to marine and military officers on furlough and retired from service, -	49,216	7	11
					£.9,580,528	12	10
				Balance of cash on 1st March 1802, -	168,759	4	10
	£.9,749,287	17	8		£.9,749,287	17	8

ESTIMATE

ESTIMATE *of the same for the current year, from 1st March 1802, to 1st March 1803.*

	£.		£.
Cash in the treasury on 1st March 1802 (morning), exclusive of duty on tea,	168,759	Customs,	142,085
Company's goods sold, and to be sold,	6,500,600	Freight and demurrage,	1,686,752
Honourable board of ordnance, for salt petre,	48,000	Goods and stores exported,	1,804,692
Private trade goods sold before 1st March 1802,	600,000	Indian debt,	281,900
Charges and profit on private trade,	130,000	Bills of exchange from India and China,	1,232,208
One year's interest, at 3 per cent. per ann. on 1,207,559l. 15s. the Company's share of the annuities transferred to the Bank, agreeably to act of Parliament,	86,226	Bullion to be exported,	1,000,000
Persons returned from India,	15,000	Charges on merchandise, including supra cargoes commission, &c.	750,000
Loyalty loan,	282,926	Indigo contractors,	3,500
	£. 7,781,511	Dividends on stock, and interest on bonds,	730,000
Balance against 1st March 1803,	1,434,556	Bonds drawn to be paid off,	15,517
		Proprietors of private trade,	675,000
		Captains whose ships are worn out,	51,300
		Pay to marine and military officers on furlough, and retired from service,	50,000
		Warrants passed the court unpaid,	42,200
		Buyers of tea returned,	971
		Bank, for a loan on mortgage of the annuities,	700,000
		Bank, for a loan on bond,	100,000
	£. 9,216,067		£. 9,216,067

STATEMENT *of their* BOND DEBTS *and* SIMPLE CONTRACT DEBTS, *with the Rates of Interest they respectively carry, and the Amount of such Interest; and the State of Cash remaining in their Treasury, and other Effects appertaining to the Company in Great Britain, and afloat, on the 1st day of March* 1802.

To	£.	By	£.	£.
Bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent. per annum,	1,446,112	What due from Government to the Company,		1,207,560
Bonds not bearing interest,	15,517	Cash its balance on 1st March 1802, including cash belonging to the separate fund,	£. 153,242	
Bills of exchange unpaid from China,	365,222	Cash reserved to pay off bonds advertised to be paid off,	15,517	
Ditto from India,	527,397			168,759
Ditto from ditto, on account of the Indian debt,	74,757	The amount of goods sold not paid for,		2,070,000
Customs on goods sold and unsold,	135,773	The honourable board of ordnance, for saltpetre delivered,		48,000
The Bank, for a loan on mortgage of the annuities, at 4l. per cent. per annum,	700,000	The value of goods in England unsold,		4,011,078
Ditto, on bond, at 4l. per cent. per annum,	100,000	Cargoes from England not arrived in India and China at the dates of the several quick stocks,		2,382,144
Ditto, for interest on the above loans,	10,666	Exports paid for, exclusive of bullion,		1,273,302
Freight and demurrage,	330,009			
Supra cargoes commission on goods sold and unsold,	72,000			
Proprietors of private trade on all goods sold,	675,000			
Carried over,	£. 4,452,444	Carried over,		£. 11,160,843

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	£.
Brought over,	4,452,444
Almſhouſes at Poplar,	65,581
Intereſt on military fund more than applied,	14,921
Ditto contingent ditto,	3,303
What owing in the department of the committee of ſhipping, excluſive of exports,	50,600
What owing for bonds iſſued to commanders whoſe ſhips are worn out,	83,184
Warrants paſſed the court unpaid,	42,200
What owing for teas returned by the buyers, and reſold,	971
What owing to contractors for indigo,	3,500
Intereſt on bonds,	51,579
Dividends on ſtock,	54,400
	£. 4,822,683
Balance in favour,	11,980,077
	£. 16,802,760

	£.
Brought over,	11,160,843
Silver exported this ſeaſon, and remaining in the treaſury paid for,	275,649
Impreſs and war allowances paid owners of ſhips not arrived in England,	393,137
The value of ſhips, ſloops and veſſels, excluſive of thoſe ſtationed abroad,	75,710
The value of the Eaſt India houſe and warehouſes, &c.	970,179
What due from Government for ſtores and ſupplies to his Majeſty's troops, &c. as per account made up to 1ſt February 1802,	3,573,339
What owing from ſundry perſons returned from India, and in India, to be repaid in England,	70,977
Loyalty loan unſold, eſtimated to produce,	282,926
	£. 16,802,760

ACCOUNT of New or Increaſed Salaries, Eſtabliſhments, or Penſions, payable in Great Britain, which have been granted or created between the 1ſt March 1801, and the 1ſt March 1802.

	£.
Penſion to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas,	2,000
Ditto to Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Brooke, late governor of St. Helena,	200
Salary to Mr. C. Wilkins, the Company's librarian,	200
Ditto to Major James Cuninghame, inſpector of military ſtores,	100
Sundry ſmall annuities and penſions, and increaſe of ſalary to ſeveral junior clerks,	1,240
	£. 3,749

(Errors excepted)

CHAS. CARTWRIGHT,
Accomptant General.

Eaſt India Houſe, 13th April 1802.

INFORMATION ſubmitted to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, relative to the Accounts directed to be laid before the Houſe, by the Act of the 33d of his preſent Majeſty, cap. 52, ſect. 126.

The ſtatements from India having been recently received, it has been impoſſible to prepare the accounts directed by the act above mentioned within the time limited; but the Court of Directors will ſubmit the ſame to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, as ſoon as they can be prepared.

W. RAMSAY, Secretary.

Eaſt India Houſe, 15th of April 1802.

ACCOUNT

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Dr. - ACCOUNT of STOCK per computation of the East India Company (exclusive of their Capital Stock), on the 1st day of March 1802. - *Cr.*

To bonds bearing interest,			£. 1,446,112 10	£.	By what due from Government to the Company,	£. 1,207,560
To bonds not bearing interest,			15,517 0		By cash, its balance on 1st March 1802, including cash belonging to the separate fund,	£. 153,242
				1,461,629	By cash reserved to pay off bonds advertised to be paid off,	15,517
To bills of exchange unpaid from China,			365,222 0			168,759
To ditto from India,			527,397 0			
				892,619	By the amount of goods sold, not paid for,	2,070,000
To ditto from India, on account of the Indian debt,				74,757	By the honourable board of ordnance, for saltpetre delivered,	48,000
To customs on goods sold and unsold,				135,773	By the value of goods in England unsold,	4,011,078
To the Bank, for a loan on mortgage of the annuities that may be sold per act of 1788,				700,000	By balance of quick stock in favour of the Company at Fort St. George, made up 31st October 1800,	Pagodas. 70,18,006
To ditto, for a loan on bond,				100,000	Deduct cargoes arrived in England, invoices dated since closing the quick stock,	9,78,656
To ditto, for interest on the above loan,				10,666		£.
To freight and demurrage,				330,000		Pags. 60,39,350 at 8s. 2,415,740
To supra cargoes commission on all goods sold and unsold,				72,000	Add amount of bills drawn since closing the quick stock,	£. 33,047
To proprietors of private trade, on all goods sold,				675,000	Add stores from England not included in quick stock,	26,493
To almshouses at Poplar,				65,581		59,540
To interest on military fund more than applied,				14,921		2,475,280
To ditto on contingent ditto,				3,303	By balance of quick stock in favour of the Company at Bencoolen, made up 30th April 1800,	Sp. Doll. 7,85,791
To what owing in the department of the committee of shipping, exclusive of exports,				50,600	Deduct cargoes arrived in England, invoices dated since closing the quick stock,	52,674
To what owing for bonds issued to commanders whose ships are worn out,				83,184		£.
To warrants passed the court unpaid,				42,200		Spanish dollars, 7,33,117 at 5s. 183,279
To what owing for teas returned by the buyers, and resold,				971	Add bills drawn since closing the quick stock,	4,972
To what owing to contractors for indigo,				3,500		188,251
To interest on bonds,				51,577		
To dividends on stock,				54,400		
To balance of quick stock against the Company at Bengal, made up 30th April 1801,		Cur. Rup. 8,11,20,141				
Add the sum paid by Lord Clive for constituting a military fund,		5,80,000				
Add the sum given by Sujah ul Dowlah, in addition to ditto,		2,48,000				
	Carried over,	9,28,000	8,11,20,141	4,80,718	Carried over,	£. 10,18,8,918

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Dr. AMOUNT of STOCK *continued.* Cr.

	Current Rupees.	£.	£.
Brought over,	9,28,000	8,11,20,141	4,822,683
Intereſt on the above ſums, from 29th September 1766, to 29th September 1769, which forms the capital of the contingent fund, the intereſt of which is applicable to the charges of conducting the military fund,	2,22,720	11,50,720	
		8,22,70,861	
Deduct a cargo of ſaltpetre returned, that was excluded in the quick ſtock,		16,226	
Current rupees,		8,22,54,635	
At 2s. 3d.		£. 9,253,646	
Bills drawn ſince cloſing the quick ſtock, and charged as a debt in England,		10,932	
			9,242,714
To balance of quick ſtock againſt the Company at Bombay, made up 30th April 1801,	Bombay Rup. 75,03,613		
Add cargoes arrived in England, invoices dated ſince cloſing the quick ſtock,	13,68,543		
Bombay rupees,	88,72,156	£. 1,109,019	
Deduct bills drawn ſince cloſing the quick ſtock, and charged as a debt in England,		47,054	
			1,061,965
		£.	15,127,362
Balance in favour,			5,836,332
		£.	20,963,694

	£.
Brought over,	10,168,928
By balance of laſt books at St. Helena, made up to 30th September 1800.	77,852
By balance of quick ſtock in favour of the Company at China, made up 5th March 1801, 26,67,274 tales, at 7s. 7d. 67/100,	1,019,551
By cargoes from England, not arrived in India and China at the dates of the ſeveral quick ſtocks,	2,382,144
By exports paid for, excluſive of bullion,	1,273,202
By ſilver exported this ſeaſon, and remaining in the treaſury paid,	275,649
By impreſs and war allowances paid owners of ſhips not arrived in England,	393,187
By the value of ſhips, ſloops and veſſels, excluſive of thoſe ſtationed abroad,	75,710
By the value of the Eaſt India-houſe and warehouſes, &c.	970,179
By what the Company paid for their dead ſtock in India,	400,000
By what due from Government for ſtores and ſupplies to his Majeſty's troops, &c. as per account drawn up, to 1ſt February 1802,	3,573,339
By what owing from ſundry perſons returned from India, and in India, to be repaid in England,	70,977
By loyalty loan unſold, eſtimated to produce	282,926
	£. 20,963,694

Demands have been made on the Company from his Majeſty's pay office general, for ſums advanced thence on account of king's regiments ſerving in India, for ſeveral years paſt, to the amount of 829,932l. 6s. 5d.—of this 100,000l. has been paid by the Company; and the paymaſters general have been requeſted to direct particular accounts of the whole expenſes to be prepared and forwarded to the court.

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Memorandum—In the preceding Account of Stock, the article of dead ſtock is valued at 400,000l.; which includes buildings and fortifications, plate, houſehold furniture, plantations, farms, ſloops, veſſels, ſtores, and other articles of dead ſtock, according to Lord Godolphin's award in the year 1702: Whereas the whole of the ſums of money expended in buildings and fortifications, by the lateſt advices from the Company's ſeveral ſettlements, for the acquiſition and maintenance of their poſſeſſions, and the neareſt eſtimated value of other articles of dead ſtock, is as follows:—

	Buildings and Fortifications:	Plate, Houſehold Furniture, Plantations, Farms, Sloops, Veſſels, Stores, &c.	Total.
	£.	£.	£.
Bengal,	4,987,082	456,612	5,444,594
Fort St. George, and ſubordinates,	1,706,852	441,448	2,148,300
Bombay and ditto,	1,179,293	325,753	1,505,046
Fort Marlborough,	191,691	17,298	208,989
St. Helena,	41,047	60,281	101,328
	£. 8,106,865	1,301,392	9,408,257

Not any credit is taken in this account for the prime coſt and charges on tea ſent to America, amounting to 15,819l. for which the Company have not received any return.

There are bonds given to ſundry perſons by the chief and council of Balambangan, to the amount of 10,167l. and intereſt thereon, which are not included in the debt of this account; it not being yet determined whether the Company are liable to the payment of the whole of theſe bonds.

ACCOUNT of the Amount of all GOODS ſold at the Eaſt India Company's Sales, from the 1ſt March 1801, to the 1ſt March 1802.

Company's Goods, viz.—	Teas,	£. 3,358,284	
	Bengal piece goods,	1,131,531	
	Coaſt and Surat piece goods,	701,131	
	Coaſt and Surat and Bengal damaged piece goods,	116,824	
	Raw ſilk,	450,770	
	Organzine ſilk,	45,855	
	Nankeens,	76,642	
	Pepper,	269,246	
	Saltpetre,	96,880	
	Spices,	233,441	
	Drugs, Sugar, &c.	149,883	
			£. 6,630,487
Private Trade Goods, viz.—	Teas,	211,865	
	Piece goods,	431,788	
	Raw ſilk,	37,040	
	China ware,	3,297	
	Nankeens,	53,100	
	Pepper,	82,284	
	Saltpetre,	62,423	
	Spices,	3,465	
	Drugs, ſugar, indigo, &c.	1,265 741	
	Coffee,	155,632	
			2,304,725
Neutral Property, viz. —	Teas,	131,204	
	China ware,	1,783	
	Nankeens,	23,364	
	Pepper,	175	
	Drugs, ſugar, indigo, &c.	30,495	
	Coffee,	24,754	
			220 775
			£. 9.[illegible]3,987

(Errors excepted)

CHAS. CARTWRIGHT, Accomptant General.

Eaſt India Houſe, 18th June 1802.

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THE DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE,

Between his Britannic Majesty and the French Republic, his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic. Signed at Amiens the 27th day of March 1802.

(PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.)

HIS Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of peace in the preliminary articles signed at London, the 1st of October 1801, (9th Vendemaire, year 10.)

And as by the fifteenth article of the said preliminaries, it has been stipulated that plenipotentiaries should be named on each side, who should proceed to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting powers;

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named for his plenipotentiary the marquis Cornwallis, knight of the most illustrious order of the garter, privy counsellor to his majesty, general of his armies, &c.; the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, the citizen Joseph Bonaparte, counsellor of state; his majesty the king of Spain and of the Indies, and the government of the Batavian republic, have named for their plenipotentiaries, *videlicet*, his catholic majesty, Don Joseph Nicholas de Azara, his counsellor of state, knight, great cross of the order of Charles III. his said majesty's ambassador extraordinary to the French republic, &c. and the government of the Batavian republic, Roger John Schimmelpenninck, their ambassador extraordinary to the French republic; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, which are transcribed at the end of the present treaty, have agreed upon the following articles:

ART. I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors, on the one part; and the French republic, his majesty the king of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian republic, on the other part. The contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their states a perfect harmony, and without allowing, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might hereafter affect the union happily re-established, and they shall not afford any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who should cause prejudice to any of them.

ART. II. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks, at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, and on paying the debts which they have contracted during their captivity. Each contracting party shall respectively discharge the advances which have been made by any of the contracting parties for the subsistence and maintenance of the prisoners in the country where they have been detained. For this purpose, a commission shall be appointed by agreement, which shall be specially charged to ascertain and regulate the compensation which may be due to either of the contracting powers. The time and place where the commissioners, who shall be charged with the execution of this article, shall assemble, shall also be fixed upon by agreement; and the said commissioners shall take into account the expenses occasioned not only by the prisoners of the respective nations, but also by the foreign troops, who, before they were made prisoners, were in the pay, or at the disposal of any of the contracting parties.

ART. III. His Britannic majesty restores to the French republic, and her allies, namely, his catholic majesty and the Batavian republic, all the possessions and colonies which belonged to them respectively, and which had been occupied or conquered by the British forces in the course of the war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon.

ART. IV. His catholic majesty cedes and guarantees, in full right and sovereignty,

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reignty, to his Britannic majesty, the island of Trinidad.

Art. V. The Batavian republic cedes and guarantees in full right and sovereignty to his Britannic majesty, all the possessions and establishments in the island of Ceylon, which belonged, before the war, to the republic of the United Provinces, or to their East India Company.

Art. VI. The Cape of Good Hope remains in full sovereignty to the Batavian republic, as it was before the war.

The ships of every description belonging to the other contracting parties shall have the right to put in there, and to purchase such supplies as they may stand in need of as heretofore, without paying any other duties than those to which the ships of the Batavian republic are subjected.

Art. VII. The territories and possessions of her most faithful majesty are maintained in their integrity, such as they were previous to the commencement of the war.

Nevertheless, the limits of French and Portuguese Guiana shall be determined by the river Arawari, which falls into the ocean below the North Cape, near the isle Neuve, and the island of Penitence, about a degree and one-third of North latitude. These limits shall follow the course of the river Arawari, from that of its mouths which is at the greatest distance from the North Cape, to its source, and thence in a direct line from its source to the river Branco, towards the west. The northern bank of the river Arawari, from its mouth to its source, and the lands which are situated to the north of the line of the limits above fixed, shall consequently belong in full sovereignty to the French republic. The southern bank of the said river from its source, and all the lands to the southward of the said line of demarkation, shall belong to her most faithful majesty. The navigation of the river Arawari shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have taken place between the courts of Madrid and of Lisbon, for the settlement of their frontiers in Europe, shall, however, be executed conformably to the treaty of Badajoz.

Art. VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights of the Ottoman Porte, are hereby maintained in their integrity, such as they were previous to the war.

Art. IX. The republic of the Seven Islands is hereby acknowledged.

Art. X. The islands of Malta, Goza, and Comino, shall be restored to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, and shall be held by it upon the same conditions on which the Order held them previous to the war, and under the following stipulations:

1. The knights of the order, whose langues shall continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta as soon as that exchange shall have taken place. They shall there form a general chapter, and shall proceed to the election of a grand master, to be chosen from amongst the natives of those nations which preserve langues, if no such election shall have been already made since the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace. It is understood that an election which shall have been made subsequent to that period, shall alone be considered as valid, to the exclusion of every other which shall have taken place at any time previous to the said period.

2. The governments of Great Britain and of the French republic, being desirous of placing the Order of Saint John and the island of Malta, in a state of entire independence on each of those powers, do agree, that there shall be henceforth no English nor French langues; and that no individual belonging to either of the said powers shall be admissible into the Order.

3. A Maltese langue shall be established, to be supported out of the land revenues and commercial duties of the island. There shall be dignities, with appointments, and an auberge appropriated to this langue; no proofs of nobility shall be necessary for the admission of knights into the said langue; they shall be competent to hold every office, and to enjoy every privilege, in the like manner as the knights of the other langues. The municipal revenue, civil, judicial, and other offices under the government of the island, shall be filled, at least in the proportion of one-half, by native inhabitants of Malta, Goza, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if it can be done: at that period the island shall be delivered up to the Order in the state in which it now is—provided that the grand master, or commissioners fully empowered according to the statutes of the Order, be upon the island to receive possession; and that the force to be furnished by his Sicilian majesty, as hereafter stipulated, be arrived there.

5. The garrison of the island shall, at all

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all times, consist at least one half of native Malteſe; and the Order ſhall have the liberty of recruiting for the remainder of the garriſon from the natives of thoſe countries only that ſhall continue to poſſeſs langues. The native Malteſe troops ſhall be officered by Malteſe, and the ſupreme command of the garriſon, as well as the appointment of the officers, ſhall be veſted in the grand maſter of the Order; and he ſhall not be at liberty to diveſt himſelf of it, even for a time, except in favour of a knight of the Order, and in conſequence of the opinion of the Council of the Order.

6. The independence of the iſlands of Malta, Goza, and Comino, as well as the preſent arrangement, ſhall be under the protection and guarantee of Great Britain, France, Auſtria, Ruſſia, Spain, and Pruſſia.

7. The perpetual neutrality of the Order of the iſland of Malta, and its dependencies, is hereby declared.

8. The ports of Malta ſhall be open to the commerce and navigation of all nations, who ſhall pay equal and moderate duties. Theſe duties ſhall be applied to the ſupport of the Malteſe langue, in the manner ſpecified in paragraph 3, to that of the civil and military eſtabliſhments of the iſland, and to that of a lazaretto, open to all flags.

9. The Barbary ſtates are excepted from the proviſions of the two preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be made by the contracting parties, the ſyſtem of hoſtility which ſubſiſts between the ſaid Barbary ſtates, the Order of Saint John, and the powers poſſeſſing langues, or taking part in the formation of them, ſhall be terminated.

10. The Orde rſhall be governed, both in ſpiritual and temporal matters, by the ſame ſtatutes that were in force at the time when the knights quitted the iſland, ſo far as the ſame ſhall not be derogated from by the preſent treaty.

11. The ſtipulations contained in paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, ſhall be converted into laws and perpetual ſtatutes of the Order, in the cuſtomary manner. And the grand maſter (or, if he ſhould not be in the iſland at the time of its reſtitution to the Order, his repreſentative), as well as his ſucceſſors, ſhall be bound to make oath to obſerve them punctually.

12. His Sicilian majeſty ſhall be invited to furniſh 2000 men, natives of his dominions, to ſerve as a garriſon for the ſeveral fortreſſes upon the iſland. This force ſhall remain there for one year from the period of the reſtitution of the iſland to the knights; after the expiration of which term, if the Order of Saint John ſhall not, in the opinion of the guarantying powers, have raiſed a ſufficient force to garriſon the iſland and its dependencies, in the manner propoſed in paragraph 5, the Neapolitan troops ſhall remain until they ſhall be relieved by another force, judged to be ſufficient by the ſaid powers.

13. The ſeveral powers ſpecified in paragraph 6, *videlicet*, Great Britain, France, Auſtria, Ruſſia, Spain, and Pruſſia, ſhall be invited to accede to the preſent arrangement.

ART. XI. The French forces ſhall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory; the Engliſh forces ſhall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and iſlands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean or in the Adriatic.

ART. XII. The evacuations, ceſſions, and reſtitutions, ſtipulated for by the preſent treaty, except where otherwiſe expreſsly provided for, ſhall take place in Europe within one month; in the Continent and ſeas of America and Africa within three months; and in the Continent and ſeas of Aſia within ſix months after the ratification of the preſent definitive treaty.

ART. XIII. In all the caſes of reſtitution agreed upon by the preſent treaty, the fortifications ſhall be delivered up in the ſtate in which they may have been at the time of the ſignature of the preliminary treaty; and all the works which ſhall have been conſtructed ſince the occupation, ſhall remain untouched.

It is farther agreed, that in all the caſes of ceſſion ſtipulated, there ſhall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of this preſent treaty, for the purpoſe of diſpoſing of their property acquired and poſſeſſed either before or during the war; in which term of three years they may have the free exerciſe of their religion, and enjoyment of their property.

The ſame privilege is granted in the countries reſtored to all thoſe, whether inhabitants or others, who ſhall have made therein any eſtabliſhments whatſoever during the time when thoſe countries were in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain.

With reſpect to the inhabitants of the countries reſtored or ceded, it is agreed that none of them ſhall be proſecuted, diſturbed, or moleſted in their perſons or properties, under any pretext, on account of

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of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to any of the contracting powers, nor on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts posterior to the present treaty.

ART. XIV. All sequestrations imposed by any of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts, of whatever description, belonging to any of the contracting powers, or to their subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of this definitive treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals, the subjects or citizens of any of the contracting powers respectively, against individuals, subjects or citizens of any of the others, for rights, debts, property, or effects, whatsoever, which, according to received usages and the law of nations, ought to revive at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before competent tribunals; and in all cases prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries where the claims are made.

ART. XV. The fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent islands, and of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, are replaced on the same footing on which they were previous to the war; the French fishermen and the inhabitants of Saint Pierre and Miquelon shall have the privilege of cutting such wood as they may stand in need of in the Bays of Fortune and Despair, for the space of one year from the date of the notification of the present treaty.

ART. XVI. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may have been made at sea, after the signature of the preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects which may have been taken in the British Channel, and in the North Sea, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the said preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side; that the term shall be one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the Equator; and lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

ART. XVII. The ambassadors, ministers, and other agents of the contracting powers, shall enjoy, respectively, in the states of the said powers, the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which public agents of the same class enjoyed previous to the war.

ART. XVIII. The branch of the House of Nassau, which was established in the republic formerly called the Republic of the United Provinces, and now the Batavian Republic, having suffered losses there, as well in private property as in consequence of the change of constitution adopted in that country, an adequate compensation shall be procured for the said branch of the House of Nassau for the said losses.

ART. XIX. The present definitive treaty of peace is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the Ally of his Britannic Majesty; and the Sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession thereto in the shortest delay possible.

ART. XX. It is agreed that the contracting parties shall, on requisitions made by them respectively, or by their ministers or officers duly authorized to make the same, deliver up to justice, persons accused of crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party; provided that this shall be done only when the evidence of the criminality shall be so authenticated as that the laws of the country where the person so accused shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the offence had been there committed. The expenses of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by those who make the requisition. It is understood that this article does not regard in any manner crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed antecedently to the conclusion of this definitive treaty.

ART. XXI. The contracting parties promise to observe sincerely and *bona fide* all the articles contained in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects or citizens; and the said contracting parties generally and reciprocally guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

ART. XXII. The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties in thirty days, or sooner if possible, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive

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tive treaty, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the 27th day of March 1802; the 6th Germinal, year ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) Cornwallis.
(L. S.) Joseph Bonaparte.
(L. S.) J. Nicholas de Azara.
(L. S.) R. J. Schimmelpenninck.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

It is agreed that the omission of some titles which may have taken place in the present treaty, shall not be prejudicial to the powers or to the persons concerned.

It is further agreed that the English and French languages made use of in all the copies of the present treaty shall not form an example, which may be alleged or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice the contracting powers whose languages have not been used; and that for the future what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of, powers who are in the practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in any other language, shall be conformed with; the present treaty having nevertheless the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty, of the French Republic, and of his Catholic majesty, and of the Batavian republic, have signed the present separate article, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens the 27th day of March 1802: the 6th Germinal, year ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) Cornwallis.
(L. S.) Joseph Bonaparte.
(L. S.) Nicholas de Azara.
(L. S.) R. J. Schimmelpenninck.

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PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT

RELATIVE TO THE

AFFAIRS OF INDIA,

DURING

THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOMS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

November 25, 1801.

In purſuance of a notice which he had given, Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY roſe to make his motion relative to the Trade to India. He began by obſerving, that he had yeſterday given notice of his intention to move this day for ſeveral additional papers. As he underſtood, however, that the committee would have full power to call for perſons, papers, and records, he ſhould proceed at once to the ſubject to which he wiſhed to draw the attention of the houſe. A great variety of documents had laſt ſeſſion been laid upon the table with regard to the trade between England and India; and his object was, that theſe ſhould now be fully conſidered. The grand queſtion which aroſe out of them was, whether Britiſh merchants were to receive ſuch facilities as to enable them to enter into a competition with foreigners in a vaſt branch of commerce? The queſtion always appeared to him of the firſt magnitude, and it roſe in importance upon him the more he conſidered it. Many objections had been made to the propoſed regulations theſe he had carefully weighed; and the effect they had taken upon him was to impreſs upon his mind a more lively ſenſe of the neceſſity of calling for the interference of the legiſlature. In the year 1793, when the charter of the Company was renewed, various clauſes were introduced into the act, in favour of private trade. From the manœuvres of the directors, however, theſe were productive of no good effect, and the intentions of the legiſlature were completely fruſtrated. From the increaſed difficulties thus experienced by individual traders, many repreſentations were made, and at laſt a committee was appointed to take the whole ſubject fully into conſideration. A report was by and by publiſhed, approving without qualification of the conduct of the directors. By a court of proprietors this report was afterwards confirmed. It was for an account of theſe proceedings that he had moved laſt ſeſſion of parliament. It was then too late to diſcuſs them; but he had given notice of his intention to bring the ſubject before the houſe as ſoon as parliament ſhould again be aſſembled. That notice he had renewed, and it was not his fault that

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he had been so long in fulfilling his promise. He was told that a compromise was likely to take place, and he thought it right to see whether justice could be done without an act of the legislature. He understood that terms had been offered by the court of directors; but these were so unreasonable, so inadequate to gain the end proposed, that he considered it his duty to remain silent no longer. Whatever might be the opinion of others, to this compromise he could not agree, with any regard to the interests, or even the safety of the country.

When the East India Company was first established, at the end of the seventeenth century, the object of the legislature was two-fold. 1. By the sale of the monopoly to raise a sum of money, the grant of exclusive privileges in trade being in those days an expedient for filling the treasury, often resorted to by the crown. 2. A second consideration was, that a trade so distant could not be carried on by individuals, but only by a joint stock company. It was therefore thought that the wants of government might at once be supplied, and a benefit conferred on the commerce of the Company. In the reign of queen Anne the monopoly was again sold, and a second company was formed. As they did not go on very well separately, a union between them was proposed and effected; and for this reason the present Company was styled the *United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies*. The monopoly was long preserved with great rigour. It is scarcely possible for individuals to trade thither by themselves; but every British subject was prohibited, under severe penalties, from having any concern with a foreign commercial company trading to the East. For a little while our East India Company went on very well, but then they were only merchants. Become soon after victors and sovereigns, their affairs went to ruin. In fifteen years after their first territorial acquisition, their profits had not only entirely ceased, but their losses were so great, that, for a rupee worth 2s. they could get no more than 1s. 8d. This fact they themselves acknowledged. Indeed (said Sir William) it was not at all matter of surprise. The character of traders and sovereigns are inconsistent; and their union has never failed to prove ruinous to the mercantile concerns of these counting-house kings, and to make their unhappy subjects suffer under all the evils of oppression and misrule. On the ground of the complete incapacity of the court of directors, a bill was brought into parliament in the year 1783, to take all power and management out of their hands. I opposed this bill, because I considered it dangerous and unconstitutional. It went to establish a board, with vast authority and influence, independent of the Crown, to erect *imperium in imperio*. After it had passed this house, and had been read once or twice in the house of Lords, it was happily thrown out. Another corrective was then resorted to; and a board of commissioners was appointed, which in various ways was to check and controul the court of directors. No dispatches were allowed to be sent to any of the presidencies till they had first been communicated to the board, and the commissioners received great power over the territorial revenue and the political concerns of the dominions in India. To interfere with matters of trade they received no power, any farther than to see that the mercantile schemes of the directors

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directors did not interfere with the well-being of the Indian empire. Things continued in this situation till 1793, when the charter was to be renewed. Before this, it had been perceived that the revenues muſt fail if native induſtry were not more encouraged. Foreigners were therefore allowed to trade on the ſame terms with the Company themſelves. The jealouſy of Britiſh merchants, however, ſtill remained. Thoſe who had made fortunes in India, having thus no means of remitting them to England, took the benefit of the trade allowed to the French, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Americans. Immenſe profits were thus made by foreigners; and they, from thus being ſure of a cargo home, were enabled to export to India with great advantage, and in many inſtances to underſell the Company. In 1793 the bad policy of this ſyſtem began to be perceived, and many clauſes were introduced to give facility to the private trade. Whoever reads the act muſt perceive the extreme jealouſy which the legiſlature entertained of the deſigns of the directors. It was well known that the directors would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to obſtruct this trade; but ſufficient guards, it was thought, were introduced to protect it in its new immunities. The directors, nevertheleſs, have obſtructed it materially, and, in as far as in them lay, fruſtrated the intentions of parliament. The governors of India uniformly complained of their conduct, and recommended a more liberal ſyſtem. Sir John Shore, Mr. Haſtings, Lord Cornwallis; in ſhort, there is not a ſingle exception. To theſe remonſtrances the directors obſtinately refuſed to liſten, and ſtill declared war againſt private trade, unleſs it was carried on in a way which prevented all competition with foreigners. In 1798 marquis Welleſley found it abſolutely neceſſary to ſend home the produce of India in India built ſhips. The number that arrived was very great, yet it never once was pretended that the ſmalleſt injury had enſued. The directors did not hint even at a bad conſequence, but ſent expreſs orders that this might never be done again. The next year, therefore, the governor-general refuſed permiſſion for the ſailing of any home-built ſhip; but the year after he again found it neceſſary to employ a conſiderable number. A ſtrong letter was in conſequence wrote out to his lordſhip. By way of compliance with his repreſentations, they propoſe ſome advantages to the private trade; but theſe conceſſions were inſidious, and would have left them at liberty to hamper it at pleaſure. I think it is now time to expoſe their evaſions, and to bring the queſtion fairly to iſſue before a competent tribunal.

"The trade of the Eaſt India Company, conſiſting of two branches; that to China, where they are mere merchants; and that to India, where they are ſovereigns. The firſt is a profitable, the ſecond a loſing trade. The ſales are therefore always confounded. In 1800 they amounted together to above ſeven millions. Of that there was re-exported 4,700,000l. and of the latter ſum there was 2,800,000l. from private trade, one-half of the whole re-exported. It is allowed that the foreign trade to India amounts to 1,500,000l. I believe it to be a great deal more. Ships, ſuppoſed under ballaſt, have been diſcovered to be richly laden; and various expedients are uſed to diſguiſe the amount of it. Of what conſequence then, ſir, is the queſ-

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tion that we are discussing? To this trade no bounds can be set: a few years back, indigo was not known as an article of commerce between the two countries; and in 1800, we imported indigo to the value of a million sterling. The importation of cotton and various other commodities has likewise been wonderfully increased; and it is never to be forgotten, that these are raw materials to exercise our own ingenuity and employ our own industry. The advantages to be derived from this trade are great to a degree, though not yet understood; and shall they all be forfeited, from the caprice or illiberality of the directors? We do not seek to deal in one article in which they deal themselves! It is, indeed, strange that such a question should ever have been stirred. All this art is used to prevent us from coming into competition, not with the Company, but with Foreigners.—They say, you must be under our control, you must employ the ships we send out to you, you must submit to many manifest disadvantages, not for the good of the common wealth, but lest you should endanger the mercantile gains of France and America.

"It is said, however, that the Company's sales abroad might be injured. But how can this ever be the case when individual traders never expose the same articles to sale? The Company's sales will be injured, to be sure, by thus labouring to enable Foreigners to import the same articles with every advantage. But British subjects constitute the only objects of their jealousy.—Rather than allow India-built ships to come home, they will be at a great expense and send out ships from England. To pretend that they thus place the private trader on an equally fair footing, is puerile. According to this plan, the cargo must be provided long before; the time of the ship's arrival is uncertain; when she may be allowed to be loaded is uncertain; and it is still more uncertain when she may be dispatched.—Every thing is cramped by arbitrary regulations. But India shipping may be had cheaper! Whether cheaper or not appears to me of little consequence—it has so many advantages in other respects. The goods are provided when the ship is ready; they are immediately put on board, and the ship sets sail with them the moment she is fully loaded. Do consider, sir, what the Company propose to do. How can they know what goods are to be sent home? How can they proportion the supply of shipping to the demand? Have they not, to their utmost wish, the power of cramping the speculations of the merchants? Let them consider the danger they run, of losing the trade of India altogether. It is a well known fact, that in 1798 there were sold in L'Orient alone India goods to the value of 1,200,000l. sterling.—How great is the trade of France alone, then! and how great must be the total of the trade of Foreigners, when the extent of the dealings with India are considered of—Lisbon, America, and the states in the North! I am by no means of opinion that Foreigners should be excluded. By these means alone the revenues can be kept up. All I ask is, that these advantages should not be granted to Foreigners exclusively.

"That a proposition so clear should be received like this must indeed confound a stranger. Not only the twenty-four directors who joined in the report were decidedly hostile

hostile to the plan proposed; but, upon a change of the direction, they were supported by the six new members who came in, making in all an unanimous body of the thirty persons at the head of affairs. The proprietors approved of the report by a large majority, and a ballot served only to shew more unequivocally the ascendancy of the directors. Although there was no secret history in all this, it could by no means be decisive. I have authority to quote against authority. On my side of the question, besides all the governors general for the last twenty years, I have the late president of the board of control. Have these illustrious characters had no opportunity to inquire into the affairs of India? or have they laid down a resolution to oversee the Company, and to dissolve our empire in the East? I dare say the directors think they are in the right; but I will now shew how they come to think themselves in the right. When the Company was first established, like the Bank of England, and other joint stock companies, the directors were chosen by those who held a small sum of stock, and the election was annual. The qualification to vote was then only 500l. It was thought that the proprietors interfered too much, and the sum was raised to 1000l. A bill was then brought in to change the annual elections, and it was enacted that six should go out in rotation yearly; so that, when once elected, a member remained in office for four years, and had great facilities in naming his successor. The indiscreet interference of the proprietors was prevented, to be sure; but it often happens that, in attempting to mend one evil, you occasion others of equal consequence. It is clear, that ever since the directors have been self-created, there is but one solitary instance of a gentleman being brought into the direction who was not on the house-list. They are now a permanent fixed body, and never talk but of going out or coming in by *rotation*. The constitution is completely altered; there is now an aristocracy, a very powerful, and in my mind a very dangerous aristocracy. How is it supported? I do not blame these gentlemen. The love of power is natural, and no one who has tasted its sweets will willingly descend into a private station.—The blame lies with those who allow them to gratify this thirst for domination; and that they are allowed, is indeed much to be regretted. Of all governments, aristocracy is the most tyrannical, oppressive, and odious. I abhore it still more than democracy. I asked how these men kept themselves in power? They have the management of an immense revenue, they have an immense patronage, and ought to have it: I opposed bestowing it on a board of commissioners, and I think it could not be possessed safely by the crown. But this is not all. They have the buying of an immense quantity of goods for India; they have the hiring of vessels to transport them; so that their influence is considerable over the manufacturing, and unbounded over the shipping interest. All who furnish ships' stores they can favour. When a man's ship is taken up, they tell him, you will take your ropes from such a person, your sails from another whom we point out, and your anchors from a third. As a proof of all this, I ask, whether many who hear me have not heard it said, "Oh, he is a great man; he is sure to do well; *he has a vote at the India-house!*" The directors do tell the truth when they say that, by the encouragement of

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private trade, the present constitution of the Company would be overturned; and when they state this, they state the true and sole ground of their opposition. The private traders would get rich, their influence would increase, the dependance of the proprietors on the directors would be greatly diminished, and the aristocracy would tumble to the ground. Here is a very good ground for the opposition of the court of directors; but here is nothing which in any degree affects the question itself.

"I have stated the reason which actuates the breasts of the directors; I shall now state the reasons which they assign to others. I shall refer to the report, which was drawn up by a very honourable and upright man. I never did read a paper drawn up with more address, or that shewed a greater talent at making the worse appear the better reason. While one reads, all appears right, and we unequivocally approve the conduct of the directors; but the moment we lay down the book, and ask ourselves what arguments have been urged against allowing us the full benefit of our Indian possessions, we are obliged to confess, none, but that you would thus endanger the power of the court of directors: 1. The first ostensible argument is, that if these privileges were granted, British capital would leave the country. But the Company themselves are about to raise two millions, and if there is any danger from that sum being exported, it is fully as great when it is exported by the Company. Sir, I deny that any danger exists. When capital leaves the country and is lost, it is a bad thing; but if it return with a profit, this is the best way it could be employed. The money sent to India will not be given in presents to the Hindus. It will be employed buying raw materials to be brought to England, and will thus encourage industry at home and abroad, and add to the strength of the empire. These gentlemen tell us, this capital might have been employed more profitably. So they think they can judge better of this matter than the owners of this capital. They are to be thanked for their friendly solicitude: but they will probably find that their own affairs will demand all their attention. 2. We have next set before us the terrors of colonization. Upon this point they dwell at great length, and with great complacency. But in telling us that the ruin of the country would be the inevitable consequence of any relaxation, they surely forget the nature of the Indian government. At present no one can go to India without the consent of the aristocracy; and when he is there, the aristocracy can put him on board a ship and send him home as soon as they have a mind. Without leave of the government, no one can go beyond a few miles from Calcutta. By a fundamental law, no European is capable of holding lands in any part of the Company's possessions. Between India and America no analogy can be drawn, although the separation of that country had been necessary, instead of occasioned by mismanagement. In America the climate resembled that of England, and the constitution of government was almost exactly the same. Above all, America was uninhabited, and boundless tracts of fertile land were presented to the industry of the planter. India is one of the most populous countries on the globe, and every inch of ground is

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is appropriated. The climate is so fatal, that it is almoſt impoſſible for a European to remain in it alive a few years; the form of government muſt be arbitrary, and may be tyrannical. And this is the ſpot, which, after having become a flouriſhing colony by draining the mother country of men and money, will at length break off all connection with us, and become a formidable rival! 3. But great numbers of laſcars would be brought to London, and, being here corrupted, would on their return corrupt their countrymen. They would thus carry a bad report of us to Hinduſtan, the Engliſh character would be degraded, and the Engliſh empire in the Eaſt ſhaken to its foundations. All this is really urged with gravity. Would it not be poſſible to prevent the laſcars from ever entering London? We trade to China; but our men are not allowed an unreſtrained intercourſe with the Chineſe. It would be an eaſy matter, at a ſmall expenſe, to ſuperintend the laſcars when on ſhore; and, though the expenſe ſhould be conſiderable, the profits of the trade would be amply able to bear it. It is a curious fact, ſir, that the Company are daily in the practice of bringing home laſcars; and if I am rightly informed, thoſe whom they do bring home are allowed to wander about the ſtreets and to die for want, while thoſe brought home by the private traders live on ſhore in a kind of barracks prepared for them, and are watched over with the greateſt care. 4. The ſhipping intereſt would ſuffer. Sir, if I am rightly informed, the ſhipping intereſt are by no means adverſe to the plan. The price of timber in this country is now ſo enormous, that there is ſcarcely any profit to be made by building ſhips, while there is a great deal to be made by repairing them. If trade increaſes, and the number of ſhips entering our ports is increaſed, they therefore juſtly think they would ultimately be gainers.—5. An argument ſtill more formidable is, that the Britiſh *ſailors* would be injured. In all caſes where they are to be found, the merchants are willing to employ Britiſh ſailors in preference. It is their intereſt to do ſo. Seven Britiſh ſailors are ſuppoſed to be equal to twelve laſcars; and, though ſome give a different proportion, all agree in making the difference prodigious. Thus the loſs of tonnage, when laſcars are employed, more than counterbalances the cheapneſs of their wages. The merchants are willing that a clauſe ſhould be introduced, enacting that, when they are to be found, a part or the whole of the crew ſhall be Engliſh; and that certificates of the impoſſibility of finding them ſhall be given by the court of directors, or the council of the preſidencies in India. If this trade is placed under proper regulations, it will afford encouragement to a prodigious number of our mariners, it will greatly increaſe their number; and, in caſe of a new war, will add materially to our maritime ſtrength. Upon the commencement of hoſtilities, laſcars can be employed as ſubſtitutes; and, without any interruption to our commerce, an immenſe number of hands can be given to the navy. This is an advantage not to be derived from the trade to the Weſt Indies, or any other colonial trade on the globe.

"The admiſſion of India-built ſhips cannot be objected to, if it were for no other reaſon than the preſent ſcarcity in this country of timber for the navy. The deficiency begins to be felt to a moſt alarming

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alarming degree. But the wood of which these ships are built is preferable to the best oak, and it can be imported for all purposes, free of expense, in the form of a ship. In the opinion of the court of directors, a grand national object like this is to be sacrificed, because it would interfere with selfish views! (*A loud cry of Hear! hear! from all parts of the house.*) During the war the trade of foreigners to India has had to struggle with considerable difficulties. Now that peace has arrived, we shall not only have our former rivals, but France and Holland; and there will be few obstacles to their being assisted by British capital, if, through the unhappy influence of a few merchants in Leadenhall-street, it is not allowed to be employed at home. France has all her colonies restored to her. There is no clause in the treaty to say that she shall not trade in the Indian seas. There could be none; and the only way in which we can prevent our commerce being wrested from us, is to free it from every unreasonable restraint. If foreigners are once allowed to get possession of it, we may discover our error only in time to find it irretrievable. Now we may secure to ourselves this inexhaustible fund of wealth; but if we unprecedently allow it to slip from us, it is gone for ever.—Whenever our commerce is ruined, we shall have no other consolation than that we have preserved the packed band of thirty directors. It likewise ought never to be forgotten, that all that leaves our scale falls into the scale of France, so that the loss acts doubly against us.

"I could say much more, but I think I have said enough to prove the propriety of my motion. I do not wish the house to come to a decision now. Let the whole business be submitted to a committee, and sifted to the bottom. I wish that an opportunity should be given to contradict my inferences. It will then be seen, whether we are not unnecessarily weakening ourselves and aggrandising our enemies; whether we are not doing every thing to discourage manufactures and to cramp trade; whether we are not wantonly shutting up sources of revenue and maritime strength; and whether, if these manœuvres prevail, the sales in Leadenhall-street themselves will not soon be unattended? Sir, I am sure that this subject will force itself upon parliament; and that though this motion be rejected, it will not determine the fate of the measure. The sentiments of the people in this country are not to be resisted; they are a people not to be kept in the dark, and who, when facts are submitted to them, seldom fail to come to a right conclusion. I have not a doubt, therefore, that the necessity of this measure will soon be universally felt, and that the legislature will be compelled to adopt it." Sir William concluded by moving, "That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the papers laid upon the table last session of parliament, relating to the proceedings with regard to the trade between England and the East Indies, and to report their opinion thereon to the house."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose, and began by professing that no member of the house could possibly attach greater importance than he did to the subject now under discussion. He was ready, too, to admit in the most unequivocal terms, that the honourable baronet who had brought forward the motion was actuated by the purest and most disinterested sense of duty, while he allowed with plea-

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ſure that he had conducted the diſcuſſion of a ſubject ſo extremely intereſting with that candour and good ſenſe which could not fail to have excited univerſal approbation. The honourable baronet had traced with great accuracy the hiſtory of the Eaſt India Company, from the earlieſt period of its eſtabliſhment, down to the preſent moment; and he had nothing on this point to object to the correctneſs of his details. It was unneceſſary for him to reply to a variety of the arguments which the honourable baronet had uſed, both becauſe they did not materially differ from the ſentiments he himſelf entertained, and becauſe they were not immediately connected with the ſubject before the houſe. He ſhould therefore confine himſelf wholly to this ſubject; and in doing ſo, he ſhould firſt of all advert to the proviſions adopted in 1793, when the houſe renewed the charter of the Eaſt India Company. The private trade, it was to be recollected, had not been publicly acknowledged previous to that period; and it was in 1793, for the firſt time, that it became the ſubject of legiſlative enactment; that it was formerly recognized, and that ſpecial proviſions were made for giving new facilities to its extenſion. At this time the Company were bound to furniſh 3000 tons for the importation of the articles embarked in that trade into this country. This allowance had happily been found to be far from being equal to the purpoſe in view; but thoſe who had framed this act, foreſeeing that ſuch an allowance would be inadequate, had lodged in the hands of commiſſioners the power of enlarging it to that amount which circumſtances ſhould require. The framers of this bill had indeed diſcovered, throughout the whole conduct of the buſineſs, that knowledge, that wiſdom, that enlargement of mind, by which they were ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed; and in the proviſions they adopted, they had endeavoured to give this private trade all thoſe facilities which might at once be perfectly conſiſtent with the intereſts of the Company, while they afforded every reaſonable degree of encouragement to the efforts of private ſpeculation. If, therefore, it could be made to appear, that the court of directors had not given this trade all the facilities which parliament had wiſhed and intended, a fair ground of parliamentary interference would be opened, and he would be the laſt man in the houſe to oppoſe ſuch an interference. He had no bias whatever in favour of either of the parties; and all that he wiſhed was, a fair, candid, and impartial conſideration of the ſubject. Agreeing moſt cordially with the honourable baronet in the expediency of giving every poſſible degree of facility to the private trade, he truſted that if, from what had been ſtated, he ſhould be enabled to draw an oppoſite concluſion, the houſe would be diſpoſed to come to a correſponding deciſion; and this truſt, he was ſure, he did not indulge in vain. Having ſaid ſo much in the way of preliminary obſervation, he now proceeded more directly to the diſcuſſion before the houſe. The honourable gentleman had ſaid, that every governor in India, without exception, was in favour of the private trade conducted on the principles which he had laid down; but whence he had been able to collect this, he profeſſed himſelf unable to diſcover. Unqueſtionably it was true, that his noble friend, marquis Welleſley, had,

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had, by the exercise of his discretionary power, and by using extraordinary exertions, employed several ships in 1798 for bringing to Europe the articles connected with the private trade. An order from the court of directors was sent out by the next fleet, prohibiting the importation of any more goods in this way, and in 1799 the practice was discontinued. Since that time it was renewed; and he had now the satisfaction of stating, that the court of directors had agreed to shipping for the purposes of the ensuing season. They had even gone farther, and had consented that the shipping employed in the Red Sea should be appropriated to the conveyance of the private trade for 1803. Thus they had not only agreed to confirm the determination of marquis Wellesley, but had expressed their willingness to employ a large proportion of shipping exclusively for the benefit of the private trade, and were even engaged to furnish additional shipping, if the trade of 1803 should require a larger proportion than that which they had assigned. From this statement, therefore, the house would perceive, that the private trader would experience no inconvenience, no loss, no disadvantage whatever, till 1804, even if no new regulations were to be adopted; while sufficient time was allowed to form every regulation which might seem to be demanded by an impartial contemplation of the whole of the circumstances connected with so interesting a subject. This he now mentioned to the house, both with a wish that the intentions of the court of directors might be distinctly understood, and that, after going through the statements which he should be under the necessity of doing, he might found upon it an argument in support of the motion with which he meant to conclude, a motion for the previous question. An inquiry into a subject so intricate and so extensive as that now before them, the house would not wish unnecessarily to enter upon; it was not his wish to institute it, but from the fullest conviction that it was imperiously called for by circumstances. A good deal of stress had been laid on the opinion of a person, for whose opinion on this subject he certainly did entertain the highest respect, and whose opinion could not fail to have a very powerful influence both in that house and the country. It was, however, only that morning that he had read the letter of the right honourable gentleman, in which he not only did not entirely coincide with the opinions expressed by the honourable baronet, but expressly asserted, that the opinions of the two opposite parties were founded in extremes, and recommended a middle course, with which, with one exception, he most heartily concurred. He asserted, that the opinion of the court of directors was erroneous; but it did not appear from the letter, that he was prepared to adopt, in all the latitude, the opinions which the honourable gentleman had adopted. Laying aside, however, the consideration of authority from opinions, however respectable, the first question now before the house was, Whether the court of directors had given those facilities which, by the decision of parliament, they were required to extend to the private trade? He had already declared his opinion on this point, and had stated that they had not given the facilities required. The next subject of consideration was, Whether or not there existed a just expectation that these facilities

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would be extended in future? In directing the attention of the houſe to theſe points, he wiſhed that the nature of the trade in queſtion might be fully underſtood by the houſe. The capital employed in the trade, it would be recollected, was not drawn from this country, but was a capital compoſed of the ſurplus of the ſalaries enjoyed by the different ſervants of the Company in India. This ſurplus was either veſted in the treaſury of the Company, and bills to the amount drawn on England; or it was veſted in goods, which conſtituted the trade which the houſe was at preſent conſidering. The amount of the ſurplus had gradually increaſed, and the inveſtments in the private trade had experienced a proportional increaſe. In carrying on this trade, the honourable gentleman had contended, that Britiſh ſubjects were not allowed thoſe advantages which were given to the foreign trader. On examination, however, he was convinced that this aſſertion would be found to be groundleſs. To aſcertain this, it was only neceſſary to attend a little to the manner in which the trade was conducted. No perſons were, it is true, allowed to engage in it, who were not licenſed by the Company's ſervants; and they were prevented from buying goods formed of the choiceſt materials, and manufactured in the richeſt manner. Saltpetre too found an exception to the articles which they were not permitted in the firſt inſtance to purchaſe. But the houſe would conſider that this excluſion with regard to fine goods referred only to the period prior to the ſupply of the ſhips of the Company with theſe articles. After this ſupply was obtained, the market was open to the private traders, and the previous excluſion ceaſed to operate. They might then purchaſe, not merely the rough part of the goods, but had free acceſs to thoſe of the richeſt materials, and the moſt coſtly manufacture. With the exceptions he had ſpecified, every other branch of manufactures, and every other article of produce, were within the range of their purchaſe. Such was the ſituation in which the private traders were placed; and he knew no difference with reſpect to foreigners, except that it was not neceſſary for them to be licenſed previous to their engaging in the private trade. They enjoyed no other privilege which was not participated by Britiſh ſubjects; and therefore he was at a loſs to conceive what thoſe advantages were which the honourable baronet had deſcribed to be in the poſſeſſion of foreigners. But here the honourable baronet had ſtated an object to be gained by the private trade, and a moſt important national object it was, an object no leſs than that of facilitating, by means of ſhips built in India, the ſupply of timber for the commercial and royal navy of this country. The honourable baronet had dwelt very ſtrongly on this point, and had been extremely anxious to ſhew that there was no other means of ſo effectually promoting this great object. It was his duty, in anſwer to this, to ſtate, that the court of directors had expreſſed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, their anxiety to give every poſſible facility to any meaſure calculated for the advantage of the royal navy: they were even willing to engage, and to bind themſelves to the fulfilment of their engagement, to uſe every effort to cheapen the price of timber, by loading particular ſhips with

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with goods for their own uſe, ſo as to reduce the freight to a more moderate rate. The price of ſhip timber within a few years had increaſed in a moſt extraordinary manner, and every plan for effecting a reduction was deſerving of the moſt ſerious attention. With reſpect to the uſe of ſhips built in India for the private trade, he had to remark, that this was one of the caſes in which the opinions on the ſubject proceeded to extremes. It was the opinion of his noble friend the governor-general of India, and of a right honourable gentleman whoſe ſentiments he had already alluded to, that ſhips built in India ſhould only be employed in the trade; and this was the point in which he had the misfortune to differ from them, while the court of directors up to that day had as ſtrenuouſly maintained, that the trade ſhould be excluſively confined to Britiſh ſhips. He had now, however, a high degree of pleaſure in being enabled to ſtate to the houſe, that the directors had, on a full and ſerious conſideration of the ſubject, agreed that either Britiſh ſhips or thoſe built in India, if attended with equal conveniences, ſhould be employed, their only objection being with regard to the price. In calculating the comparative expenſe of Britiſh and India built ſhips, the honourable gentleman had founded his calculations on a ſtate of war; but, was it fair to aſſume, that during a period of peace this expenſe would not be diminiſhed?—It certainly was not; and this was another reaſon, in his mind, for oppoſing the motion of the honourable baronet, that time might be allowed to try the experiment for three years, for which the proviſion already made afforded a favourable opportunity. By recommending delay, he truſted that he ſhould not be thought indifferent to the importance of the queſtion before the houſe. The trade was unqueſtionably of very high conſequence. While the trade opened a channel for the importation of the branches of Indian manufactures, and the articles of Indian produce, which the Company had not the means of introducing on their own account; and while it enabled thoſe of the Company's ſervants, who had a certain portion of capital to diſpoſe of, to diſpoſe of it in an advantageous manner; it on the other hand preſented new openings for the commerce, and new encouragements to the manufactures of the mother country. It was a trade not only attended with great advantages, but accompanied with little riſk. It was a trade which took little capital from the country, yet in its conſequences was calculated to make London the *emporium* of the trade of India. At preſent, indeed, London might be conſidered in this light; but by the new facilities which the trade would give to commerce, it would render London almoſt the ſole mart of the Indian commerce. He felt unwilling to follow the honourable baronet through all the ſtrictures that he had made on the report of the court of directors; but he thought it neceſſary to advert to a few of the points diſcuſſed in the report itſelf. What was ſaid on the conſequences which would flow from the employment of laſcars in the navigation of ſhips coming from India, appeared in his mind extremely feeble and inconclusive. That foreign ſeamen might, without the ſmalleſt impropriety, occaſionally come in aid of Britiſh ſailors, could not poſſibly be denied; but that there was any reaſonable fear of the Foreigners ſupplanting the Britiſh ſubjects, was a propoſition

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propoſition to which he could not poſſibly accede. It was impoſſible with the leaſt regard to reaſon and experience to imagine, that, known as the ſuperior ſkill and intrepidity of Britiſh ſeamen were, their ſervices would be refuſed for the ſervices of another deſcription of men, whoſe qualifications were confeſſedly in every thing connected with their profeſſion. On the ſubject of colonization he was not prepared to agree with the honourable gentleman; but, though perhaps he did not view the danger from this ſource in a light ſo ſtrong as that exhibited in the report, yet he was ready to confeſs, that it ſtruck him as a matter of no light conſideration. He thought it an object of high importance, to prevent an increaſe of ſettlements in India, and to diſcourage every plan which was deſigned to increaſe or conſolidate ſuch ſettlements. He admitted, that the caſes of America and our ſettlements in India were not parallel; but at the ſame time he thought that our experience in America ought at leaſt to have the effect of teaching us caution. On the contemplation of the whole queſtion, he did not think that the honourable gentleman had made out ſuch a caſe as could be conſidered by the houſe as a full and fair ground for inſtituting an inquiry. He had, he could with truth aſſure the houſe, no bias in his mind which would lead him to oppoſe ſuch an inquiry, if it really appeared to him to be neceſſary; and till the court of directors had ſhewn a diſpoſition to grant what was due to the intereſt of the private trade, he felt a ſtrong diſpoſition to give his ſupport to the motion. By ſaying that he was inclined to ſupport the motion, he did not mean to refer to the ſpecific motion of the honourable gentleman; but he was ready to ſupport any fair propoſition for compelling the court of directors to comply with the wiſhes of parliament, as expreſſed in 1793, to grant to the private trade every neceſſary degree of facility. But, ſeeing a diſpoſition exiſting in the court of directors to come to an amicable arrangement, ſeeing the great inconveniences which might attend the inveſtigation of a ſubject ſo extremely complicated and extenſive, the end of which too it was quite impoſſible to aſcertain, and ſeeing that from the proviſions adopted for the next two years, no inconvenience could ariſe to the private merchants from a ſhort delay, he felt it his duty to move the previous queſtion.

Mr. JOHNSTONE ſaid, that if there ever had been diſcovered any diſpoſition on the part of the court of directors to agree to an amicable arrangement of the diſpute with the private merchants, the preſent motion would have been unneceſſary, and would never have been brought forward for the conſideration of the houſe. The object of the motion was, merely to put to fair trial the plan which the marquis Welleſley had ſanctioned, and acted upon in his conduct of the private trade. But if, as the right honourable gentleman had ſtated, this plan was to be fully and fairly put to the teſt for two years, this was all that was aſked for, and the private merchants would be perfectly ſatisfied with ſuch a propoſal. Was, however, any ſuch diſpoſition apparent on the face of the papers on the table? It certainly was not; and hence had originated the neceſſity for the motion. The right honourable gentleman, when mentioning the ſubject of the conceſſion offered by the court of directors, did not ſeem to him perfectly to underſtand

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understand the nature of the conceſſion to be granted. He had thought that the ſhips in the Red Sea would be amply ſufficient for every purpoſe of the private trade in 1803; but, for his part, he could not help being of a different opinion, and he would ſtate to the houſe on what his opinion was founded. The houſe would recollect, that 40,000 ton of ſhipping had been originally employed in conveying the diviſion of the Indian army up the Red Sea. Of theſe 20,000 tons had already returned to different ports in India, and of the other half that remained a number of ſhips were diſabled, while others were diſcharged, and would come home in the enſuing ſeaſon. So that, taking this view of the ſubject, he was afraid that out of the 20,000 tons which were appropriated for the uſe of the private trade, there would not be a number of diſpoſeable ſhips ſufficient to bring home the property veſted in the private trade. He wiſhed to know then, if ſuch a deficiency ſhould exiſt, and if the ſhips deſtined for this ſpecial ſervice were inadequate, whether individuals would be permitted to ſend home their property in other ſhips?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, in explanation, ſtated, that the court of directors wiſhed to have it diſtinctly underſtood, that if, contrary to every reaſonable expectation, the ſhipping employed in the Red Sea ſhould not be ſufficient to bring home all the private property for the year 1803, they would inſtruct their agents in India to provide whatever additional ſhipping might be wanted. He added, that the proviſion in favour of the private trade was for two, not three ſeaſons.

Mr. JOHNSTONE profeſſed himſelf obliged to the right honourable gentleman for his explanation; but could not help expreſſing his concern, that, inſtead of three, the proviſion in behalf of the private merchants was only for two ſeaſons. There ſeemed to be a wiſh, among the enemies of the regulations in favour of the private trade, to repreſent the plan now ſo ſtrongly reſiſted by the court of directors as altogether new; but he was anxious to preſs on the houſe, that the plan was not new, but had been purſued in the ſeveral ſeaſons ſince 1798, when the governor-general of India had acted upon it, by ſending home private property in ſhips built in the country. After the trial it had already undergone, he defied any one of its moſt violent opponents to point out a ſingle inconvenience that had ariſen from it, or was likely to ariſe from its further continuance. It had received the ſupport of every one of the Company's ſervants in India, who not merely ſaw no bad effects reſulting from it, but had ſeen and acknowledged the beneficial effects that it was calculated to produce. This had been the decided opinion of Mr. Udney, who, for his eminent ſervices, was raiſed to be a member of the ſupreme council. Mr. Myers had viewed it in the ſame light, who had received the honour of a vote of thanks for his good conduct from the court of directors. The right honourable gentleman, in remarking on Mr. Dundas's letter, had inſiſted a good deal on the ſuppoſed opinion of that right honourable gentleman, that the ſentiments of both parties were in extremes, and that he was deſirous of following a middle courſe in the arrangement of the diſpute. But, if the right honourable

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honourable gentleman would take the trouble to examine the letter more attentively, he would find that Mr. Dundas was there not alluding to the question before the house, but to the opinions of two parties, one of whom wished the trade to be wholly laid open, and the other that it should be subjected to still closer restraints. These were the opinions which he had declared to be in extremes: and he was for a middle course, which was neither more nor less than the plan contended for by the private traders. His approbation of the plan he had fully expressed, and he had never varied in the smallest degree from his original opinion. There was another point in the right honourable gentleman's speech, to which he begged leave to advert. The right honourable gentleman seemed to think that the private trade was solely a trade of remittance, and that the capital was made up of the saving of the salaries of the different servants of the Company in India. This was, however, an exceedingly erroneous idea of the nature and extent of this important branch of trade. He believed that his statement would not be greatly deficient in accuracy, if he estimated the whole amount of these savings to be a million and a half yearly. Now it was known, that the Company had bills drawn on Europe to this amount, and thus the whole of the sum which was to form the capital of the private trade was completely absorbed. The truth was, that the facilities of navigation had opened a variety of new channels, and the East Indies would have to receive, at no remote period, a balance in specie. The private trade, independent of all the concerns of the Company, could not now be estimated at less than an annual sum of from four millions and a half to five millions sterling. It had been asked by the right honourable gentleman, what were the advantages which Foreigners possessed in carrying on this trade, above British subjects? Undoubtedly, if the plan of marquis Wellesley was to be acted upon, and if the private property of British traders was to be sent home in ships of the country instead of ships sent out by the Company, Foreigners would possess no advantage. But, on the other hand, if the plan was given up, if the Company were to send out ships to bring home private property, and if they were to be allowed to assort and manage the cargoes as heretofore, these checks went certainly to put the British merchant in a far worse situation than that in which the Foreigner was placed. On the subject of colonization he had only a few words to offer; and, though it might seem to contradict the sentiments he had been endeavouring to support, he had no hesitation in saying that he was decidedly hostile to any system which would attempt to colonize our eastern possessions. America had been mentioned, and our loss of it had been hinted at as a lesson upon the subject of colonization—America was a long while, indeed, before she was severed from this country. He would not say how long we could expect to retain our dominions in India; but he was a bold and sanguine man, indeed, who could expect our empire there to continue for 200 years. It appeared to him to be an empire of opinion, chiefly inspired by the awe of our first conquest; and it was our interest to pursue a plan that might [illegible] natives to reflect upon their own strength: for which reason he thought there was no found[illegible] in having a great many Europ[illegible]

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ſettled there; but rather that the plan of European ſettlers ſhould be diſcouraged, becauſe this muſt have the effect of teaching the natives in time the force of their own natural ſtrength. He concluded with obſerving, that there was one point which was important to be aſcertained, and upon which at preſent he felt a good deal of alarm. It was not ſtated by the chancellor of the exchequer, what ſyſtem was to be followed when the two years which were to be devoted to this experiment were expired.

Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER roſe to explain: he ſaid, that he ought before to have ſtated the terms which the Eaſt-India Company had declared themſelves willing to accede to. He then read a paper, containing the whole of thoſe terms; and concluded with ſaying, that it was the deſire of the Eaſt-India Company to afford every convenience to the private trade, that was not inconſiſtent with their undoubted rights and their moſt eſſential intereſts.

Mr. JOHNSTONE ſaid, he was obliged to the right honourable gentleman for the explanation he had given; but he ſtill was of opinion, that if any advantage was allowed to foreign flags, it would eventually deprive the port of London of that part of the trade. It was far from his wiſh to infringe upon the rights, or to injure the intereſts, of the Eaſt-India Company; but he did not conſider the preſent motion as having any ſuch tendency.

Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, the preſent was not a final arrangement, but only the baſis of a plan that might or might not hereafter be adopted.

Mr. WALLACE ſaid, the ſtatement of his right honourable friend (the chancellor of the exchequer) had reduced the queſtion to a very narrow point. The propoſition of the honourable baronet was evidently calculated, through the medium of a committee, purporting to examine merely the claims of private traders—to introduce a diſcuſſion relative to every part of our Indian affairs; which ſhould be guarded againſt with the ſtrongeſt jealouſy at this time, particularly when men's minds were warmed—when ſo many wild notions were entertained—when the moſt extravagant ſpeculations were indulged reſpecting the India Company, which ſtruck at the root of that eſtabliſhment. The principle upon which he ſhould vote in oppoſition to the honourable baronet's propoſal was, that he held it to be a direct attack upon the charter of the India Company, without any plea of juſtice or neceſſity. This might render him liable to the charge of inconſiſtency, in conſequence of his conduct at the board of controul; but he wiſhed to explain the nature of that conduct. That board had taken up the ſubject of private trade to India; but ſcarcely had they entered into the inveſtigation, when the honourable baronet moved for the papers on the table, which induced the board to ſuſpend their proceedings, (perceiving, from that motion, that it was intended to introduce the queſtion to parliament,) in order that it might come free and unfettered before the houſe. The right of the board of controul to interfere in this queſtion, he underſtood, had been doubted, on the ground that it was a commercial queſtion; but, from the act of 1793, it was manifeſted, that the board of controul was inveſted with powers ſufficient to juſtify their interference in the arrangements of a ſubject of

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ſo much national importance as that before the houſe, though it excluded them from meddling with the commercial concerns of the India Company. The opinion of Mr. Dundas, which upon all occaſions was entitled to reſpect and reverence, was confidently quoted in this diſcuſſion; but, in his judgement, the opinion of that right honourable gentleman went to an extent which no reaſon was advanced, or he believed could be advanced, to warrant. He for one was not prepared to go ſo far; though he admitted, in a great degree, the claims of the Engliſh merchants reſident in India. From the papers on the table, he drew his principal argument againſt the motion of the honourable baronet; for it appeared, that the India Company could not be found to allow the private trading at all beyond the amount of that ſettled by the act of 1793, unleſs it was intended glaringly to entrap their charter. In fact, however the motion might be diſguiſed, or dreſſed up, it would tend to put the ſpirit of the act of 1793 in oppoſition to its expreſs letter, and to introduce a queſtion between public faith and public expediency. The principles upon which that act was founded, he ſtated to be, to procure to the merchandiſe and manufactures of the Britiſh empire excluſively the market of India—to maintain the influence and power of the India Company, as interwoven with the power of the country, by ſecuring to them alone the communication between India and Europe. At that time a private trade did exiſt, under the patronage of the Company, but in a crippled ſtate. It was enlarged, and wiſely, for many reaſons. Among others, from the ſtate of timber in India, and the demand here, it was deſirable that India-built ſhips might be allowed to import it into Great Britain. It was alſo deſirable, as the marquis of Welleſley had ſo laudably endeavoured to exclude foreign influence, to prevent the effects of foreign intrigue, and the aggrandiſement of foreign power in India. That was the policy which ſaved India from the machinations of France. Now that by the treaty of peace the French eſtabliſhments were reſtored, it was more neceſſary than ever to perſevere in that ſyſtem; and, by giving facility to the trade of India with this country, we ſhould make the foreign factories ſcarcely worth maintaining. With reſpect to the danger apprehended from colonization in India, it was the moſt chimerical and abſurd that could be imagined. Was it reaſonable to entertain any ſuch apprehenſions, in a country under the direction of a government ſo powerful, and ſupported by an immenſe army? He ſhewed that the extenſion of the private trade would be for the advantage of the India Company, by ſtating that in 1798 the profit of per centage to the India Company on goods belonging to private merchants was 2l. 6s. 9d. whereas in 1800 it amounted to 35l. As to the repreſentation, that the report which the laſcars might give in India of their Britiſh connexions in Wapping, tending to ſubvert the Britiſh dominions in India, or to reduce the Britiſh character, it was too ridiculous to deſerve a ſerious anſwer. He was not inclined to join with thoſe who ſuppoſed that theſe laſcars would ever be preferred to Britiſh ſeamen; for one obvious reaſon, that they were not ſo cheap to the merchant, and, it was neceſſary to add, they were leſs ſkilful. Indeed it was not by any means probable that Britiſh merchants would

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prefer any foreign ſeaman to that of their own country—would ungratefully refuſe employment to him who had expoſed himſelf to all the toils and dangers of war to give peace to his country.—If, however, it ſhould ſo happen, it would be for the legiſlature to interfere, and to take care that every nurſery for our ſailors ſhould be preſerved. That the marine of Foreigners ſhould not be advanced by Britiſh capital—that Antwerp, a port ſo much talked of as likely to partake of the trade to India, ſhould not receive that wealth which might hereafter be employed againſt us by that power which God and Nature had to a certain degree made our enemy, [*A cry of Hear! hear!*] and enable them to conteſt with us the ſovereignty of the ſeas. He applauded the diſpoſition manifeſted by the India Company to adjuſt the diſpute with the private traders, and hoped the plan propoſed for the two enſuing years would prove a ſatisfactory experiment, and ſerve as the baſis of ſome future arrangement, calculated to call forth all the energy of commerce in that department, and to advantage the country. If the honourable gentleman who ſupported the motion of the honourable baronet, had examined the ſtate of our Indian trade, he would have found, that the ſhipping in the Red Sea, conſiſting of 20,000 tons, was likely to be more than ſufficient for the propoſed importation of the Indian produce in private trade in 1803: when it was recollected, that the whole tonnage of Bengal during the laſt ſeaſon did not exceed 7000 tons; and yet the marquis of Wellesley will be authoriſed, if neceſſary, to employ more ſhipping: therefore, all the ſuggeſtions which had been thrown out as to the probability of Foreigners partaking of our Indian commerce, from want of ſhipping of our own to import the ſurplus of Indian produce, was entirely groundleſs. With theſe views of the ſubject, he would ever give his moſt decided oppoſition to any propoſal endangering the eſtabliſhment of the India Company; convinced that its exiſtence, through the medium of a well regulated monopoly, was eſſential to the ſecurity of the ſtate; and that the transfer of the authority which it poſſeſſed to the government, would give it a degree of overawing power, that would render the exiſtence of the conſtitution itſelf extremely precarious.

Sir FRANCIS BARING roſe, he ſaid, very reluctantly to obtrude himſelf upon the attention of the houſe, on a queſtion which ſeemed already to have been ſo ably diſcuſſed by the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer,) and the honourable member who ſpoke laſt. But upon a ſubject of ſo much importance, and in which he was perſonally and officially intereſted, he hoped the houſe would indulge him in a few ſhort obſervations. The honourable baronet who introduced this queſtion, called it a commercial one, materially involving the trading rights of this country; but he would beg leave to term it a queſtion in ſupport of the claims of an illegitimate deſcription of traders, againſt the intereſt and chartered rights of a legal and legitimate body, whoſe intereſts and whoſe objects muſt of neceſſity participate in thoſe of the empire; for, in fact, under the former deſcription only could he eſtimate thoſe men in India from whom originated this queſtion. They were children riſing againſt their parents—ſervants labouring to ſubvert the intereſts of their maſters—creatures who owed every thing

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thing that they poſſeſſed to the patronage, protection, and ſupport of that very Company whoſe legal authority and legitimate intereſt they now ſought to ſubvert, under the pretence of vindicating the commercial rights of Britiſh ſubjects; but in reality with a view to convert this country into a colony, and India into a mother country, and to lay the foundation of future ſubverſion to the inſtitution of the India Company, which the legiſlature of this country had ſo long cheriſhed and ſupported, on the fulleſt conviction of its importance to the ſtrength, wealth and proſperity of the Britiſh empire. For who, he would aſk, were thoſe *reputable* authorities, from whom the honourable baronet, who introduced this motion, derived his authority on this ſubject, but the ſervants of the Company in India, (who owed every thing they poſſeſſed to that Company,) and their correſpondents in this country, conniving with them to wreſt, if poſſible, all the advantage of India commerce out of the hands of its legal poſſeſſors. The honourable baronet had termed the court of directors a court of ariſtocracy, whoſe authority was as dangerous to the true intereſts of the Company, as it was to thoſe of this country, in relation to the poſſeſſion of India. But he begged leave to vindicate the directors from ſuch a charge—As one of that reſpectable body, inſtead of aſſuming ſo high and mighty an authority as the honourable baronet was pleaſed to attribute, he felt indeed a very humble ſenſe of his ſituation, and regarded it only as one in which he participated the duty of making over the intereſts and commercial rights of traders to India reſidents in this country, and in the exerciſe of which duty he and his colleagues were bound by the letter of an act of parliament.—Upon the introduction of the act of 1793, for renewing the charter of the India Company, a principal object avowed by parliament was the promotion of intereſt to the manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland; and on the part of the Company, it was earneſtly deſired that the parties intereſted would come forward and ſtate what they wanted—and even what they wiſhed, in order that every claim might be complied with to their ſatisfaction. The conſequence of which was, that a ſtipulation was brought forward by the right honourable gentleman who introduced that bill, (Mr. Dundas,) a man than whom none was more fully competent to frame a bill upon that particular ſubject, which required that 8000 tons of ſhipping ſhould be uptaken by the Company for the purpoſe of carrying the private trade to India, and bringing back produce in return. To this the directors fully agreed, and even declared their own indifference as to the nation of which ſuch ſhip ſhould be, whether Iriſh or Engliſh. But if any deſcription of ſhips was to be propoſed, ſubverſive of the principle which was to make the river Thames the medium of reception, or on board of which Britiſh ſeamen were not to be the navigators, the directors were prepared decidedly to reject it. Any departure from this principle would have been injurious to the intereſts of the Britiſh Navy. But if this ſtipulation was not made, the perſons in India, from whom the preſent queſtion originated, would have decidedly rejected Britiſh ſhips, have preferred their own teak veſſels; and, inſtead of confining their commerce to the Thames for promoting the intereſts of Britiſh manufactures,

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nufactures, would have made uſe of them to carry on a trade with all the ports in Europe. Such was the conduct in the ſervants of the Company in India, who have made their fortunes under the protection of the Company. But what was the pretence of thoſe perſons for employing India-built veſſels inſtead of Britiſh? That they could ſupply Europe with the produce of India upon terms conſiderably cheaper. But what was the proof on the contrary? Why that Mr. Pellier, a French agent, had offered the government in India to pay a price for their commodities on the ſpot adequate to 10 per cent. over and above the inveſtment price, and to convey them to Europe in French bottoms. How then could any individual in the private trade pretend that he could ſupply France with India commodities cheaper than the India Company?

With reſpect to the nature of the homeward India trade, it was, he ſaid, divided under three diſtinct heads, viz.

Firſt—The foreign trade.

Secondly—The private trade to the river Thames.

Thirdly—The Company's own trade.

By the laſt returns at the India houſe, it appeared that the private trade had increaſed, within the laſt two years, 2 or 300,000l.; the foreign in a ſtill greater proportion: but it was uniformly found, that the trade of the Company decreaſed, as that of the private traders advanced; and, conſequently, their commercial intereſts were injured, not by foreigners, but by their own ſervants. The foreign trade, in fact, had increaſed of late years more than ever—but with this difference, that not a ſingle article of foreign manufacture was conſumed in our India ſettlements, ſilver only being the article in exchange for the commodities of the country, while Britiſh manufactures were the only articles of European conſumption, and taken in exchange for the produce brought home to England. With reſpect to ſhipping, he begged leave to ſtate the reaſon why the growth of ſhip timber in this country was not greater; it was, becauſe there was not a competition ſufficient for its encouragement. The navy board held out no adequate inducement for country gentlemen to grow their timber to an extraordinary ſize; and therefore they cut it down only at that ſize when, by competition between the navy and the private ſhip-builders, they were ſure of a good price; but he was convinced that the propoſed importation of large ſhips from India, to ſupply our navy, was to place the Engliſh country gentleman in a ſtill worſe ſtate than before, with regard to the growth of timber.—With reſpect to the employment of laſcars in preference to Britiſh ſeamen, ſuch an idea he believed was too ridiculous to require refutation; but with reſpect to that deſcription of ſeamen brought to this country by the homeward bound ſhips from India, the difference was this—The India Company alone had provided for them an eſtabliſhment affording them maintenance and protection, and inſured their return to their native country; whereas it was the intereſt, and ſeemingly the object of the private trader, to induce them to deſert, and then abandon them to their fate. The directors of the India Company acted on the whole of this buſineſs, not from any impulſe of private intereſt, but from a ſenſe of public duty: on that ground, they bowed to no man, however high his rank or ſtation, and

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and therefore he could not admit the charge imputed to them by the honourable baronet, of having acted from principles of self-interest upon self-elected authority. But the persons from whom the representations of the honourable baronet originated—though they were viewed by the discernment of lord Cornwallis in a just point of view, as individuals whose private interests were opposed to those of the Company, to whom they owed every thing, and as such kept at a distance by that noble lord, were, on the contrary, taken to the arms of marquis Wellesley, favoured by his confidence, and by him supported, in direct opposition to the interests of the Company. And what was the conduct of those very men in the last year? Why, that, acting as private traders, their investments being on board private ships, which sailed singly, they reached India long before the Company's fleet, which was obliged to await the completion of all their cargoes, and sail in company with convoy; by which means the private ships had not only forestalled the markets there before their arrival, but bought up new freights of country goods for remittance to England, to forestall them there also. Furnished with such privileges as these, the private traders enjoyed greater advantages and indulgence than the Company under their charter; for they, in fact, enjoyed all the advantages of trade, without paying any thing for the political expenses of maintaining it. But, not contented with a participation even on such terms, they now made a demand, which, if acceded to, nothing more was left to grant, and a foundation would be thereby laid for the speedy subversion of the Company. But, however specious the pretences of those men, with respect to the cheapness of freights on board of India built ships, he was convinced they would be rendered completely nugatory by the events of peace. The project was taken up in a period of war, and in the full contemplation of its continuance; and it was consequently followed up for the present. But it would be found, that the consequent abatements in the rate of freightage on board British vessels, the cessation of all risks from war, and the expense of convoy, would so reduce the expenses of freight in British bottoms, and still more in other vessels of Europe, as completely to do away every claim of preference to India-built vessels. But, even suppose a preference was still due on account of cheapness to India-built vessels, he begged to know why the India Company should be precluded from the advantage, under a charter for which it so dearly paid?—or why a preference should be given to their servants—or, if the spirit of the British Navigation Act was to be rigidly maintained in respect to the former, upon what ground of justice or expediency was it to be relaxed in favour of the latter? Sir Francis concluded his arguments, by expressing his opinion that no ground had been laid before the house to warrant the motion of the honourable baronet, and by giving to that motion his decided negative.

Mr. METCALFE, after the full and able discussion which the subject had already undergone, felt it necessary to apologize to the house for trespassing on their attention. He should, however, trouble them as shortly as possible, and confine his observations principally to two points.—The first was, the source from which the motion now before the house originated. It was from

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a combination, long, inſidiouſly and clandeſtinely carried on by perſons in India, who had been the ſervants of the Company, and who owed the means they poſſeſſed ſolely to the auſpices and protection of that Company.—Theſe men, aided by accomplices in England, men of no inconſiderable property, and amongſt whom were men of no mean talents, had for a long time ſet up an intereſt, and for many years paſt carried on a trade, directly oppoſite and violatory to the intereſts of their maſters; and this fully illuſtrated the deſcription given by the honourable baronet oppoſite to him, (Sir Francis Baring,) of children riſing againſt their parents; but, not content with availing themſelves of the privilege of tonnage, which they enjoyed under the laſt act for renewing the charter of the India Company, they availed themſelves of the flags of foreign nations, and ſupplied all the countries of Europe with the produce of India, to the great injury of the Britiſh Eaſt India Company; and to ſuch a pitch was this clandeſtine trade carried, that at one time they actually had 50,000 tons of ſhipping at Calcutta, under foreign flags, ready to carry their commodities to every port in Europe, and their ſettlements elſewhere: but the ſpirited conduct of the governor of St. Helena ſoon checked their progreſs, by ſeizing ſeveral of thoſe ſhips, and ſending them for the inveſtigation of a court of admiralty, many of which were condemned as lawful prizes; and the reſt ſaved, as many a felon frequently is, by dint of ſuborned perjury, but leaving in the minds of the court the fulleſt conviction of the moral injuſtice of their acquittal. Having thus loſt their intereſt in the conveyance by neutral bottoms, they now came forward with a propoſition, of carrying on their trade with England in their own teak ſhips; and they had found means to intereſt in their cauſe, under the ſpecioufneſs of their pretences, ſeveral men of reſpectability and character, ſuch as the honourable baronet, and particularly the marquis Welleſley, who had not been above fourteen days in India when he completely adopted the ſyſtem recommended, and ſent home his earneſt recommendation to the court of directors for the adoption of that ſyſtem which formed the topic of this night's diſcuſſion. For the talents and character of that noble lord he wiſhed to expreſs the higheſt reſpect; it was natural enough for a great man of his deſcription, on aſſuming the government of a great and extenſive country, to endeavour, in the firſt inſtance, to inform himſelf, from the beſt authorities on the ſpot, of the nature and ſituation of the country in certain leading points. He would naturally be led to conſult military men as to its actual ſtrength, and commercial men as to the exiſting ſituation of its trade; but how he ſhould come to conſult a ſet of private traders in the country upon the intereſts of the India Company, who were directly oppoſed to thoſe intereſts, and ſuddenly take thoſe men to his confidence, was a matter for which he owned himſelf at a loſs to account. The object of the honourable baronet was, to convey home from India the ſurplus produce purchaſed by the fortunes of the Company's ſervants; but the mode he propoſed very conſiderably outſtretched that of Mr. Dundas, and aimed at nothing leſs than the opening of the privileges of the charter to thoſe private traders

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ders who were the objects of his advocacy—the consequence of which would be, that memorials would come from every community of traders in Great Britain and Ireland to participate in the privilege; and, he doubted not, such were at this moment ready to be presented, if the motion of the baronet should have its desired success. The right honourable member who framed the last India bill, and to whose talents he paid the highest acknowledgements, did, as was his duty as a minister, make the best bargain in his power for his country, and obtained the highest price that he could for renewing the monopoly. But it ought surely to be recollected, that the legislature, in passing that act, had pledged its faith to the Company and to the Country: and he trusted that faith would not now be violated, upon the motion of any individual, or set of men, without the fullest proof of justice and necessity. The question was not, whether this private company, or that set of individuals, had the smallest or the largest share of advantage, upon which the affairs of a great nation were to be governed. Such a conduct would be in direct violation of the policy of every great statesman since the reign of queen Anne. And if the charters of the India Company were to be violated on such grounds, contrary to national faith, where, he would ask, was the security for those of the Bank of England, of the city of London, or the many other great charters with which the liberty, the prosperity, and security of the nation were so materially connected?—So deep was the scheme of those men who had chosen the worthy baronet for their champion, that he had the fullest proof of many of the documents which found their way to England, on resolutions passed in India in support of the honourable baronet's project, being actually fabricated in England, and sent out to India, in order to find their way back again in an authentic shape. He concluded by cautioning the house maturely to pause, and not lightly to adopt any project so fraught with injury to that Company, which, if once ruined, the sun of the British empire must set, to rise no more.

Mr. WILLIAM DUNDAS was as unwilling to violate the chartered rights of the India Company, as settled by law, as any man could be; but, when the Company had avowed their willingness to concede in favour of private trade, he felt it his duty to close with them, and to accept their concession on the part of the public.—An honourable baronet opposite to him had said, that 8,000 tons of shipping, appointed by the India Company, was sufficient for the conveyance of the private trade between England and India; but he would ask, how this could possibly answer for a trade so very much increased since the settlement of this regulation? The honourable baronet had also asserted, that such was the state of opposition between the private traders and the Company's interest, or the home trade with India, that, in proportion as the former increased, the latter always decreased. Unfortunately for this assertion, there were such things as figures, which could not err; and from the last authentic statements on this subject, he would read to the honourable baronet the refutation of this assertion:—

	£.
In the year 1794-5 the sales of the India Company amounted to...	5,521,000.
The private sales....	1,053,000.

From

From this period they continued in progreſſive increaſe till the year 1801-2.

When the Company's	£.
ſales were.....	7,600,000
The private ſales....	2,382,000

A proof this of the rapid increaſe in both. He commended the conduct of marquis Welleſley; and declared, that his procedure with regard to the permiſſion of adopting India-built ſhips, was to prevent the preference to foreign flags then floating in Bengal river; and with reſpect to the argument of the honourable baronet, that the importation of India-built ſhips would be deemed injurious to the intereſt of Engliſh country gentlemen, at the time when the ſcarcity and high price of ſhip-timber at home might be ſo amply obviated by the produce of Indian foreſts, inexhauſtible to human labour, he expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that ſuch an argument ſhould be offered in a country ſo highly indebted for her greatneſs to the ſuperiority of her navy.

Sir FRANCIS BARING, in explanation, obſerved, that the directors were willing to agree as far as reſpected ſhips of war, but wiſhed to ſtop when they came to commercial ſhips.

Mr. W. DUNDAS alſo ſpoke in explanation.

Mr. METCALFE, in explanation, adverted to what had been ſaid of the indulgences proper to be granted to the private trader; and expreſſed his opinion, that in the preſent circumſtances of the country, it would be neither wiſe nor politic entirely to exclude foreign traders, more eſpecially at a period when ſuch important arrangements were about to be made with our late adverſaries; the attempt, he ſaid, would involve us in diſputes with every commercial power in America and in Europe, and moſt probably tend to ſhorten the duration of the bleſſings of peace.

Mr. JONES obſerved, that did he deem himſelf in the leaſt warranted to conſider the propoſition of the honourable baronet in the light which gentlemen oppoſite ſeemed to view it, he ſhould be very ſorry to be one of its ſupporters. He denied that, if granted, it would ſacrifice the foreign trade of India, or, that it might be uſed as an engine for the deſtruction of the Company's charter. To him the arguments of his honourable friend for going into a committee appeared ſtrong and irreſiſtible: even the ſturdy fact advanced by an honourable baronet who argued againſt the motion, was in his mind a ſtrong additional inducement to the inquiry. He thought the affairs of India, from the ſituation of the Company, and the conſideration of their debts, called for an inquiry. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he underſtood him, had ſaid that the directors had given every practicable facility to the encouragement of the private trade; in his opinion, however, the directors had not given due encouragement to that deſcription of traders under the act of 1793. He entertained none of thoſe fears which ſome gentlemen ſeemed to cheriſh with reſpect to the adoption of the propoſition, nor did he think that by it we ſhould loſe the ſovereignty of the ſeas. The application was, not for an attack upon the charter, but only for an inquiry into a grievance, the exiſtence of which was acknowledged by government, the board of control, the directors themſelves, and a great number of proprietors. The object of the ſupporters of the motion was fair and laudable; and its adoption would tend to the ſalva-

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tion of the India Company, the general prosperity of the nation, and, above all, to the extension of her trade.

Mr. TIERNEY apologised for troubling the house on a question already so fully discussed; and observed, that his principal reason for saying any thing on the subject was merely to avoid giving a silent vote on the subject. The first ground on which he should oppose the motion, was the charter of the India Company, which vested in the court of directors the sole control in this affair; and, without violating that charter, and with it the faith of the nation on which it stood supported, it was impossible to comply with the motion of the worthy baronet. If he conceived there was any thing in that charter contrary to the public welfare, or that the motion before the house was calculated to remove any such principle in the privileges of the India Company, there was no man in the house less disposed than he was to be deterred by such *cant* as the phrase of "Chartered Rights," from acceding to the inquiry proposed. But neither proof nor argument had been adduced this night to convince him that any necessity for such inquiry existed. The bill for renewing the charter of the India Company had been drawn by an able hand; and by this bill a line was drawn, by which the limits of private and public trade with India were amicably adjusted by parliament. A regulation was in reality exacted from the Company in favour of private traders, by which three thousand ton of shipping was exclusively appointed for the convenience of the private trade; and discretionary powers vested in the court of directors to extend that quantity if occasion should require. But now an attempt was made for opening that bill again to consideration, in his mind impolitic and unnecessary. Not a single petition came forward from any community or individual for the purpose; not one single remonstrance or proof was adduced, of any injury to any party, or necessity for amendment or redress. Where, then, were the assertions of the honourable baronet supported? Not by the public voice, for in all England there did not appear to be 500 persons in support of his opinions. At a court of proprietors, indeed, about 240 signatures were procured; and at other opportunities about 40 or 50 more. But was this a ground sufficient to warrant the house in bringing forward the inquiry proposed? A board of control had been appointed under the act, and the rates of freight settled, at 15l. per ton outwards, and 5l. home, subject to further revisions as occasion might require. But did it ever enter into the contemplation of any man, could the honourable baronet say, that India-built shipping was intended by the act; or that, if such an idea had been offered at the time of passing the act, it would not have been decidedly rejected? Indeed, without the sanction of an act of parliament, he thought it would be wholly inadmissible to treat of the subject. He remembered a proposition of the sort being brought forward by the India Company some years ago, and he well recollected the general alarm it created on both sides of the river. What was the claim set up by the men who now demanded such a privilege? Why no pretence of right, but a pretty plain menace, that if you refused them the privilege, they were ready to do the worst thing they possibly could—to employ the ships of rival

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val nations; a menace which in his mind did not go to entitle them to much indulgence from that houſe. The worthy baronet had ſanctioned his propoſal under the name and example of the marquis Welleſley. To that nobleman, high in character and learning, no man was more ready to pay reſpectful deference than he was; and, had the queſtion been one of claſſical reſearch, no man would have more cheerfully bowed ſubmiſſion to the judgement of the noble lord. But, upon the ſubject of the policy and regulation for the government of India, in which his lordſhip's experience was ſo extremely ſhort at the time alluded to by the worthy baronet, he was not quite ſo ready to ſurrender his own judgement.—He had heard opinions with reſpect to that country aſſerted by honourable and right honourable members in that houſe, who aſſumed the profoundeſt knowledge of India affairs, which he had ſeen as frequently contradicted by events. The houſe had been told by a right honourable gentleman who introduced the Eaſt India charter, that this country would very ſhortly derive an aid of half a million a year from the India Company, in the rapidly riſing proſperity of their affairs. He ſhould have no objection to ſee the money brought forward; but, unfortunately for the prophet, his prediction was yet unfulfilled. He expreſſed his ſincere regret that this queſtion had ever been brought forward in parliament; but that rather, if conceſſions were to be made, they had not come cordially and ſpontaneouſly from the directors themſelves, rather than ſeem to be the reſult of an appeal to parliament. Becauſe in India, where every thing depends ſo much on opinion, if once an idea went forth, that the ſervants of the Company were able to triumph over their maſters in an appeal to parliament, there was no calculating the miſchiefs that might enſue—for if once any ſubordinate power was allowed to make head againſt the court of directors, their authority would be at an end. If the uſe of India ſhipping was ſuch a tower of ſtrength to the ſervants of the Company, why not equally advantageous to the Company themſelves? But, if once granted to the ſervants, he had the moſt ſerious fears for the extent of colonization in India. For, allowing that the agents were to obtain what they wiſhed, would their claims end there? Would ſuch claimants be content with what they now pretend is the full meaſure of their deſires? If the charter of the Company were once attacked and laid open, what ſecurity would there remain for any excluſive privilege or regulation which now exiſts? If cheapneſs in the conduct of the trade be the grand argument of the agents, conſider to what it might go:—it might be found out that the trade was not carried on moſt advantageouſly to the port of London; it might be ſaid that greater facilities, that cheaper warehouſes, &c. could be obtained at Liverpool, at Glaſgow, or any other port of Great Britain or Ireland. New applications would be made, memorials and complaints would pour in on every ſide againſt the obſtacles raiſed by the Company, and demanding new facilities, till the whole ſyſtem of the India Company, and the preſent connexion of this country with India, was deſtroyed. Theſe claimants would have the popular ſide of the queſtion; they would hold out the captivating language of bringing all the trade of India to the port of London: it would

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would be ſaid, that we might eaſily exclude foreigners from participating our advantages; London, they would ſay, would be rendered the emporium of all the world; and there would not be wanting thoſe who would be charmed with thoſe brilliant proſpects. But in fact it was doubtful whether, if practicable, it was advantageous that foreigners ſhould be deprived of their ſhare in the trade. He ſaw no advantage in producing that envy and diſguſt among other nations which would render peace inſecure. But, in fact, it was not poſſible to exclude foreigners. It was proved, that, though the private trade had increaſed, the trade of foreign nations with Britiſh India had increaſed likewiſe. Complaints had been made that the act of 1793 had not ſucceeded in its objects, and that now it was neceſſary to carry its ſpirit into effect. This, indeed, appeared a ſtrange concluſion. For his part, on the face of it there appeared to be ground to think that it had ſucceeded, and that in the very point of the private trade. It appeared that, in the year previous to the paſſing of that act, the private trade had amounted in value to about 800,000l. and now it had advanced to 2,800,000l. The danger of colonization, the increaſe of trade had an obvious tendency to render greater. The Company would naturally, therefore, be more careful in granting licenſes for reſidence in their territories. But would it not be required that, with the increaſe of trade, a greater number of merchants ſhould be in India to carry it on? What bounds then could be ſet to the increaſe of reſident merchants in India? It was true, that the circumſtances of India and America were very unlike. In America every thing was wild and uncultivated. In India every thing is made. Beſides other eſtabliſhments there was an army; and, though the fidelity and merit of that army were indiſputable, it ought not to be forgotten, that ſuch were the habits of the Company's ſervants, that the military, among others, expected to profit by any new facilities of trade. Houſes would be eſtabliſhed, and become hereditary in India, with immenſe wealth. It was ſaid that capital would find its way to England; it would go to the mother country. He did not doubt that it would ſeek the mother country; but in a new ſtate of things, and new hereditary commercial eſtabliſhments, it was not ſo eaſy to determine which was the mother country.—The real mother country is that where a man reſides, that where he enjoys his advantages; and ſurely this view of the caſe would be moſt natural to thoſe who profeſs to be guided merely by views of cheapneſs and ſuperior gain. What certainty would there be of all Aſiatic commerce centering in England, when thoſe who now are ſo patriotically deſirous of bringing it excluſively to the port of London, profeſs themſelves ready, if they are diſappointed in their aims, to carry that trade to other ports, for the temptation of the additional gain of 4 or 5 per cent.? But in a more large and national point of view, was it nothing that Engliſh ſhip-building was to be transferred to India? It was pretended, that the ſhip-builders in the Thames would be equally benefited by the repair of India-built ſhips coming to the river. This, however, was not well founded. He ſaw, on looking over a document on the caſe, that out of 200,000l. expended one year on ſhips of this deſcription

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tion, not 20,000l. was expended in articles that really belonged to ship-building. It was a very ſerious matter that the work of the ſhip-builders at home ſhould be tranſferred to any other quarter. He had devoted conſiderable attention to the whole of this ſubject; and he had been informed, on good authority, that before the American war, the Company, in conſequence of embarraſſments, ſuſpended their uſual contracts for ſhips; in conſequence of which there was an alarming emigration among the ſhip-builders, till at laſt the Company, with great liberality, agreed to lay down ſeveral ſhips for which they had no occaſion, merely to prevent ſuch a national calamity. Was it proper then to hazard a ſimilar effect, by giving ſo much encouragement to India-built ſhips in the import of Indian produce? Nothing could juſtify it, unleſs there was an abſolute ſcarcity of Engliſh ſhip-timber, which he did not believe was much to be feared. Or, if this was the caſe, he had no objection that teak wood, as timber, ſhould be brought to this country in aid of our own growth. He could not conſent, however, that India-built veſſels ſhould be ſet up in rivalſhip to our own ſhipping. But, though it was not likely that we ſhould depend on foreign countries for navy timber, he did not ſee that there was ſo much to be dreaded from the ſcarcity of timber at home, as ſome might think. At preſent there were many things eſſential to the outfit of ſhips, and which was as neceſſary as the hull, for which we were obliged to depend upon foreign nations. Certainly, however, after the ſervices of our dock-yards at home, thoſe concerned in them, as proprietors or as labourers, might have reaſon to complain if advantages againſt them were given to India-built ſhips; and it ought to be remembered how uſeful, on many occaſions, the dock-yards appropriated chiefly to Eaſt India ſhipping had been. It was known, that but very lately, during the alarm of invaſion, 30 gun-veſſels had been built in ſome of thoſe yards with extraordinary rapidity. But with reſpect even to the cheapneſs of India-built ſhips, he was not convinced. In the price of the timber alone could that cheapneſs conſiſt, as moſt of the articles of outfit were ſent out from this country. But granting that they might be cheaper, the India Company had offered to ſupply Britiſh tonnage even at a loſs. But the agents contended, that the Company would ruin itſelf by ſuch a proceeding, and were too generous to accept the offer! In his opinion, however, even if the Company loſe a little, it would be more than compenſated by the advantages accruing to Britiſh ſhipping. Upon the whole, when he conſidered the offers made by the Company, he thought the directors did rather too much than too little. Every thing in India depended upon the opinion entertained of the Company's vigour and firmneſs. Their ſervants, he feared, would conſider this already as a victory over them. The court of directors were accuſed of throwing difficulties in the way of the free trade; but he rather thought that their readineſs to grant facilities produced unreaſonable demands. If they were to ſhew that the agents ſhould not triumph over them, he was ſtrongly inclined to think that many of the difficulties now ſo loudly complained of, and exaggerated by their runners in all quarters, would vaniſh. Then Engliſh

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ſhips and Engliſh tonnage would be found to have much fewer inconveniences, and India-built ſhips fewer of thoſe ſuperior advantages for which they were recommended. Having conſidered it his duty to pay a good deal of attention to this important ſubject, he had thus ſtated his ſentiments on a few points, and ſhould have commented on ſeveral others had they not already been ſo ably argued. On the whole he was decidedly againſt the motion.

Lord GLENBERVIE differed from his honourable friend who had juſt ſat down, reſpecting the agitation of the preſent queſtion. He was of opinion, that the notice of the motion had no doubt contributed to ſuggeſt that liberality on the part of the Company to meet the wiſhes of the merchants, which had been announced from high authority. Nay, the departure of the court of directors from the ſtrict letter of the act of 1793, proved that they were not of the ſentiment, that by the ſtrict rigour of that law they were to be governed, eſpecially when advantages could be extended to private trade, without injuring their own excluſive rights, and the public intereſt.—The argument of his honourable friend againſt the authority of the late preſident of the board of control in this affair, appeared by no means concluſive. Was it a proof that the object of that right honourable gentleman, the framer of the act of 1793, had failed, becauſe experience had ſhown that after a lapſe of eight years the quantity of tonnage allowed, and the mode of carrying on the private trade recogniſed, were not ſufficient for the fair demands of that trade; demands which the propoſitions now ſubmitted by the Company ſhowed to be, in a certain degree, reaſonable? With reſpect to India-built ſhips, he muſt in the firſt place remark, that he could not ſee that in point of law thoſe ſhips were not entitled to all the privilege of Britiſh-built ſhips; and if a clauſe had been introduced in a particular act, by which they were declared capable of bringing home India produce, any doubt on the ſubject aroſe from the want, in India, of thoſe officers whoſe certificate of regiſtry was neceſſary, under the act called Lord Hawkeſbury's act, to aſcertain the privilege of ſhips built in the Britiſh ſettlements; the right, he conceived, could not be diſputed, and it had long ſince been found, by legal deciſion, that a ſhip built at Surat was on the footing of Britiſh-built veſſels. He might perhaps differ from his honourable friend likewiſe as to the cheapneſs of teak ſhips; but at all events, from the opinion of the beſt judges, the admiralty, and a commiſſion appointed to report on the ſubject, there was too much reaſon to apprehend a ſcarcity of ſhip timber, the growth of this country, and therefore it was politic to ſave it as much as poſſible. It was aſcertained, too, that teak ſhips were in many reſpects ſuperior to oak, particularly as they were lighter in the water, and more durable, ſo that they might be conſidered as cheaper. His lordſhip then alluded to the paragraphs in the diſpatches of the court of directors to the governor-general, which the board of control had been of opinion ſhould not be ſent out. He had concurred in that opinion; and the agitation of the queſtion now in diſcuſſion was the reaſon why he thought they ſhould not be ſent out laſt ſeaſon. It appeared to his mind ſtill, that ſince the correſpondence of the board of commiſſioners with the court of directors, and particularly ſince

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since the first notice of this motion given by the honourable baronet, enough had been made out, enough had been admitted by the Company, to shew that a parliamentary inquiry might be necessary. An inquiry however, he always thought was a thing to be avoided, if possible, as there was no saying to what lengths it might go; but now he conceived that the reasons for inquiry had ceased. The propositions made by the court of directors agreed that the trade should for two years be allowed to be brought home in toonage now in India. This permission given to the private trade would evince what would be proper to be done in future. It would try the effect of the peace. He hoped that it was reasonable to look forward to two years of peace; and though, doubtless, the *possibility* of future war between this country and France was not to be placed out of view, he thought it unpleasant to anticipate war, at a near period, and to view the peace as altogether unsafe. If on trial it was found that the indulgence granted by the Company did not injure its interests, a system of regulations, to continue during the existence of the charter, might then be adopted. For the present, however, all ground for inquiry was removed, not only by this offer, but by that other one by which the merchants seemed to be at liberty to offer tenders on the Company for India shipping. This, however, was not a condition of the other propositions for allowing the private trade to be sent home for two years, the merchants were at liberty to accept the one without waiving themselves of the other. Upon the whole, therefore, he should vote for the present question.

Mr. R. Thornton remarked upon the terms in which the honourable baronet had spoken of the directors, calling them all *Triumvirs*, &c. He said, that the directors were all men who acted from no improper motives of advantage or patronage: that they had a laborious duty to perform, and they performed it with conscientiousness. It surely was a presumption that they were convinced of the justice, policy, and rectitude of their proceedings, when thirty gentlemen, in no conspiracy against the public interest, concurred in their views. He contended, that the regulated monopoly of the Company was the only way of rendering the British empire in India beneficial to the state. He remarked also, that it was very singular that, though the merchants complained of want of facilities, they had in no one year occupied the quantity of 5000 tons allotted to them; and it was a proof of the liberality of the directors, that they did not stand upon the strict letter of the act of 1793, but were ready to give any indulgences to private trade not incompatible with the interest of the great body for whom they were trustees.

Sir James Murray Pulteney declared, that his views in promoting the extension of the private trade, as well as those of his honourable relation, were chiefly to prevent the injury which the country must sustain from too great encouragement being given to foreign trade in India; and the only way to prevent that, would be to afford a greater facility to the British capitalist to carry on private trade in India-built ships. The interest of the Company, as well as that of individuals, would be promoted by such a plan. It was said, that the court of directors were ready to per-

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quit this private trade; but it was also in their power to prevent it, and that was the grievance chiefly complained of.

Sir Wm. Pulteney, in reply, admitted that the propositions which had been read by the chancellor of the exchequer contained in appearance considerable concessions; but, when examined, they would be found to fall greatly short. Permission was to be given for the merchants in India to send home for two years their produce in India ships; but the first year it was already known that the ships were coming home with produce, and for the second year it was known that for a great part of the shipping in the Red Sea, to which the indulgence was extended, marquis Wellesley had actually stipulated this permission, on account of their services in the expedition; and it would no doubt have appeared invidious, if more tonnage than that in the Red Sea should be wanted, that the governor-general should refuse his permission for employing an additional quantity. The next point was, what was to be done after those two years? On this head he did not see that the propositions came up to the just demands of the case. The merchants were allowed to make tenders here of shipping to be sent home from India; but as so much time must elapse in the correspondence with India on the subject, and the quantities of tonnage required might so vary in the interval, much inconvenience might arise. Besides, although for the first two years the merchants were allowed to load and average their own cargoes, in future their goods were to go through the Company's warehouses, and be shipped by their servants — inconveniences which would be extremely felt, and which greatly diminished the value of the indulgence; and, in fact, by this reservation the Company might throw those obstacles in the way of the private trade, which there was too much reason to believe it was their wish to do. With respect to the tenders of India tonnage to be made here to the court of directors, he conceived the number of eight years, for which the ships were to be engaged, was a disadvantage. To a fixed public company such a condition might be advantageous; but it could not be so to the private merchant, whose views, interests, and speculations might so greatly vary during that period. Indeed he could not help thinking the propositions of the directors illusory, and as showing a determined disposition to withhold every facility from the private trade. So much was this his opinion, that he saw no prospect of an arrangement on the present footing, but confidently believed that the matter must again come before parliament for its intervention. The chancellor of the exchequer himself thought, that if no satisfaction had been given by the court of directors, parliament might have interfered to carry into effect the act of 1793. For his own part, he not only thought it competent to parliament to interfere, but that it was called on to give efficiency to the spirit and intent of its own act. It was a different case from that of a judge interpreting law; parliament had a right to take means to carry into execution what clearly were its own views. That the spirit of the act was such as he contended for, Sir William showed, by reading a letter from Mr. Dundas to Mr. Henchman, in which the right honourable gentleman says, that if the present dispute had at all come under

consideration, it would have formed the subject of an express clause in the act of 1793. So far the intention of the legislature was clear, from the opinion of the author of the measure. It was absurd, therefore, to talk of throwing the trade open, and predicting so many dangerous consequences from what was clearly the policy of the act renewing the Company's charter. With respect to the quantity of tonnage provided by the act of 1793, not being made use of by the merchants, the reason was obvious. The rate of freight was so high, that it would have been ruinous for the merchants to ship. From an authentic paper he showed, that, in 1798, the freight charged by the Company was 52l. while foreign bottoms could at the same time be procured in the port of Calcutta at the rate of 16l. per ton.—Upon the whole of the case, he was clearly of opinion, that it was necessary that the subject should again come to parliament before the lapse of the two years. It was necessary for the merchants to know what they had to look to, that they might be enabled to adopt arrangements accordingly. They could not trust to the uncertainties under which things were now left, and they must be obliged to come to parliament for a permanent and more equitable regulation, if it was not to be obtained from the policy and justice of the Company.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, he was anxious that the sentiment ascribed to him by the honourable baronet should not be misunderstood. He would not have resisted the intervention of parliament if there had appeared any disinclination on the part of the directors to carry into effect the true intent and meaning of the act of 1793, though he believed he differed materially from the honourable baronet as to what that extent and meaning was.

The previous question was carried without a division.

DECEMBER 9.

The report of the committee upon the regulations for India judicature was brought up. Mr. ALEXANDER presented the report, which contained the lists of the members elected by ballot to constitute the said judicature. After stating, that the names of all persons holding any civil office under the crown, or the office of a commissioner for the affairs of India, or holding any appointment in the service of the East India Company, had been struck out pursuant to the orders of parliament,

The following names were then read, of the members elected:

Lord visc. Castlereagh; Francis Annesley, esq.; Wm. Baker, esq.; lord visc. Clifden; sir J. Parnell, bart.; hon. W. H. Bouverie; T. W. Bramston, esq.; John Calcraft, esq.; W. R. Cartwright, esq.; William Currie, esq.; lord visc. Sudley; sir W. Elford, bart.; sir J. Frederick, bart.; sir Law. Parsons, bart.; Thomas Stanley, esq.; sir W. Geary, bart.; sir E. C. Hamopp, bart.; sir E. Knatchbull, bart.; hon. H. Lascelles; lord visc. Marsham; Wm. Mitford, esq.; W. Morton Pitt, esq.; sir W. Pulteney, bart.; hon. Richard Ryder; J. H. Strutt, esq.; Charles Adams, esq.; Hon. W. A. Townshend; lord visc. Cole; hon. J. S. Wortley; Edward Lee, esq.; sir J. Stuart, bart.; William Plumer, esq.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

FEBRUARY 26.

Lord MORRA brought forward the subject of the recent transaction at Madras, relative to the nomination of the successor of the late nabob of the Carnatic, OMDUT-UL-OMRAH. His lordship said, that, previous to their lordships

lordships proceeding to the order of the day, he begged leave to put a question to his majesty's minister, relative to a subject which had very much interested himself, and he believed great numbers of the public also. He had no doubt, from the well-known politeness of the noble lord opposite to him, that he would readily answer any questions that he might put to him on that head in private; but he felt it his duty, on the present occasion, to put the question publicly, because he was convinced, that the answer being equally public, might tend to remove from the minds of many persons very uneasy sensations. He meant to allude, his lordship said, to a very important measure which had taken place in the East Indies, the deposition of the son of the nabob of Arcot; this step was certainly an infringement of two existing treaties between his father and this country, and, as the faith of this country was a pledge of the highest consequence, was, in his opinion, a subject of the most serious consideration. His lordship begged it to be understood, that he did not mean to cast the slightest or most distant imputation on his majesty's ministers, that nothing had on this subject as yet transpired from them; it was equally far from his intention to throw any embarrassment in the way of ministers, nor would he press any thing on it at present; he only begged the noble lord would inform the house, whether the subject was under the consideration of his majesty's ministers, and whether any thing would be brought forward on it?

The Lord Hobart said, that he could have no objection to giving the noble lord every information in his power, to the extent his lordship had required. He coincided in opinion with the noble lord, that the subject was of the highest importance; and he could assure the noble lord and the house, that no determination would be come to upon it, but on the most serious and mature deliberation and investigation. He could not, however, sit down without observing to the noble lord and the house, that the most serious part of that consideration would be due to the point mentioned by the noble lord, as to the measure being an infringement of any of the treaties existing with this country. For his own part, he differed altogether with the noble lord on this point, and thought it no infraction of any treaty whatever.

Earl Moira professed himself satisfied with what had been stated by the noble lord.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

March 4.

The Reduction of the Establishment at Bencoolen *to a Factory, and to transfer the Servants of that Presidency to* Madras.

Mr. William Dundas moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill for enabling the East India Company to transfer their servants at Fort Marlborough, in Bencoolen, from thence to Madras.

On the question for reading the bill a second time,

Mr. William Dundas said, that in consequence of what had fallen from an honourable gentleman (Mr. Johnstone) on a preceding evening, he wished to state to the house, in a few words, the nature and object of the bill; and he was convinced, that when the house was fully informed upon the subject, they would at once see the propriety of the bill. He would

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first, however, obſerve, that he had no private affection for the bill; but that it had come to him in conſequence of the unanimous reſolution of the court of directors of the Eaſt India Company. The expenſe of the eſtabliſhment in Bencoolen had been from 100,000l. to 120,000l, without any adequate return for this expenditure; the object therefore was, to reduce this eſtabliſhment to a factory, whereby a ſaving would be made of 80,000l. The court of directors certainly might themſelves have done this without coming to parliament; but in that caſe the ſervants at this eſtabliſhment muſt have been left without any proviſion. It ſurely would not be contended, that thoſe men, who had paſſed their days in the ſervice of the Company, were at laſt to be diſcharged without any proviſion whatever. The queſtion was, therefore, to what place they were to be transferred? The honourable gentleman had ſuggeſted, that they might be transferred to Prince of Wales's Iſland, or to Ceylon; but to both of thoſe places there were the greateſt objection. The honourable member had, however, contended, that to tranſfer them to Madras would be a breach of national faith, becauſe it would unjuſtly deteriorate the ſituation of thoſe of the Company's ſervants who were already ſtationed at Madras. It ſhould be recollected, that ſince the year 1798, the Eaſt India Company had made large acquiſitions of territory in Myſore, from which their ſervants at Madras had derived the greateſt advantages, which they had no right previouſly to expect; and he could not ſee what objection there could now be to the tranſfer of a few additional ſervants to that preſidency. The revenues of the preſidency of Madras had very materially increaſed ſince the year 1793, at which period the number of ſervants there was 178; the number at preſent was 207; but, if they were increaſed in proportion to the increaſe of the revenues, the number ought to be 287; where then could be the objection to tranſfer a few additional ſervants thither? The ſervants who were to be transferred were to loſe five years rank on being ſent to Madras, and he could not conceive how their tranſfer could injure the rights or the juſt expectations of the Company's ſervants at Madras. He wiſhed to preſs upon the houſe, that the object of this bill was to ſave 80,000l. to the Eaſt India Company, which was now expended on a ſuperfluous eſtabliſhment.

Mr. JOHNSTONE ſaid, if the houſe was really reduced to the alternative of either paſſing this bill, or that of the Company loſing 80,000l. he would not heſitate a moment in giving it his ſupport. The houſe would recollect that they had formerly a very flouriſhing ſtatement of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company given them, which turned out to be fallacious, as they could not go on without ſolid and ſubſtantial reforms. He admitted in this caſe, that the expenſes of Bencoolen were 120,000l. but of this 60,000l. was appropriated to military expenſes; 20,000l. to certain charges relative to the fortifications, and only the remaining 40,000l. was applied to the civil eſtabliſhment. Of this ſum of 40,000l. only 15,000l. was appropriated to the payment of ſalaries. In the propoſed eſtabliſhment of a factory, there was to be a reſident with a ſalary of 3000l. and five aſſiſtants, at an expenſe of 2000l. amounting together to 5000l.; the ſaving, therefore, would not be

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80,000l. but only 10,000l. He could not agree, that, for the sake of saving 10,000l. the house ought to pass a bill which went to violate the public faith pledged to the Company's servants at Madras. By the India bill several regulations had been established relative to the Company's servants; among the rest, that they should rise by seniority, and should only be allowed to enter the service at an early period of life, in order that they might devote their whole time to the Company's service, and that those experienced in the affairs of the Company might be appointed to high situations. The public faith was therefore pledged to the Company's servants at each establishment for the fulfilment of their fair expectations; and he could not consent, for the sake of saving so small a sum, to violate that faith. The honourable gentleman had said, that the number of the Company's servants at Madras was smaller than it ought to be in proportion to the revenue of that presidency; but if it was in contemplation to increase it, a junction should take place between the presidencies of Bombay and Madras; and there could be no doubt that the number of servants would then be amply sufficient, as there would be at least four hundred. He saw no reason why the servants who were the objects of the bill might not be transferred to the Prince of Wales's Island, or to Ceylon, instead of Madras. For all these reasons he was hostile to the bill, though he should not oppose its going into a committee, where he should propose certain clauses to meet his ideas upon the subject. If, however, the honourable gentleman could clearly shew that 80,000l. would be saved by passing the present bill, he would not any longer object to it.

Mr. Wallace said, as the honourable gentleman did not oppose the bill's going to a committee, he should trouble the house with only a few words on the subject. The object of the bill was, to save to the East India Company a considerable expense. The honourable gentleman had, however, denied that the sum stated by the honourable gentleman who brought forward the bill, could be saved by its operation. The honourable gentleman, (Mr. Johnstone) had confined his argument on this head, to the civil expenditure of Bencoolen, denying that any saving would accrue under this bill in the military expenses; but, surely, it must be evident that the military expenses must be in proportion to the establishment kept up; and if, as it was intended, Fort Marlborough was to be reduced to a factory, there would necessarily be a considerable saving in the military expenditure. He would agree with the honourable gentleman so far, that the saving would not be so great as had been said; but, at the same time, it was considerably larger than it had been stated by the honourable gentleman. He would take it, during a period of peace, at 28,000l. and in war at 96,000l. The average of which, taking one year of war and another of peace, would be 62,000l. He could not conceive how this bill could affect the rights or just expectations of the Company's servants at Madras. The honourable gentleman had stated, that, by the act of parliament on that subject, the Company's servants must rise by seniority: but it should be recollected, that seniority gave no absolute claim; the Company were at

full liberty to make a choice, wherever they found merit or experience to justify that choice. These men, whom it was proposed to transfer, were to be deprived of five years rank; they were very few in number; and how the addition of so small a number, under such circumstances, to the numerous body of the Company's servants at Madras, would seriously affect the rights or interests of that body, he was at a loss to imagine. It had been said, that they might be sent to the Prince of Wales's Island; but he could not understand how they could be established there, unless as servants of the Crown, amenable to the Company, which would be absurd. But it was urged, they might be sent to Ceylon; in that island, however, no servant of the Company could stay without seriously injuring those prospects which he had a right to entertain. It was not because the establishment of Bencoolen was subverted, that therefore the just claims of the servants were not to be attended to; and he considered the object of this bill to be perfectly consistent with propriety and justice.

Mr. METCALF said, that he had no doubt the honourable gentleman (Mr. Johnstone) was only actuated by a desire to preserve the rights of the establishment of Madras; but he trusted the house would readily believe that the executive body of the East India Company were equally attentive to those rights: that nothing might be wanting to the justice due to those rights, the court of directors had sent notice to the establishment at Madras, that they intended to apply to parliament to remove those servants who were the objects of the present bill. It was impossible that the act alluded to by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Johnstone) could apply to the present case, as it could not have in contemplation such a circumstance. It was true, the East India Company had received a great accession of territory, and the court of directors might, if they had pleased, have made Mysore a new presidency; but they rather chose to give up the patronage which such an act would have conferred upon them, and to apply to parliament in the manner in which they had now done. The honourable gentleman had said, that these men might be sent to Ceylon: if the honourable gentleman could prevail on the Crown to give up Ceylon to the East India Company, it might indeed be done; but it surely would not be desirous, in the present instance, to propose to send them to an island belonging to the Crown. The Prince of Wales's island, which had been mentioned, was a residency under the presidency of Bengal. These servants were, as it had been said, to be transferred with the loss of five years rank; and those members of the establishment of Madras, who looked at these men with the most jealous eye, must be aware that they were not likely, for a considerable time, to obtain any lucrative office. As to the senior and junior merchants of Bencoolen, they were more likely to come to England than to go to a new settlement. The honourable gentleman had said, he would support the bill, if it could be proved that it would save 80,000l. to the Company, but not if it would only save 10,000l.; he (Mr. Metcalf) could not see any difference in the principle, whether the sum to be saved was 80,000l. or 10,000l.

Mr. D. SCOTT said, that the ground upon which this bill was formed,

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formed, was, that the Company had found that the expenſe of the ſettlement of Bencoolen very far exceeded any advantage that could be derived from it. He was ſure, when the houſe came to conſider the juſtice of the caſe, they would think that it would be very hard to turn off meritorious ſervants of the Company without any proviſion whatever. As to ſending them to Ceylon, that had been ſhewn to be impoſſible; beſides, if it were not, the ſalaries in that iſland were ſo ſmall, that the Company's ſervants would not go there. The higheſt ſalary there was only 3000l. a-year; but in the Company's ſervice, a man, according to the number of years he had been employed, had from three to eight thouſand a-year. It had been ſuggeſted, that Government had all the patronage of Ceylon, and that the Eaſt India Company defrayed the expenſe of the eſtabliſhment: but this was not correct, as the iſland was ſolely in the hands of government.

Mr. TIERNEY was far from attributing to the Eaſt India Company, upon this occaſion, any thing like a job, as had been inſinuated; but he could not omit this opportunity of congratulating the right honourable gentleman oppoſite to him (Mr. W. Dundas) upon the ſudden gleam of economy which he had diſplayed; and could only lament, that, during the ſeventeen years that the right honourable gentleman had been in office, he had not before diſplayed a ſimilar diſpoſition; for it appeared from the ſtatements which had been made, that there would have been ample room for it. He could not, however, avoid aſking what were the cauſes which rendered this ſudden diſplay of patriotiſm neceſſary? So long ago as 1786, plans had been adopted for reducing the expenſe of this eſtabliſhment; but, inſtead of a reduction, the expenſe amounted in the year 1796 to 60,000l. a-year; and he ſhould be glad to know, how it happened that ſince that time the expenſe had nearly doubled. He, therefore, could not congratulate the right honourable gentleman upon his preſent plans of economy, without cenſuring him for his paſt conduct; for he was of opinion that the paſt expenſe was moſt ſcandalous. He was of opinion, that the Company's ſervants in Bencoolen were hardly dealt by in this bill; for at leaſt they ought to have the alternative of accepting a penſion to the amount of their preſent ſalaries, or of going to Madras. He was undoubtedly a friend to economy, but he thought the beſt economy in ſuch caſe was to take away all grounds of jealouſy and uneaſineſs from the Company's ſervants. Now, by adopting this meaſure, he was not ſure that it would not create a great alarm among the perſons employed in India, becauſe they might be removed at pleaſure. He was aware of the difficulty of ſending thoſe perſons to Ceylon; but he thought that difficulty might have been obviated by a proper underſtanding between the Company and his majeſty's miniſters; and therefore he was the more juſtified in thinking that the right honourable gentleman's plan of economy came rather late, for it did not come until all the offices in that iſland were diſpoſed of.

Mr. W. DUNDAS ſaid, there could be no objection, that he was aware of, to allowing the Company's ſervants at Bencoolen to retire, if they preferred it, upon penſions. With regard to the other parts of the honourable gentleman's ſpeech, he begged to ſay one word

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in explanation, in perfect good temper. The honourable gentleman had said, that he (Mr. Dundas) had held his present office for seventeen years, whereas, in point of fact, he had only been in that situation for four years; therefore it was rather hard to make him responsible for that which happened before he came into office.

Mr. METCALF rose, merely to explain something that fell from an honourable friend of his opposite to him (Mr. D. Scott), respecting the salaries of the Company's servants in India. The house might be led to suppose, from what had fallen from his honourable friend, that after a certain number of years service in India, the Company's servants were entitled to the salaries he had mentioned; whereas, in fact, they must have been a certain number of years in India before they were *entitled to hold places*, but they might be many years there without being fortunate enough to *obtain them*.

The bill was then read a second time, and was ordered to be committed on Monday.

MARCH 5.

The house then went into a committee upon the bill empowering the East India Company to transfer their servants from Bencoolen to Madras, &c.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY objected to that part of the bill by which the servants of the Company, and the senior and junior merchants, transferred from Bencoolen, were to lose five years rank; because, he said, it might happen that those servants, and the senior and junior merchants, might thereby take rank above a number of others of the same description at Madras. The law had established, that the Company's servants at Madras should rise by seniority; such a provision as the present would tend to alter that law, and therefore he could not consent to it. It was his opinion, that the Company's servants, and the senior and junior merchants who were to be transferred from Bencoolen, should be placed at the bottom of the respective lists for 1801 at Madras, and that they should have an option either to go to Madras upon that condition, or retire upon full pay.

Mr. WALLACE thought that the bill, as it stood, would answer the object of the honourable baronet better than the amendment; as by the former a senior merchant, losing five years rank, might in consequence of that become junior merchant at Madras; but by the amendment he would be still a senior merchant, and take place of all the junior merchants.

Colonel WOOD thought it was a peculiar hardship upon the Company's servants at Bencoolen to be transferred to Madras, and to be deprived in consequence of five or six years rank. He thought that it had better be left to the court of directors to make such regulations relative to this subject as they should deem expedient, and that it did not require the interference of parliament.

Mr. JOHNSTONE said, he could not see any injustice arising out of the present measure towards the Company's servants at Bencoolen, but a hardship on those at Madras. The law had provided against supercession among the Company's servants at Madras; but this bill went to alter that law, and to interfere with those prospects which they were justly entitled to entertain. He would not, however, say more upon that subject at the present moment,

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he did not with to interrupt the business of the committee, and as a future stage of the business of the bill would be the proper time to discuss its principle.

Mr. WILLIAM DUNDAS said, it could not be contended that the Company's servants at Bencoolen were, after all their exertions, to be left without provision. It was contended, that by transferring them to Madras the prospects of the Company's servants there would be injured, as the number of candidates would be increased; but it should be recollected that only twelve persons were to be transferred, and that an accession of territory much greater in proportion had been acquired by the East India Company, from which their servants at Madras had derived great advantages: add to this, that the court of directors had notified their intention of bringing this measure before parliament, to their servants at Madras, twelve months ago.

Colonel WOOD again adverted to the hardship which he conceived would result to the Company's servants at Bencoolen.

Mr. JOHNSTONE said, that in answer to what had been urged by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. William Dundas) relative to the accession of territory acquired by the Company, he thought it necessary to observe, that it had been in contemplation to unite the presidencies of Bombay and Madras; in which case territory would be by no means disproportioned to the number of the Company's servants who would then be upon the lists of those united presidencies. As to other advantages derived by the Company's servants from this accession of territory, he thought they ought to be fairly balanced against the disadvantages they had formerly suffered, particularly when Hyder Ally ravaged the Carnatic.

Mr. WALLACE thought there could be no possible objection on the part of the Company's servants at Madras, to the present measure, even though the presidencies of Bombay and Madras were united, nor could any injustice result to them. As to the Company's servants at Bencoolen, there could be no hardship to them, as they had their option, either to retire and receive their pay, or to go to Madras upon the proposed conditions.

Colonel WOOD said, he only adverted to the hardships of the servants at Bencoolen, in case they were to be compelled to go to Madras and to lose five years rank.

Mr. WALLACE explained.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY then moved an amendment, according to the opinion he had before delivered, which was agreed to.

MARRIAGE BILL

The order of the day being read for going into a committee on the Bencoolen settlement bill,

Mr. JOHNSTONE said, he approved of this bill, because he understood it was but the commencement of a much larger plan of reform, and he hoped it was so, because he was sure, in the present situation of the East India Company, they ought to use every plan of reform and economy. He had on a former occasion stated the debts of the Company at twenty millions sterling, and he now had reason to think they amounted to twenty-two millions: he was therefore glad that the right honourable gentleman had brought forward the measure, and he hoped he

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he would not ſtop here, but bring in two or three other bills of a ſimilar tendency.

The houſe then went into the committee.

Colonel Wood objected to the clauſe which enacted that the Company's ſervants transferred from Bencoolen to Madras ſhould not riſe above a certain rank.

Mr. W. Dundas ſupported the clauſe, which was agreed to.

Mr. W. Dundas propoſed a clauſe for allowing the Company's preſent ſervants at Bencoolen the alternative either of accepting the amount of their preſent ſalaries, or of going to Madras.

Mr. Metcalf objected to this clauſe; he ſaid it would be better to leave it to the court of directors, and he was apprehenſive that this might be converted into a precedent.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, the object of this clauſe was, to prevent the Eaſt-India Company's ſervants at Bencoolen from ſuſtaining an injury in conſequence of the regulations which were about to take place. The effect of giving them this alternative would bring the queſtion to the teſt. If they thought it more for their advantage to go to Madras, undoubtedly they would go there, and not accept the other alternative; if they were of opinion that going to Madras would be injurious to them, it certainly would be hard to deprive them of their preſent ſituations, without any miſconduct on their part, without allowing them ſome indemnity.

Mr. Golding ſaid, the Company's ſervants had different kinds of ſalaries; the one attached to their rank, which was trifling; the other attached to their offices, which was very conſiderable.

Mr. R. Thornton was of opinion, that this clauſe would not, as had been ſtated, bring the point to the teſt, becauſe many of the Company's ſervants at Bencoolen might chooſe to retire; and by this means they would obtain penſions, which they would not otherwiſe be entitled to.

Mr. Metcalf again objected to this regulation being made the ſubject of a legiſlative proviſion, becauſe, he ſaid, it might, upon other occaſions, be drawn into a precedent.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, there could be no danger of this being drawn into a precedent, becauſe this was a parliamentary proceeding. The court of directors would not, upon other occaſions, be bound to act upon it as a precedent; an appeal muſt be made to parliament for that purpoſe. It had been ſaid, that this point ought to be left to the liberality of the court of directors: he had as high an opinion of the court of directors as any man could have; but when no complaint had been made againſt the conduct of thoſe ſervants at Bencoolen, he thought that parliament ought not to leave them to the diſcretion of any body of men whatever.

After a few words from Mr. Hobhouſe, the clauſe was agreed to, and the bill went through the committee, and was ordered to be engroſſed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

April 8.

The Earl of Moira recalled to the recollection of their lordſhips a notice that he had ſome time before given, of an intended motion for inquiring into the cauſes which lately induced the depoſition of the young

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young nabob of Arcot by the East India Company, in at least apparent violation of the faith of two solemn and subsisting treaties. Considering the impression which this occurrence had made upon the public mind, he thought it a subject, the discussion of which ought not, without good reason, to be any longer delayed; but understanding that important dispatches relating to that business were shortly expected, he would defer his motion till such time as they might be received.

Lord GRENVILLE declared, that as he prided himself on being the friend and admirer of the two noble lords principally concerned in this transaction, (the Marquis of Wellesley and Lord Clive,) and having had an opportunity of being acquainted with most of the circumstances which led to it, he, as well as others, would be found always ready to defend the grounds of the conduct of those very meritorious noblemen, whose services had already deserved and obtained their thanks and gratitude.

The Earl of MOIRA replied, that had the noble lord been present at the time when the matter was first brought under the consideration of the house, he would not have criminated him with the suspicion of throwing any imputation on either the character or conduct of the noble persons alluded to, with whom he had also the honour of being personally acquainted, and equally respected both in their public and their private lives. He supposed the noble lord's information was confined to some loose report of a newspaper; but had he been at the trouble of making inquiry of any of those peers who were present, he might have known that he had not indulged in any such insinuations: so far from doing so, he had rather taken it for granted, that their proceedings on the occasion had been dictated by necessity, and indispensable to the public convenience and advantage. This, however, was no reason why the public uneasiness should not be set at rest. "If (said he) your lordships yourselves, who must be supposed to possess superior information respecting those objects, have yet no satisfactory acquaintance with it, how much more unintelligible must it be to the crowd and mass of the public in general? I am led, from the misunderstanding of the noble lord who spoke last, to say a little more upon the subject than I at first intended. We are all apprized, that there were two treaties with the late nabob of Arcot, by which he became the ally of the East-India Company. At his death, the young prince, next in propinquity, and having his title further sanctioned by the will of his father, succeeded to the sovereignty. The East-India Company itself recognized his right of succession, which it admitted in the demand by which it called upon him to resign into the hands of others the collection of his revenues, and all jurisdiction within his territories. This the young prince declined to comply with, as derogating from his authority, and inconsistent with his duty to his people. The consequence was, that the prince was deposed by that very Company which recognized his right, and replaced by another person more remote in point of consanguinity. This is all the information that has hitherto reached us on the subject, and its aspect alone must call for an inquiry. I do not say that the proceeding may not be justified by the necessity of circumstances, and the interests as well as the convenience of our affairs in that quarter; but I am certain

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certain that this house has a right to entertain the inquiry, and that the public mind should be satisfied in regard to it. At the same time, however, I must require, and insist on not being represented as attaching, from any information yet before us, any blame whatever to the conduct of two noblemen whom I esteem as much as the noble lord that preceded me, or any other person whatever."

Lord GRENVILLE, in answer, expressed his satisfaction in admitting the fairness of what had been stated by the noble earl. He hoped the example of moderation which he set would be imitated by others; and that the measures adopted in regard to the Indian prince alluded to, would not be condemned or censured before the arrival of those public documents, which he made no doubt would fully and completely justify them.

Here the conversation ended.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MAY 12.

Dr. LAURENCE rose and said, that, having given way for some days past, to public and private business, he was happy to find himself at length at liberty to make the motion of which he had given notice. Nothing had passed on any other day, or on this, (notwithstanding the flattering picture that had been given of the state of public credit in the sister kingdom,) that could induce him to abandon the opinion he entertained, that the treaty of peace lately signed was, in many respects, most fatal to the interest of the country. Let any person consider of what importance to this country were its possessions in the East; and let him at the same time consider how the security and well being of these possessions were endangered by the non-renewal of the treaties by which they were heretofore protected. Let it be considered what advantages were given to the enemy by this neglect, or omission, or by whatever other name it was to be called; advantages which the enemy himself already exaggerated. He would content himself with a confined and limited consideration of the dangers to which our possessions in the East were exposed, though perhaps the whole were involved. He moved for information, not so much for himself as for the House; he required explanation, that the house might accept it where it should appear satisfactory; and he entered into discussion, that the facts might be fairly ascertained; so that when the house should come to debate on another day the most extensive and important subject that had ever been before it, Gentlemen might not be involved in assertions, contradictions, and errors. If, in his attempt to explain this subject to the house, he should fall short, he was happy that there were persons present who, from the share that they had taken in the transactions of India, were fully adequate to make up any deficiency on his part. He saw a noble lord (Hawkesbury) smile; but if he had any conception of the magnitude of the interests which he had hitherto swayed, he must be satisfied that such gaiety but ill became him. The treaties between this country and France, and Holland, relative to India, were few and short; but as the countries to which they related were so distant, it was hardly possible that gentlemen could be so clear as to the necessity and effect of their particular provisions, as of those of the treaties affecting the contiguous countries

tries of Europe. When we were but simple merchants trading to the East, as all the nations of Europe had been previous to the conquests made by this country, a barren rock on the coast of Newfoundland was held to be an object of more importance then, than the settlement of Madras, the most valuable of the part of India where it was situated. From simple merchants we had advanced to the exercise of a delegated authority under the people of the country; in time our authority became paramount; and a people which was found capable of instructing the Greeks, when the Greeks conquered it, became nothing in their own country. Wherever the rights of others had been invaded, he should not hesitate to condemn that invasion. The authority of this country was substituted for that of the Great Mogul. He hoped that when he was forced to give an opinion on that substitution, he should give a sincere and honest opinion; but till called upon, he should give no opinion. There was a question to come shortly before the house, in the discussion of which this matter might be somewhat elucidated; for the present, he should only disclaim the necessity of being the advocate of every thing that this country might have chosen to do. It was now necessary to see what rights had been asserted, though for his part he acknowledged no rights; to see what claims had been set up by France and Holland, and how those claims had been urged; to see what the triumphant treaty of 1763 had done for the adjustment of these claims. First, as to what related to Coromandel: France, in that treaty, renounced all the acquisitions she had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa since 1749. It had been said, that papers were unnecessary in debating a subject like this, for that the history was sufficient. With pleasure and delight he appealed to a history so honourable as that of the period of which he now spoke. We were then unassuming merchants, trading to the East, but perhaps more firmly established than now, when the people of the country were disgusted with our ambitious encroachments. We were then satisfied with a neutrality; but the French, whose power was become more dangerous as it was more extended, were not so moderate. Dupleix, the first European governor who assumed the style of an eastern prince, invaded our rights, and roused exertions which succeeded in repelling him. In Bengal, at the same period, in consequence of a similar aggression, we had made a like exertion to vindicate ourselves, and by that exertion had acquired power. The French had acquired some power in Coromandel, and the five northern circars, of which we afterwards obtained a grant from the Mogul. By this grant our title was superior to theirs. They had, by subsequent treaties, formerly renounced their claim; but, by the present treaty, that renunciation was done away, and a door opened for future contention. He came now to Bengal. The French king had consented to keep no troops, and to erect no fortifications on that coast; there was now nothing to hinder the French from doing so. There was no natural reason why they should not fortify themselves, and endeavour to render their establishments as secure as possible. It was true, the sovereign of the country might object, if these fortifications were carried to any improper length, [*A cry of Hear! Hear! from the ministerial bench;*] but would

would the attempt to fortify be deemed a ſufficient cauſe for war? There was no prohibition from fortifying in the preſent treaty. By former treaties the French had acknowledged Mahommed Ali as ſovereign of the Carnatic, and conſequently had ſubſcribed to our authority: poſſibly even from that family ſome perſons might now be found whoſe title could be ſet up in oppoſition to ours. The ſtipulation in 1763, that no fortifications ſhould be erected on the coaſt of Bengal, was ſo ſcrupulouſly adhered to in the negotiation of 1783, that when a ſtipulation was made for a ditch to carry off the water from the fort of Chandernagore, a jealouſy aroſe; and it was not without a critical explanation, and a full ſecurity that nothing further would be attempted, that permiſſion was given; and the delay ariſing from the arrangement of this matter was the excuſe ſtated by the ſecretary of ſtate for not bringing the definitive treaty to a more ſpeedy concluſion. The juriſdiction of the factories may, on the ground of application for the ſurrender of perſons taking refuge in them, again produce contention. The convention of 1787 granted a general exemption to all factories, and a general juriſdiction over all perſons within certain limits. The omiſſion of any regulation to this effect in the preſent treaty, might renew the ancient jealouſies. Independent of this, there were many claims and pretenſions ariſing out of the trade itſelf. The French, even when they were admitted to trade under our protection, refuſed to allow us to regulate their trade, and inſiſted on carrying it on in their own way; ſo that no advantage could be derived from it to the revenue of the Company, which, when its collection was attempted to be enforced, they often reſiſted with force. A perpetual correſpondence was carried on, on the ſubject of theſe aggreſſions; ſo numerous, and filled with facts ſo numerous, that a whole ſeſſion would not be ſufficient for the detail. The firſt objection to the treaty was, in 1765, when Chandernagore was given up. Mr. Law objected againſt the ſtrict enforcement of the treaty, and required permiſſion to make lodgements for the protection of thoſe engaged in the trade, which, together with his other demands, was made the ſubject of a letter from lord Clive. The complaints of foreigners would grow louder, unleſs the Company entered into an agreement to ſupply them with cargoes to a certain amount out of the private trade of its ſervants. When Mr. Francis propoſed to add a paragraph to the diſpatches, ſaying that the nabob of Arcot was a legal ſovereign, Mr. Haſtings was unwilling to do ſo. The Dutch and Danes applied to this country as the ſovereign power, and, under the name of a protection, were granted an indulgence; but they ſoon refuſed to ſubmit to the payment of the duties, and we were compelled to exact them by force; and ſo far did their contumacy extend, that in time of ſcarcity they exported corn, which they knew their colours would protect, though a general embargo was laid. Nor could it be ſaid that the knowledge of the embarraſſment of this country in conſequence of the American war was the cauſe of this ſpirit of reſiſtance; for it manifeſted itſelf in the year 1775, when the diſturbances in America had only commenced, and the knowledge of them could not yet have reached India. By the treaty of 1783, his Britannic majeſty is to take ſuch means as are

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in his power (not even then avowing the direct sovereignty) to procure certain facilities to the French trade: but two years had not elapsed when disputes arose which soon came to a question of force, and ended in the firing of a vessel; a transaction which Sir John Macpherson thought necessary to make the subject of a particular negotiation. Dr. Laurence then adverted to the treaty of 1787, which ratified a board of justice to be holden, and in which the French brought forward their claims to the trade in India, particularly in the articles of salt, saltpetre, and opium, and which claims were only settled by a convention entered into with the government of this country, in which they were allowed to traffic with our East-India Company on certain stipulations and fixed prices, in which it had been contended that our East-India Company sustained a loss, but which, he asserted, was only a moderated gain. He then begged to call the attention of the house to the Dutch claims. By the definitive treaty in 1784, their carrying trade was allowed, even to that of naval stores, and the freedom of navigation in the Indian seas. At all times the Dutch were jealous of our obtaining any settlement between our possessions in India and China, which might enable us to send the commodities of Bengal to that vast empire, instead of carrying on our trade with it through the medium of dollars and bullion from England. They were then jealous, he said, even in those periods when they were in alliance and connection with us: by the alliance formed between France and Holland in 1795, they had become alienated from this country, and might now bring forward claims which before they would not have thought of. They had now become closely connected with that nation, which did not like any other logic than the *ultima ratio regum*, what was called the *last* reason of kings, but was now become the *first* of the republic; and if these claims should be advanced, we should have not only France to contend with, but Holland also, with a recruited navy. He then adverted to the Cape of Good Hope, which he stated to be of essential consequence to this country, both in time of peace and war. It might be urged, he said, in defence of the non-revival of former treaties, that we did not give up our rights, but were prepared to defend them to the utmost. But, though they had not been revived generally, it was surely worth while to revive specifically that part which protected our commerce in the East Indies. "Thus," said he, "I have stated what was stipulated in our favour by former treaties, and is now relinquished, without giving my opinion whether the concession was voluntary, or extorted by force. It is not however in India, but here, that these affairs must be settled either by negotiation or force. We must now say, that in proportion to the magnitude of the concessions we have made, we are prepared to defend what remains to the last." He concluded by moving—"That there be laid before this house an account of the acquisitions made or pretended to be made by his most Christian majesty on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, between the years 1748 and 1768."

Mr. DUNDAS said, that, whether our situation was to be decided by negotiation or by the sword, in India or elsewhere, as the learned gentleman had stated, he would dare say, that there was no difference of opinion

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opinion between them upon this point, namely, that it was essential to the interests of this country, wherever our claims were to be supported, and where our rights were clear and indisputable, not to do any thing ourselves to bring these rights into doubt. He stated it as a general maxim, on which he apprehended there was no difference of opinion in that house, or elsewhere; and yet, notwithstanding no doubt was entertained of the truth of this general maxim, he was afraid that, if motions like these were persevered in, much difference of opinion would arise upon the application of that principle; his proposition was such as he held to be clear as the sun at noon-day; namely, that no doubt could be entertained on the relative situation of this country and of France in India. No doubt had been expressed upon that subject till lately in that house, nor would any doubt be entertained elsewhere, but by bringing forward speculations of our own in that house, and making that doubtful in debate which was long acknowledged to be clear in principle. He then entered into an historical detail of the rise and progress of the British power in India, the contests which had taken place from the earliest periods, and the share taken therein by the French, in order to oppose our progress in India, down to the period in which lord Clive had so distinguished himself; to whom, for his valour as a soldier, and wisdom as a statesman, he paid the highest compliments; the result of whose measures he stated to have consummated the British power in India, and settled our sovereignty there by right of conquest, which right he reconciled to the inhabitants by the wise respect he paid to their prejudices. Having gone through a complete history of these events, and having given a compendious account of the progress of the Mogul empire, and of its revolutions for eight centuries, he proceeded to state the conclusion which he drew from all these premises; which conclusion was this, "That though we may feel it just and expedient to make such allowances to the prejudices of the inhabitants, and to make such regulations in our territories as we may please, or think advisable, yet with regard to European powers, to them we say freely and distinctly, we have gained this country by our arms, and by our arms we will keep it." For upon all the grounds which he had already stated, it was manifest that the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, &c. had come to Great Britain by conquest, as much as any country ever came into the hands of another; and from the period when it became so under the government of lord Clive to the present day, the French never had, directly or indirectly, from the treaty of 1763, any right whatever to interfere with the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, &c.; but that they were by right of conquest subject to the sovereignty of the king of Great Britain to all intents and purposes, which sovereignty was to be exercised through the medium of the India Company, and through the different organs established for the preservation of our provinces, as much as any other part of his majesty's dominions. He need not dwell upon these points; the facts were clear and well-authenticated in the history of those dominions; and therefore, he laid it down as a clear and indisputable proposition, that what we had gained thus by conquest, was to be considered with reference to any other European power,

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pottentates to object to our sovereignty, even without any interference of his own, we were actually the sovereigns of India, and no European power having a right whatever to dispute with us the exercise of this power, which was possessed in fact. Such was the situation of the British power in India, when the question of peace was about to be discussed, without any inquiry into the circumstances which they might claim from a definitive treaty under consideration. He would beg the house to pause for a moment, and then ask if such this question. What could justify him in hesitating of his answer? he had not any doubt what-ever upon the subject. Certainly none.

Was there any one man within the hearing of his voice, who thought that the facts, and the right arising out of them, were to be called in question, this country would not go the length of risking its last stake to support those rights, and rescue us giving up one iota of them? He had no reason to be satisfied in any point of curiosity, by asking why it was expedient at the present moment to avoid referring to ancient treaties in the present definitive treaty of peace. It was a subject upon which he did not think it necessary to dwell at present; it was sufficient for him to say, that there was no diminution of the bond of our power in India; no fresh ground whatever for any other to dispute our sovereignty there, nor any thing which entitled others to meddle with the rights upon which that sovereignty was founded in India. Now that will, he would venture to say, he might safely say, he might go much further than that, and say, that with regard to Great Britain her sovereignty in India stood in a better situation than it did at the time of the former treaties had been renewed by it. By the treaty of 1783, which was unquestionably the very worst treaty this country ever entered into on the subject of Indian affairs, it was the business of his majesty's government, and a very laborious one it was, in the convention of 1787, to do away the evil created by the treaty of 1783. By that of 1783, our sovereignty in India was rendered disputable; by the convention of 1787 our sovereignty was re-established. Having expatiated at considerable length upon the merits of the convention of 1787, and the demerits of the treaty of 1783, he proceeded to say, that had the treaty now upon the table renewed any former treaty, it would have been impossible to refer to the convention of 1787, without also renewing the contests which were brought forward in 1783. It would have been impossible to have introduced the one, without also calling for an explanation of the other; and therefore the affairs of that country were much better, considering all the circumstances of the relative situation of this country and of France, in suffering all treaties whatever to be passed over in silence. We might, perhaps, by renewing some of the declarations and admissions of our sovereignty in India, as settled by the convention of 1787, have employed some antidote against the evil of which we had too much reason to complain; but it was manifest to him that we could not have such antidote without having also a certain portion of the poison, by the renewal of any discussion whatever upon the subject of treaties; and therefore he had no difficulty whatever in saying, that upon a review of the whole condition of our affairs, considered with relation to those of

France, we were infinitely better in paſſing the ſubject over in ſilence, than we ſhould have been in endeavouring to renew any of them. He confeſſed, he ſaid, that when the rumour reached him, that the proviſions of the convention of 1787 were left out of the preſent treaty, he ſhrunk under an apprehenſion that our power in India would be deſtroyed; and he was the more alarmed when he heard it ſaid, that this was brought about in conſequence of the views of France to undermine, and finally to overturn, our ſovereignty in India. This led him to turn the ſubject very ſeriouſly in his mind, and to look at all the antient documents, to conſider the whole matter deliberately; and the reſult was, that it was infinitely better for us to have no reference whatever to any treaty, as he had already ſtated.—But the learned gentleman aſked, if the houſe could really think that we could be ſecure in India againſt the ambitious claims of France, as they had appeared in 1788, and which were done away in 1787? Did he really think we were ſafe now, without having renewed, by the preſent treaty, the proviſions of the convention of 1787? This he would anſwer, by putting to the learned gentleman this queſtion: Did he really think, that if the French ſhould be diſpoſed to renew the pretenſions of 1788, or any other period, that they would be prevented from ſo doing by a few ſcraps of paper being laid on the table of that houſe, a ſpecies of artillery that would not be equal to the operation of a ſingle field-piece for half a minute? But the learned gentleman would ſay, that the treaty of 1788 would eſtabliſh the diſpoſition of the French at that time to diſpute our ſovereignty in India; it would, indeed, eſtabliſh that which there was no need of eſtabliſhing, becauſe the thing was well known; the French did on that occaſion, as they would do on every occaſion, provided they thought they could ſucceed in the attempt of it, namely, endeavour to diminiſh the greatneſs of this country, and enlarge its own; but, in proportion as they were diſpoſed to be hoſtile to our intereſt, or querulous while we enjoyed our advantages, he had no difficulty in ſaying, it was the wiſdom of this country, in the ſame proportion, to wait until theſe claims were made which gentlemen ſpoke of with ſo much apprehenſion, and in the mean time to ſtand upon our right—our paramount right of ſovereignty.—What courſe the French would take to enlarge their commercial intereſt in India was not for us to anticipate. It was enough for us, that if they endeavoured to do ſo by the exertions of individuals, or otherwiſe, they could never do ſo without being liable to be interrupted by this country. If they were to try to erect commercial factories, or to do any thing that interfered with our ſovereignty in India, we ſhould be fully warranted, and what was better, we were in poſſeſſion of means, to reſiſt ſuch an attempt. But thoſe means would not be increaſed by a few papers being laid before the houſe, ſuch documents would not help us to any arguments which we had not already, for the propriety of reſiſting ſuch attempts; thank God we had never wanted arguments to reſiſt the encroachments of the French on our ſovereign power in India, nor had we wanted ſtrength for that purpoſe. From all this it was perfectly clear, that before the French could exerciſe any trade in India,

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India, they must come to us in the character of suppliants; for nothing that they had yet obtained would enable them to carry on trade in India without our leave. He had stated the difference between the treaty of 1783 and the convention of 1787, already. He had to observe, that we were not now in a situation similar to that in which we stood in 1787. There was now no treaty in existence between us and France, nor any regulation on the subject of India, except the single clause in the convention now upon the table of the house. And with regard to the trade of France in India, if any they were to have, they could have it only through the indulgence of the British power in India; and therefore he said again, we were better off as the case stood upon the present treaty of peace, than if we had renewed any of the former treaties. Whatever matter of complaint was to be urged, or rather of lamentation, upon this subject, it could only be, that his majesty's government did not settle the whole of the provisions of all former treaties, by taking notice of them all, and finally adjusting them all.—This, however in the abstract it might appear desirable, ought not to have been attempted in the present case, because it would have been impossible to accomplish it, without protracting the negotiation to a length that would have been inconsistent with the interests of the states of Europe. The articles in all these treaties must have been all gone over, if any of them were noticed; in the course of which a thousand explanations would become necessary, and which might have made the negotiation in many respects appear to some idle and ridiculous. But there were other considerations which, he hoped, would operate on the conduct of those who may have the future conduct of the affairs of India; and they related to other powers, as well as to the French and ourselves in India; we were not to consider merely our own concerns and those of France in India. He stated it as a solid ground of consideration for the East India Company, to regulate, not only the trade of the French, but to look to the regulation of other subjects, to have an eye upon other commercial connexions. But it might be said, Why not stipulate these things in negotiation, and finally determine them by treaty? To which he would answer, it is much better as it is, for at present we have the sovereignty of India; and he would ask, if it appeared to any member of that house to be a wise course to exclude the government of this country from all discretionary power to regulate the trade of India? If the French, or any other power, should claim the right of carrying their goods up the Ganges, or to do any other act, was it not sufficient that we had the power to prevent them? The French trade in India, the Dutch trade in India, and the trade of other powers in India, might go hand in hand, so that it was not detrimental to us; but if detrimental to us, we had the power to stop it, and that was enough for our present purpose at least. He wanted this subject to be considered upon a large and comprehensive scale, and not confined merely to ourselves and France. He did not mean to pretend, or to insinuate, that he was in possession of the reasons which actuated his majesty's servants upon this occasion, when they came to the conclusion which was now before the public; but he felt himself entitled to state, that if

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they had done that which ſome gentlemen blamed them for not doing, they would have put it out of their own power to do their country much ſervice, which they will now be enabled to render by conſulting thoſe who are beſt qualified to adviſe them, and that more eſpecially on the affairs of India. But when he heard it ſaid that France was hoſtile in its diſpoſition towards the trade of this country, and was endeavouring to prevail on Holland, Spain, and other countries to do all they could to diſcourage our trade, and to prohibit ſome of it in their dominions, he would aſk, are they ſo? And if they be, is this the preciſe period in which you would make them a voluntary gift of commerce to India, when you are doubtful in what relation they chooſe to ſtand with you with regard to other commercial connexions? "I own," ſaid he, "this is a ſubject on which I feel deeply; I have it much at heart: and when I ſay that I am ſure there is not one man in this houſe who would feel more ſorrow than I ſhould, if I conceived it poſſible for you to ſurrender any one of the rights, of which I have been ſpeaking; at the ſame time that I feel theſe reaſons I have been ſtating, I deſire not to be miſrepreſented; I am one of the laſt men in the world (my conduct, I think, proves it,) who would wiſh to plead for the ſyſtem of this country narrowing the trade of foreigners in India; ever ſince I thought I underſtood any thing of the affairs of India, my maxim has been to enlarge that trade, and that we might as well attempt to prohibit any foreigners from buying our manufactures of Yorkſhire or of Birmingham, or any other manufacture of this country, as prohibit foreigners from trading with our territories in India. But I ſhould guard againſt miſconception of this opinion of mine. When I ſay we ſhould not prevent the French, or any other nation, from trading with our territorial provinces in India, I mean to ſay, that I am not afraid of them as merchants; I am not unwilling to give them a boon as merchants, with a chance of reciprocity, and I aſk no more; but I think I am not going too far, when I deſire this country to guard againſt that which I know the French have endeavoured to make, and will endeavour to make, if they ſee any probability of its ſucceſs—I mean an encroachment on your ſovereignty in India. This they have done; and if an opportunity offers, this they will do, under the pretence of purſuing trade. They will aſk you civilly, (for in no other way can they aſk it,) to allow them to do a number of things for the purpoſe of carrying on trade, when their object will be to encroach upon your ſovereignty. It was in this way that they formerly endeavoured to encroach upon your ſovereignty in 1787, when they told us they could not recover their debts without certain enlargement of power in India: we reſiſted that directly; and I hope this will be the conduct of this country in future. The very firſt article inſiſted upon by Lord Auckland in 1787 was, that nothing in the moſt diſtant degree touching our ſovereignty in India would, on any terms or conditions whatever, be aſſented to on the part of this country. I hope it is not preſumptuous in me to ſay, that I truſt his majeſty's government will adopt the ſame principle, and ſtand upon the ſame ground as we did then; and if we do ſo, I will venture to ſay there will be no danger;

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depart from that principle, and your ſovereignty will be firſt undermined, then attacked, and, perhaps, finally overthrown. As to what may be attempted by France, even with all your caution, I cannot ſay you will have no difficulty, for I am not going to be guarantee for the moderation of the French; but what I contend for is, that you have now better means than you would have had by the renewal of any treaty, better means than you ever had, of preventing encroachments upon your ſovereignty in India.—But we have not before us any proof, nor is it inſinuated, that the French nation themſelves are bringing forward any ſuch claim as we hear ſtated on their behalf: will it not be time enough, when they do bring forward thoſe claims, for government to reſiſt them? But ſurely when we agree that their claims are dangerous and cannot be admitted, it is ſingular to purſue this as a ſubject of declamation in the houſes of parliament. I ſay, this ought not to be done; for we all know, that what paſſes in this houſe, or in the other houſe of parliament, tranſpires to the people of this country; and I cannot concur with thoſe who wiſh to make the people of this country think the peace a bad one. I am certainly one of thoſe who cannot give an approbation of all the articles of peace; but is it doing good to this country to keep this queſtion up, and to endeavour to make the people diſlike it? Gentlemen complain of the pride and arrogance of France: Is this the way to make her leſs proud or arrogant? Certainly not?—and therefore I cannot ſee the wiſdom of ſtating theſe claims, which we all know and feel cannot be admitted, and which nobody aſſerts to have been made." Mr. Dundas refuted the obſervations of Dr. Laurence, on the ſubject of the danger to us in the Eaſtern ſeas, and on the apprehenſion he expreſſed concerning the claims of the Dutch; and then concluded—"I have ſtated what appeared to me to be the true ſubſtantial rights and intereſts of this country on the ſubject of Indian affairs; upon theſe rights and principles I deſire to ſtand, and I have ſtated what courſe I think this country ought to purſue, to preſerve thoſe rights entire. I am aware that by ſo ſtating them, and by ſo recommending the courſe to be purſued, I impoſe on the ſhoulders of his majeſty's government an awful and tremendous reſponſibility; for if you depart an *iota* from your ſovereignty in India, and allow others to encroach on you, or any way to diminiſh the force of that paramount ſovereignty, you will lay the foundation of the overthrow of your power in India. If, being poſſeſſed of that mighty empire, and of the means to aſſert and vindicate your right, you allow others to injure it by any act of executive government, I ſhall not receive any apology for the miniſters who ſhall ſuffer that to be done under any pretence that the French had claimed theſe things before, or under any other pretence whatſoever, becauſe you are now more than ever poſſeſſed of means to prevent it. I apprehend the learned gentleman who brought this ſubject forward is of the ſame opinion; and I hope he will concur with me in ſaying, that miniſters, if they allow our ſovereignty in India to be touched, will be without an apology, and that therefore he will now be ſo good as put his motion in his pocket. It is my ſolemn conviction, that if we were now to give way to theſe hypothetical

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thetical cafes which are ſtated, and entertain theſe motions, inſtead of ſtrengthening, we ſhould weaken the rights of the Britiſh empire."

Mr. T. GRENVILLE ſaid, there muſt have been a broad line of miſconception between the view of the ſubject taken by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) and his, before the right honourable gentleman could have ſtated it in the manner he had done. The right honourable gentleman had ſtated doubts as to the propriety of this motion, becauſe, whether our claims were to be decided by negotiation or by the ſword, ſurely, ſaid the right honourable gentleman, it was not wiſe to bring forward doubts relative to our own claims, which were perfectly clear. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman in this point; but how did the argument apply to France? The right honourable gentleman had aſſerted, that this country poſſeſſed a clear right of ſovereignty in the Eaſt Indies; but having ſtated this, what did the latter part of his ſpeech refer to, that the claim which England has aſſerted, has been and is diſputed; how, therefore, did the argument of the right honourable gentleman apply? He did not ſtate doubts, but ſaid, that at all periods France had diſputed our claims in India. Of what conſequence to the queſtion were the victories and conqueſts of Lord Clive, or the ſovereignty we obtained in India? That ſovereignty, as well as whatever rights we claimed, were ſtill diſputed by France. He did not mean to ſay that this country and France were in a continual ſtate of war; but the latter never abandoned her claims, and this ſtate of things produced the convention of 1787, which was a compromiſe of claims. His right honourable friend (Mr. Dundas) had ſtated, that the non-renewal of the treaty of 1783, and the convention of 1787, was more advantageous to this country than the renewal of them would have been: this was the firſt time, he believed, that his right honourable friend had ſat in judgement on the treaty of 1788. He deſired to know, however, whether, in many ſituations, it was not more adviſeable to poſſeſs a limited right by convention, than to reſt upon a general, but unacknowledged right, becauſe, by obtaining a limited right by convention, we obtained at the ſame time a recognition of the original right? His right honourable friend had aſked, what advantage was to be derived from laying a few ſcraps of paper on the table? This put him in mind of a queſtion formerly aſked on a ſubject relative to the Eaſt-India Company? What was a charter? A ſcroll of parchment with a piece of wax at the end of it. This mode of argument, however, could not do away that conſideration to which important documents were entitled. The object of his honourable friend (Dr. Laurence) was to ſhew what France might claim againſt this country. With reſpect to the navigation of the eaſtern ſeas, his right honourable friend (Mr. Dundas) had treated this ſubject with conſiderable levity; he could not conſider it as a matter which ought to be treated with levity; it was not the claims of the Dutch republic, as ſettled by treaty, that formed the object of conſideration; but his honourable friend (Dr. Laurence) had ſtated the dangers which might reſult from the claims of the Dutch republic in its preſent ſtate of ſervitude, when it could only be conſidered as a member of the French Republic, and as identified with France. He expected

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expected that some objection would have been made to the production of the papers moved for by his honourable friend; but, instead of this, he could hear nothing but a laugh against it, and an advice to his honourable friend to put the motion into his pocket. To such a sweeping kind of argument, it was scarcely possible to give any answer. The house would recollect, that no doubt was thrown upon the claims upon this country: he admitted that they were clear; but were they clear and undisputed? This was the point. The right honourable gentleman had spoken as to the prudence of stating the claims which France might make relative to our possessions in the East Indies: but as to the cession of the Cape and Cochin, his right honourable friend had not said a single word. Was it a light matter, that the Cape and Cochin should be put into the hands of France, before we knew the disposition of the enemy with respect to India, and that France should assert her claims with the Cape and Cochin in her possession? If this was thought a matter fit to be discussed, now was the moment for discussion. These observations were not made for the purpose of querulously objecting to the treaty of peace: no such thing; he wished to call the attention of the house to the danger hanging over the country; how was it to be relieved, and by what suggestion of human prudence? Was it wished to ask the enemy, if he agreed to our right of sovereignty in India; and would they give him the Cape and Cochin to know whether he agreed to it or not; and if he did not, were they in as good a situation as before? When all former obligations were done away, was it not necessary to resort to new conventions? None were now offered in the place of those abrogated; and did the house feel secure in this situation? Was it not necessary to know the intentions of France with respect to India? It was not likely that twelve months would pass before either France would make claims in that country which we could not agree to, or this country would exercise rights there which France would resist: was it then prudent in this country, before she knew the disposition of France with respect to this subject, to give out of her hands the Cape and Cochin? No argument whatever had been adduced against the motion, which he should certainly support.

Lord HAWKESBURY—"I am glad to hear the honourable gentleman say, that neither he, or, in his opinion, any man in this house, or the country, entertains any doubt of our right of sovereignty in the East Indies. He says, however, that the French entertain doubts, and therefore there should be an explanation. Now, in the present state of things, I contend there is no ground to suppose that the French do entertain any doubt upon the subject. The doubts of France were built upon the antient Firmans, and the treaty of 1783.—Now, if these Firmans and the treaty of 1783 be at an end, what ground is there to suppose that France does not recognise our right of sovereignty? All the Asiatic and European powers have acknowledged that right. In all negotiations, even in those with France, England has been styled *the government* of India. I admit that you come into that sovereignty subject to the engagements which were binding upon the powers you succeeded. These Firmans might

therefore be considered in force after the commencement of our sovereignty. It will not, however, be contended, that they grant more than indulgences; and I admit that there were disputes about which of them were to be considered good, and which bad. I admit also, that, as they were binding upon our predecessor the Mogul, so they were binding upon us. But the subsequent war destroys them, as it would any other treaties; and the peace of 1783, which acknowledges our sovereignty, does not renew them. Against this, it is said that France renewed these claims between 1783 and 1787: but upon what ground did she do so? why, upon the 13th article of the treaty of 1783. France says, by that article, you undertook to restore my antient trade; and, of course, she brought forward these antient Firmans, to shew what that trade was. Now this is put an end to by the treaty of 1787; for what does it say? Not that doubts are entertained of our sovereignty, but that its object is to explain the 18th article of the peace of 1783. Now if this statement be correct, it follows, that the claims of France might have been formerly well founded under the treaty of 1783; but that the treaty of 1783, and the antient Firmans being now at an end, our right of sovereignty is clear. Now, sir, with respect to the non-renewal of the convention of 1787, the 18th article of the treaty of 1783 was loose, and therefore the convention was wisely intended to meet the difficulties arising from that article of 1783 at that time; but still the convention of 1787 left many points undecided that might be brought forward, and therefore it was proper to preclude that consequence. The convention of 1787 recites the doubtful article of the peace of 1783; therefore, by renewing it, you would renew the article of 1783. Now if we are recognised as sovereigns of India, if France as to it has no other claim than any other country in Europe, how can our right be rendered more clear? It is objected, that we have no security but that a claim will be brought forward. I have shewn that it cannot be brought forward upon good grounds. That France may not do so, I cannot say; but I do say, that if there be any point which France is not likely to dispute, it would be this, (before the present discussion.) This I say from what passed in the course of the negotiation, in which, however conducted, a man may be able to see the points which the party is likely to consider most important. As to my reason for refusing the papers, to some of them I have objections; others of them are, I admit, such as have been granted; but after the manner in which the question is started, I think we should stop here and negative them all."

Mr. Jones said, the honourable and learned gentleman wished all our old treaties had been renewed. He knew very well why he wished that had been done. If these questions had been brought into discussion, the definitive treaty would not have been concluded for these eighteen months to come, and perhaps not at all. He hoped the house would resist all motions of this kind; he knew the nation would. He was happy to agree with the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas), in cautioning his majesty's ministers against giving too much indulgence to the French in India. It was well known, that if they got an *inch*, they would take an *ell*. The learned

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learned gentleman had used a number of collateral arguments in support of his motion, and had even conjured up Mahomet in his favour, though unfortunately with very little effect. He had told the house that France gained a great deal by her logical weapons; but if they were no sharper than those employed by the learned gentleman, the house need not be much afraid of them. This motion was only another *driver* at the peace, and therefore he gave a most hearty vote against it.

Lord TEMPLE said a few words in support of the motion; which was then put, and negatived.

Dr. LAURENCE observed, that from the manner in which his first motion had been treated, it would, perhaps, be thought proper that he should put the others in his pocket, as he had been advised to do by a right honourable gentleman. Motives of public duty, however, as well as of private friendship, induced him to submit them to the house. Their object was to shew, that the convention of 1787 was in itself a beneficial arrangement to the East India Company, independent of its putting an end to all claims of sovereignty on the part of the French. He then made a series of motions for the following papers, which met the same fate.

"An account of the customs of Bengal, distinguishing each year, since the acquisition of the Dewanny—The price of salt, as fixed by the Governor-general at Calcutta in the year 1768—An account of the revenue on salt, from the acquisition of Dewanny to the present time—The quantity of saltpetre and opium sold to and by the Company's agents during the same time—All paragraphs in dispatches from Bengal touching the claims of the French, from 1765 to 1787—A copy of the Governor-general's minute at the secret consultation, on the 31st of July 1775—A statement of the claims of the Dutch to the navigation of the Indian seas, previous to the year 1784—and a copy of the treaty of alliance entered into between the French and Batavian Republics in the year 1795."

JUNE 11.

Mr. NICHOLLS moved, "That there should be laid before the house a copy of the orders and instructions given by the honourable the East-India Company to lieutenant colonel M'Neil when he marched his troops into the gardens of the nabob of the Carnatic, some days anterior to the demise of his highness; together with all other orders given him up to the time that he was relieved by colonel Bowser."

Mr. WALLACE said, he did not rise to object to the motion; on the contrary, it was his most anxious wish that upon any discussion which might take place on so very important a subject as that which involved the events in the Carnatic, the house should be afforded every means which could enable it to come to a correct judgement. He felt very strongly the importance of the question; he was glad that the motion had been made, and he readily consented to the papers being produced and printed. He wished the house and the country should be fully informed: persuaded that, when the subject was perfectly understood, the facts themselves would be a sufficient vindication of the measures that had been adopted. A great many calumnies had been industriously circulated. He did not mean to state his opinion, but he was desirous it should not be misunderstood. He wished

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wiſhed to ſtate, in juſtification of thoſe who had the conduct of the buſineſs in the Carnatic, that after having beſtowed all the attention in his power on the papers relating to it, he had no heſitation in ſaying, that it met his entire approbation. There was no part of the tranſactions in the Carnatic that he did not approve, or that he was not ready to take all the reſponſibility of upon himſelf; for he conſidered the right of the Company as inconteſtible, and founded upon the moſt approved principles of the law of nations. He thought the means adopted were conſiſtent with the humanity, conſideration, and generoſity which had uniformly characteriſed the Britiſh arms—qualities, he was perſuaded, which thoſe who had the conduct of affairs in India never would violate.

Mr. NICHOLLS next moved for copies of the letters, papers, and propoſitions to lord Clive and ſecretary Webbe, upon the ſame ſubject; alſo the copy of the will of his highneſs the nabob; alſo a copy of the orders and inſtructions to colonel Bowſer, upon his relieving lieutenant-colonel M'Neil in the command of the gardens of the nabob. He thanked the honourable gentleman for the candid manner in which he had aſſented to his motions, and begged to be underſtood, that in bringing them forward he meant no kind of cenſure on any man; he had never made any obſervation reflecting in the leaſt either on the marquis Welleſley or lord Clive; but the ſubject was one of ſuch magnitude that he could not conſent to its being paſſed over in ſilence. He wiſhed the proceedings in the Carnatic either to be avowed as juſt and neceſſary, or admitted as raſh and inconſiderate. It was for theſe reaſons that he had moved for the papers. If they ſhould be produced, it was his intention to ſubmit a propoſition grounded on them; if they ſhould not be produced, he ſhould nevertheleſs think himſelf bound to bring the ſubject forward.

Mr. WALLACE ſaid, he was perſuaded that every diligence would be uſed to have the papers laid before the houſe; yet he feared, from the number of them, that it would be impoſſible to get them ready. He would therefore aſk the honourable and learned gentleman what motion he could poſſibly bring forward without the papers? If his object was to enable the houſe to form a judgement upon the papers, it was neceſſary that they ſhould be previouſly produced; if it was merely to draw from government an acknowledgment of the principle on which they acted, all he could ſay was, that the papers contained the fulleſt information upon that ſubject, and any motion would be ſuperfluous. He ſincerely hoped that no motion would be thought of till the papers were on the table.

Mr. NICHOLLS ſaid, if he was rightly informed, the papers might be produced immediately. He thought the ſeſſion ought not to cloſe without the ſubject being canvaſſed in ſome ſhape or other—the character of the country was implicated in it. If he could have the papers, he would make them the ground of his motion; if not, he would proceed without them on that day ſe'nnight.

Sir HENRY STRACHEY moved, that there be laid before the houſe a copy of the treaty of 1792, between the Eaſt-India Company and the nabob of the Carnatic, commonly called Lord Cornwallis's Treaty. Agreed to. He alſo moved for a copy of a letter from the reputed ſon of the late nabob of the Carnatic to his

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his agents, James Stewart Hall and Samuel Johnſon.

Mr. WALLACE ſaid, he could have no objection to the production of the letter; but he doubted how far the houſe had any right to order it.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER obſerved, that poſſibly the letter in queſtion might be a private document which the houſe had no right to call for.

Sir HENRY STRACHEY withdrew his motion.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

JUNE 21.

Lord SUFFOLK called the attention of their lordſhips to a matter of great public importance, which, at an earlier period of the ſeſſion, he had promiſed to bring forward; it was upon the ſubject on which a noble friend of his had alſo promiſed to bring forward another queſtion (lord Moira), but was induced to poſtpone it till next ſeſſion of Parliament, having been aſſured by a noble ex-ſecretary of ſtate (lord Grenville), that thoſe official accounts indiſpenſably neceſſary to elucidate his motion had not yet, nor were likely to arrive in England during the preſent ſeſſion. The motion, however, which he had intended to ſubmit to their lordſhips required no ſuch delay, as it might be fully elucidated by accounts already within the reach of the houſe. He alluded to the amount of the debt, and the ſtate of the finances, of the Eaſt India Company; and, though the houſe was at preſent but thinly attended, he was ready this moment to go into the queſtion, unleſs noble lords oppoſite to him wiſhed to defer it till to-morrow, in order to await a fuller attendance; longer than to-morrow, however, he could not conſent to poſtpone a queſtion of ſo much importance, ſo vitally intereſting to this country, and upon which the fulleſt information was due to the public.

Lord DARTMOUTH ſaid, that, ſo far as concerned himſelf, he had no objection that the noble lord ſhould bring forward the queſtion now. He would, however, ſubmit to the noble lord's diſcretion, whether it was decorous to bring forward, at ſo late an hour of the evening, at ſo very advanced a period of the ſeſſion, and in ſo thin an aſſembly, a queſtion of ſo much importance.

Lord SUFFOLK did not wiſh to preſs the matter forward now, againſt the ſenſe of the houſe. He had, however, no objection to ſtate his views on the matter. Thoſe papers which he believed had been laid on their lordſhips table, ſtated the debt of the India Company to be eighteen millions; but he would undertake to prove it far, indeed, beyond that ſum: and therefore he thought it a ſubject of the moſt ſerious and alarming conſideration; one upon which it became parliament to exert a timely and active vigilance and control, before it became complex beyond the poſſibility of correction. He had no blame to attribute to his majeſty's preſent miniſters on this ſubject; he conſidered the perſon who, in the late adminiſtration, had the chief direction of India affairs, to be the author of this debt. He could wiſh to ſee him in that houſe, in order to confront him with the charge; but, in whichever houſe he might be ſituated, he ſhould not fail to bring it againſt him. The object of the motion that he meant to bring forward was, a return of the amount of the debt due by the India Company at the lateſt period to

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to which it could be made up, with the ſtate of their finances applicable thereto.

Lord HOBART obſerved, there could be no objection to the motion propoſed by the noble lord, or to his moving it now.

Lord SUFFOLK declared that, for the preſent, as it would deprive him of the opportunity of making thoſe obſervations by which he meant to preface his motion, he would bring it forward to-morrow.

JUNE 22.

Lord SUFFOLK roſe and ſaid, that, in conſideration of the lateneſs of the hour, he wiſhed his notice of a motion reſpecting the debts of the Eaſt India Company to ſtand over till the next day.

Lord DARTMOUTH wiſhed to know whether it was the noble lord's intention to confine himſelf to the ſpecific object of his motion, or to go more at large into the affairs of India?

Lord HOLLAND and Lord SUFFOLK ſaid, that it would undoubtedly be held allowable to go at large into the affairs of India, as far as they were connected with the ſubject matter of the motion.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

JUNE 22.

Mr. NICHOLLS roſe, purſuant to notice, to draw the attention of the houſe to the proceedings which had lately taken place in the Carnatic. He was aware of only two courſes that ſhould or could be purſued. The meaſure ſhould either be avowed and juſtified, or be immediately abandoned as a raſh and unwarrantable proceeding. It was of a nature that could not be paſſed over in ſilence; but before he ſhould go into the detail, he would briefly explain the conſtitution of the Eaſt India Company. It was a corporation formed by charter, under an act of parliament; and was a ſubject of the king, veſted with two diſtinct ſpecies of rights. Its rights of property, ſuch as its rights in the exerciſe of its trade, were granted directly for its own benefit; but its political rights, ſuch as the rights of making war and peace, &c. were granted in truſt for the benefit of the public. The former, like private property, were ſacred, and could not be taken away without compenſation. The latter were to be exerciſed under the direction of parliament. Now it appeared from ſeveral parliamentary papers, particularly from a reſolution of the houſe in 1782, that all ſchemes of conqueſt were repugnant to the policy which the Company ought to purſue in the Eaſt Indies. So little, however, had this policy been adhered to, that more conqueſts had been made in India ſince the commencement of the late revolution, than the wildeſt ambition of France had fought to achieve in Europe. Our conqueſts of the Myſore, and over the nizam, and nabob Oude, in that interval, he underſtood, amounted to a population of 20 millions. The Myſore, he knew, was generally conſidered in this country as a juſt conqueſt; but he alſo knew that in other countries of Europe there was a very different opinion. Into the detail of the wars with Hyder Ali, and Tippoo Sultaun, he was unwilling to enter. Thoſe princes had been the enemies of this country; ſo was the nizam at times, and alſo the nabob of Oude; but in the caſe of the Carnatic it was the reverſe. From the very foundation of their power,

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power, the reigning family were uniformly friendly to this country. They were never ſeen ſeparated from the intereſts of England. They grew and proſpered together. —Under theſe circumſtances, the late nabob, who was recogniſed as ſuch in the treaty called Lord Cornwallis's Treaty, died in 1801; ſince which his heir had been depoſed, and another placed in his ſtead by the Eaſt India Company. This was the meaſure of which he complained. If it were juſt, it ſhould be ſaid ſo, and announced as ſuch to Europe. A member of the board of control (Mr. Wallace) had lately declared, that it could be juſtified by the law of nations. On this point, then, he ſhould make ſome obſervations; but, not having had an opportunity of examining the papers, he could only reaſon upon ſuch facts as were of general notoriety. The firſt right, then, which he could conceive, was the *ſeizin* of the preſent nabob, who is not the ſon, but only the nephew to the late nabob. He might alſo be told, that the ſon was not entitled to any thing by the Mahommedan law, as not having been mentioned in his father's will; but all theſe points muſt be laid aſide, as the Eaſt India Company had recogniſed the title of the ſon, by treating him as the lawful heir in ſucceſſion to his father.

The SPEAKER here ſuggeſted that the debate ſhould be adjourned for a few minutes to afford time to receive a meſſenger from the lords, who, he underſtood, was waiting at the door.

Mr. NICHOLLS ſat down, and the meſſenger being called in, the meſſage was delivered, requeſting a conference upon the ſubject of the laſt conference, (the amendments made by the lords in the Engliſh militia bill.) The houſe having agreed to the conference—

Lord GLENBERVIE moved, that the manager of the late conference do manage the preſent one; which being agreed to, lord Glenbervie went to meet a deputation of the lords in conference; and on his return, he reported that the lords had given up all the amendments to which the commons refuſed their aſſent, except one. He then moved, that the houſe ſhould inſiſt upon its diſagreement with reſpect to that one, with a view to negative the motion. The motion was negatived accordingly, and Lord Glenbervie was deſired to inform the lords that the houſe had withdrawn its oppoſition to ſaid amendment.

Mr. NICHOLLS then reſumed, by obſerving, that when the ſpeaker interrupted him, he was ſtating the various poſſible grounds of juſtification. The firſt was the *ſeizin* of the nephew; but he conceived that the Eaſt India Company had precluded themſelves from any ſuch argument, as they had previouſly acknowledged the right of the ſon. The next poſſible title that could be attempted to be ſet up, might be a claim on the ground of forfeiture. Mr. Nicholls was then proceeding to diſcuſs this ſecond point, when

Mr. SHERIDAN moved, that the houſe be counted; and, there being only 38 members preſent, an adjournment of courſe took place.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

JUNE 23.

Lord SUFFOLK brought forward his promiſed motion reſpecting the affairs of the Eaſt India Company. He ſaid, that the non-arrival of certain official documents reſpecting ſome late tranſactions in that quarter

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ter of the world, which had been alleged by a noble lord, not now in his place (lord Grenville), which had reſtrained a noble friend of his (lord Moira) from bringing forward his promiſed inquiry on that ſubject, in the preſent ſeſſion, and which he was ſure that noble lord would do his duty by following it up early in the next ſeſſion, could not operate on the queſtion that he himſelf roſe now to bring forward, as the documents upon which he ſhould ground his arguments were now upon their lordſhips table. The noble lord then ſhortly adverted to the late ſeizure of the dominions of the nabob of Arcot by the troops of the Eaſt India Company, and expreſſed his own ſurpriſe at that tranſaction, unaccountable as it ſtood at this moment; more eſpecially when he conſidered the nabob of Arcot as the hereditary friend and firm ally of the Britiſh power in India. To the grandfather of the young nabob, (whoſe dominion had been thus ſeized, who has himſelf been dethroned, and, with his family, caſt into priſon,) this country owed every poſſeſſion and proſperity that ſhe at this day held in India; and the dying injunction of that grandfather to the ſucceſſor to his throne was, to maintain towards the Engliſh that friendſhip, fidelity, and firm alliance, which he had always ſupported. This injunction he had always underſtood to have been moſt religiouſly kept by the young nabob, who, for ſome cauſe that he could not learn, was dethroned, and ſtripped at once of his dominions and his liberty. The next circumſtance to which he ſhould advert, was the ſeizure made by the Company's troops on one-third of the territories of the nabob of Oude; a tranſaction equally ſurpriſing and unaccountable. That prince was in perfect friendſhip and alliance with the Engliſh in India; his territories formed a complete barrier between our Indian poſſeſſions and Perſia on that ſide, and gave us, in fact, the ſecurity of an effectual defence on our frontiers. We had in the ſervice of that prince a conſiderable body of troops, aiding in that defence, for which the nabob annually paid fifty lacks of rupees, a ſum equal to 600,000l. ſterling. In conſequence of a demand on our parts, that ſum was afterwards increaſed to one hundred lacks. This tribute, he underſtood, was regularly paid: and yet, while in apparent amity with him, we had ſeized upon one-third of his territories. This political part of the queſtion he ſhould diſmiſs with a ſhort obſervation or two, not merely of his own, but coming from authorities much better acquainted with our Eaſt Indian intereſts. [Here the noble lord read a paſſage from a pamphlet written by Mr. Dundas, containing ſome wholeſome counſel to the Eaſt India Company, in which he tells them to avoid extending their conqueſts and enlarging their territories, as the beſt ſecurity for their poſſeſſions and permanent proſperity: and another paſſage from the third report of the committee of India directors; which, after commending the wiſe and prudent conduct of lord Cornwallis in ſtopping ſhort of his victorious career under the walls of Seringapatam, to have been followed by an advantageous peace, and a conſiderable advancement to the intereſts and proſperity of our affairs in India; while the brilliant extermination of a formidable rival in the ſame quarter was followed by nothing but inſolvency and embarraſſment.] The noble lord then proceeded to ſtate the debt of the

Company,

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Company, which he ſaid he had collected from the authorities on their table, which however were too voluminous for him to have examined with minuteneſs. This debt, he ſaid, had been in a conſtant ſtate of increaſe ever ſince the year 1786, when it ſtood at only ten millions. That ſum the late preſident of the board of control had profeſſed to conſider as moſt alarming; and he always appeared to be of opinion that the debt of the Company was the moſt formidable enemy to their property in India; but it had ſince increaſed to no leſs a ſum than 22,000,000l. at the end of the laſt year; added to which, there was a balance due by them to the Britiſh government (out of four millions to be paid for the laſt renewal of their charter) of 8,500,000l. as they had never yet been able to pay more than 500,000l. of their contract; add to this the expenſe of the Indian expedition to Egypt, which would coſt nearly four millions; and which would probably fall on the ſhoulders of our government at home to pay, although the Egyptian expedition was originally undertaken for the defence of India. He did not blame thoſe miniſters who ſought the advantage of aid from the Indian army in their expedition againſt Egypt; in which, though we were ultimately and glorioufly ſucceſsful, we had no right to reckon on that ſucceſs, if we conſidered the wide numerical diſparity of our force, and that againſt which it was ſent. Our army conſiſted of only 15,000 men, while that of the French ſettlers in the country, poſſeſſed of every ſtrong hold, and inured to the climate, was 27,000. Whatever, then, was the bravery of our troops, and no man more highly eſtimated that bravery than he did, he muſt ſtill conſider our ſucceſs as more owing to the ill conduct of the French, than to any thing which ſuch a force was calculated to effect againſt obſtacles ſo formidable. The achievement, however, was glorious, and he cheerfully gave it its full ſhare of credit. If from the debt of the Company he looked to its reſources, he ſaw only a declining commerce and declining revenues; that the Company, unable to remit the trade home by inveſtments of their own, had taken off the reſtrictions uſually kept over their ſervants; added to which, the reſtoration of France to her former poſſeſſions in India, in a ſhort time all the countries of Europe would be glutted with Indian produce, which we have been wont to ſupply. What muſt be the conſequence of this but bankruptcy? The India Company would be obliged again, as they had been before obliged, to appeal to parliament *in forma pauperis*, and this moſt probably in the next ſeſſion of parliament. Having commented on thoſe circumſtances, lord Suffolk concluded by expreſſing his regret that the right honourable gentleman, whom he conſidered the author of this debt, and all its conſequent calamities, (Mr. Dundas,) was not in the ſeat in that houſe, to which he underſtood he was about to be raiſed, that he might confront him with the charge. He underſtood a ſtatue was to be raiſed to his right honourable colleague in office; and he hoped another would be raiſed to the right honourable gentleman to keep it in countenance. The latter might be very properly compoſed of *braſs*; the former, if intended to be of *gold*, he feared would not find materials. Under both might be inſcribed, *Indemnity for the paſt; Security for the future*; and to complete the eulogium,

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eulogium, *Corruption* ſhould be emblazoned in the moſt ſtriking characters. The noble lord concluded by moving an humble addreſs to his majeſty, "praying that there ſhould be laid before the houſe, an account of the debts and aſſets of the India Company, to the lateſt period that the ſame could be made out."

The Earl of DARTMOUTH, in anſwer to what had fallen from the noble earl who had juſt ſat down, firſt obſerved, that he ſaw no objection to the production of the account called for. He ſaid, it would be unneceſſary for him to take up the time of the houſe in following the noble earl; much of what he ſaid being irrelevant to his main or regular ſubject of diſcuſſion, or intended for future diſcuſſion; in the courſe of which he doubted not the expected information would evince, that the noble lords entruſted with the government of India, and whoſe meaſures on that occaſion were arraigned by the noble earl, had acted upon principles of ſound policy and juſtice. His lordſhip then entered into a detailed ſtatement of ſome length, relative to the financial affairs of India, and which were drawn from official documents and extracts, that he regularly referred to as he proceeded, and the reſult of which he was confident muſt do away the unfavourable impreſſions received by the noble earl, and ſhew that the debts of India by no means amounted to what the noble earl had ſtated, or that its financial concerns were in ſuch a ſtate as he ſeemed to imagine. He ſtated the progreſſive increaſe of the debts of India from 1786 to 1801, and claſſed theſe under the different heads to which they appertained, of foreign bills, inveſtments, aſſets, &c. and calculated that the whole did not exceed 18,637,000l. as ſtated in the official documents before the houſe. He contended, that the debt was not incurred by the expenſe of the war in the degree the noble earl ſeemed to imagine. With reſpect to the increaſed charge for the troops to the government of Oude, they were ſtationed purſuant to the proviſions of the treaty for the defence of that country; and circumſtances requiring an increaſed number of troops in that quarter, a proportionate charge of courſe took place. He contended, that the ſtate of India was of late very much improved, particularly on account of the introduction of the ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence, and the benign influence of our laws into that country. The reſources of India were in a flouriſhing ſtate, and her debts would be put into a train of expeditious liquidation, one ingredient in which undoubtedly was a ſtrict economy, and alſo a reduction of the military eſtabliſhments of India. A great deal in the way of liquidation would be effected, by transferring the debts of that country, through the medium of commerce, to Leadenhall-ſtreet. The noble earl concluded by repeating that he had no objection to the motion.

The Earl of SUFFOLK ſaid a few words in explanation; and adverted to the advantages the noble earl at the head of the board of control had in recurring to official documents; it was impoſſible for him to refer to papers which he had not ſeen; he had no doubt of the ſtatements being correct, and he expreſſed his ſatisfaction at hearing that the military eſtabliſhments of India were intended to be reduced.

The queſtion was then put, and the accounts were ordered to be produced accordingly.

HOUSE

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HOUSE OF COMMONS.

JUNE 23.

A perſon from the Eaſt India Company produced papers, which had been moved for by Mr. WALLACE, relative to the recent tranſactions in the Carnatic. Upon their being ordered to be printed, Mr. SHERIDAN roſe and ſpoke nearly to the following effect:—"The diſcuſſion yeſterday having been unfortunately interrupted in conſequence of there not having been a ſufficient number of members preſent to liſten to the laborious and eloquent ſpeech of an honourable and learned gentleman, whom I am happy that I now ſee in one of his places, (for the honourable gentleman ſhifts his ſeat ſo frequently, that there is no ſaying to which ſide of the houſe he belongs.) I mean again to call the attention of the houſe to the recent tranſactions in India, which it was then unhappily prevented from hearing deſcribed in a much more ample and elegant manner than I can promiſe or undertake. I ſhall unfortunately purſue a very different courſe, by which the houſe will be deprived of the advantage of hearing the whole hiſtory of India detailed, from the period of the firſt eſtabliſhment of European ſettlements in its territory. I wiſh to avoid entering into all detail; for it is neceſſary to purſue one or the other of two lines. It is neceſſary either to go into the whole queſtion with *ex parte* evidence, with ſuch evidence as would not only be inſufficient to warrant me in calling for any deciſion of the houſe, but even to warrant me in ſaying, that my own opinion on the ſubject is made up; or, having pointed the attention of the houſe to the matter, to forbear bringing it under further diſcuſſion till the whole can be fairly taken into view. I ſhall chooſe the latter mode; but before I proceed to ſay a few words on the papers before the houſe, I have to explain to the hon. gentleman the ſhare that I had in the act which deprived the houſe of the pleaſure of hearing him laſt night. It has not been my cuſtom to enforce the ſtrict rules of the houſe, ſtill leſs to quit the houſe in the midſt of a ſpeech. Taking it upon myſelf, therefore, to account to the honourable gentleman for enforcing the ſtrict rule laſt night, I leave others to excuſe themſelves to him, if they can, for leaving the houſe during a ſpeech ſo intereſting. I was directed by thoſe who applied to me on this buſineſs, to addreſs myſelf in the firſt inſtance to his majeſty's miniſters; and if a ſatisfactory explanation was received from them, no further proceeding was to take place; and here I muſt ſay, that in my communications with the right honourable gentleman oppoſite (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), I found a diſpoſition to give every poſſible information that could be procured. I was given to underſtand, however, that fuller information was every day expected, and I thought it right to give time for its arrival; and even now I do not mean, on the partial evidence that is in my hands, to go into any ſounding declamation; I think myſelf bound in candour and fairneſs to wait for the arrival of thoſe documents without which a fair eſtimate cannot be formed. Acting on this principle, and waiting from day to day for the expected information, I was a little ſurpriſed to find that, during my abſence, an honourable gentleman, ſtruck with a new ſenſibility of which he had before ſhewed no ſymptom, had taken the young prince under

his protection, and ſtood forward a ſpontaneous guardian to demand the reſtitution of his rights. On my return, the honourable gentleman very kindly expreſſed a wiſh that I ſhould bring the buſineſs forward, and declared that he himſelf would be content with a ſecondary ſpeech. An honourable gentleman, for reaſons which he mentioned privately to me, and which I found very ſatisfactory, wiſhed the buſineſs to be put off from Tueſday to Wedneſday; he ſignified his wiſh in the houſe with my conſent, and applied to the hon. gentleman to put off the conditional notice which he had thought proper to give.—After all this, I was indeed much ſurpriſed to find, on coming down yeſterday, that the hon. gentleman was determined to proceed; and the only reaſon I could hear for his having been ſo determined was, that he was apprehenſive that the ſecretary of the treaſury would prevent the houſe from meeting for buſineſs this day, in order to juggle him out of the opportunity of making his ſpeech. I have mentioned this in order to account for the abrupt proceeding of yeſterday. The honourable gentleman accounts for his having taken up the buſineſs by ſaying, that he feared from my negligence that I would abandon it. Now, with deference to the honourable gentleman, whatever negligence may be imputed to my conduct in other reſpects, I cannot be charged with having neglected to bring the errors of the governors in India before the public, and to enforce the neceſſity of puniſhing their crimes in an exemplary manner. He accuſes my conduct of tending to occaſion delay in an affair that requires inſtant conſideration; but, in my opinion, his own conduct is more likely to produce delay: for what effect can a precipitate motion, founded on no documents, on no information, have, but to provoke oppoſition, and to prevent the voluntary efforts of his majeſty's miniſters to promote an inquiry? In the method of conducting inquiries into Indian affairs, at leaſt, I may boaſt I have had ſome experience, and do not ſtand in need of the directions of the hon. and learned gentleman. With regard to the time, the occaſion, the manner, in which it is proper for me to bring forward any motion, I hold myſelf bound to obey the dictates of no man. I ſhall act, in theſe reſpects, from my own motives, from the dictates of my own mind, and not be guided either by the whims or the feelings of others. On the preſent occaſion, I have already ſtated, that there are only two ways of proceeding—either to diſcuſs the whole of the Indian affairs with ſuch imperfect lights as we have, or to defer the whole till we can procure more complete information. The motives that induce me to purſue the latter method, I have already ſtated; and I muſt again do the Chancellor of the Exchequer the juſtice to ſay, that he has, in this buſineſs, ſhewn himſelf extremely willing to produce every document in his power, and has, in no inſtance, ſhewn a diſpoſition to keep back any information that has been required. He has even voluntarily moved for papers, without requiring reaſons to be alleged by others for their production. When ſuch was the Chancellor of the Exchequer's conduct, it was impoſſible that I could follow any other courſe than that which I have, at preſent choſen. I ſhould not think myſelf juſtified in endeavouring, either by an inflammatory or declamatory harangue, to prejudge

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judge the queſtion before the neceſſary information reſpecting it can be procured. After the willingneſs which he had ſhewn to promote an inquiry into this ſubject, I need not inform the preſent miniſter, who has not hitherto intermeddled with Indian politics, and who is ſtill unpolluted by the crimes of that government—I need not inform him, that this ſubject requires his moſt ſerious conſideration. It is unneceſſary for me to enter into a train of argument to prove the rights of the Indian princes to their own dominions. Since the ſettlement made in the year 1768, we have ourſelves uniformly recogniſed the title of the rights of the nabob of Arcot. Yet, in defiance of this right, the lineal heir of that dominion is now depoſed by us on account of the alleged crimes of his grandfather and his father, on the ground of an unlawful correſpondence with the late ſultaun of the Myſore. But I will aſk who were the informers on this charge? the government of India: who were the accuſers? the government of India: who were the witneſſes? the government of India: who were the judges? the government of India: who were the receivers of the fines and forfeitures? the government of India. Upon theſe circumſtances, on the conſideration that the ſame perſons who were informers, accuſers, witneſſes, and judges, who were alſo to enjoy the mulcts and beneficial intereſt ariſing from the conviction, there is reaſon to entertain doubts of the juſtice and equity of the proceeding. I am ſure this ſhort ſtatement is ſufficient to bring the buſineſs under the ſerious conſideration of the houſe. I ſhall be happy, and I ſhall think it extremely fortunate for the character of the government of India, and for the credit of the nation at large, if further information ſhall be found to juſtify what has been done; and if, inſtead of inſtituting any charge on the ſtatement, I ſhall have reaſon to abandon it from conviction. I ſhall be ſatisfied if miniſters will take up the matter in ſuch a way as to bring it to a full and fair inveſtigation; but if they do not, I pledge myſelf to take it up in ſuch a way, that if the government of India has been guilty of the inordinate acts which are now charged upon them, at leaſt the Britiſh nation ſhall be reſcued from the ſuſpicion of giving countenance to acts ſo flagrant and ſo atrocious; and the government itſelf will be ſhewn the evil policy of ſeeking its own aggrandizement, by trampling on thoſe principles of juſtice and honour which can alone ſecure to them the attachment of the natives. At preſent I will make no motion; but content myſelf with requeſting the houſe to take the papers into their ſerious conſideration. In addition to theſe papers, I take the liberty to preſent the petition of the regents appointed to direct the young prince, by the will of his highneſs the late nabob. Some difficulties may be ſtarted as to the authenticity of the ſignature; but it is in this, as in the common caſes of preſenting petitions from the magiſtrates or inhabitants of country towns; though one cannot pledge himſelf for the authenticity of the ſignatures, it is preſumed that they are authentic. I have one reaſon to urge why the houſe ſhould more readily receive this petition: Appeals from India can be made only to parliament, and it is only by parliament that the wrongs of which the petition complains (if wrongs they really are)

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can be redreſſed. The crown itſelf has no power to redreſs the wrongs of the ſufferers." Mr. Sheridan concluded by moving, "That the petition from the regents of the Carnatic, which he held in his hand, be received and lie on the table*."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, he was ſure the houſe would do him the honour to recollect, that on various occaſions, when petitions were preſented to the houſe, and when doubts had ariſen in the minds of gentlemen, as to the propriety of receiving ſuch petitions, he had always ſhewn a diſpoſition to receive them, provided they contained nothing that was indecorous, and prayed for ſuch relief as the houſe could, with propriety, grant; for it had always been his wiſh to give to the houſe a facility of attention to complaints that were made, and to grant ſuch relief as was in the power of the houſe to grant. But, with this diſpoſition, and every deſire to ſhew all poſſible favour to the petitioners, he entertained ſome doubt, whether the petition which had been opened by the honourable gentleman who had made the motion was of ſuch a kind as could be received by the houſe. It ſeemed that the petitioners ſtyled themſelves regents and deſcendants of the late nabob of the Carnatic.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, he propoſed the petition as coming from ſubjects

* The petition ſet forth, that "the underſigned, immediate deſcendants of his late highneſs Walajah Behauder, &c. &c. and brothers of his highneſs Omdut-ul-Omrah, &c. late nabobs of the Carnatic, approach the houſe with heart-felt grief and affliction. That they have not been accuſtomed, from birth and ſituation, to ſeek and implore aſſiſtance at a foreign hand, and are wholly unacquainted with the language of petition; and would therefore hope, that the houſe will impute any failure in form or reſpect, if any ſhould be conceived, to their utter want of knowledge in the cuſtoms and manners which the houſe may chance to have ordained: But they feel aſſured, that the houſe will not turn aſide from any ſubject of juſt complaint, in whatever form or whatever language it preſent itſelf.—That it is with confidence, therefore, that they approach, and make known thoſe ſufferings, which have weighed them down to the earth: For they have to acquaint the houſe, that they cannot but conſider and lament the late unfortunate ſucceſſion to the muſnud of the Carnatic, dictated by the government of Fort St. George, by the ſword of the Eaſt India Company, as the deſtruction of the deſcent of their antient and honourable family, a degradation of the dignity of the ſovereignty, an abuſe of the ordinations of the law, and a ſacrifice of the rights of the people.—That they enjoyed indeed an inſtant happineſs in contemplating the acceſſion of a prince deſcended from the loins of their much beloved and highly honoured brother, and appointed by the will of his royal father, as of right, to the muſnud of his predeceſſors; but had ſcarcely time to congratulate themſelves and his people on the event, before they had the miſery to behold him caſt from his throne, placed amongſt the loweſt of his ſubjects, and his hereditary empire and dominions conveyed, by the hand of an unlawful ſucceſſor, as a largeſs to thoſe who had forced him, with a diſregard of every principle of right and of humanized policy, into an unbidden ſituation:—By which flagrant act of injuſtice, they have humbly to repreſent to the houſe, that the real and indiſputable heir to the empire has been circumvented, and they, the deſcendants from a line of ſovereigns, barred for ever, both in themſelves and progeny, from the enjoyment of their hereditary honours and dignities, have been reduced into a ſtate of dependency on that power which has occaſioned this mighty and incomparable miſchief, and are delivered into the cuſtody of him, who, with ſo little conſideration and remorſe, has already ſacrificed the rights, and may eventually devote the perſons of his kind:—They therefore implore and beſeech the houſe (for, alas! they have no other hope) to inquire into, and conſider their diſtreſſed condition, and afford them that relief which the houſe, in its wiſdom and juſtice, ſhall think fit: And they the ſubſcribers, and a grateful people, ſhall ever pray for the long continuation of the proſperity and honours of the houſe."

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ſubjects of the Britiſh power in India.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that his doubt was removed as to this point. He ſhould have thought, that had the petitioners been ſtyled regents of the late nabob, &c. there might have been ſome difficulty about receiving it, leſt it might be ſaid that the houſe of Commons had recogniſed a title which might afterwards turn out to be unfounded. It might, therefore, be thought improper to recogniſe a title which was thereafter to be conſidered. He was, however, deſirous of conſidering this petition in that point of view which was moſt favourable for its reception. It might be contended, that theſe perſons now petitioning the houſe were not ſubjects of the Britiſh power in India, as they were now ſtated; but that was a point which he ſhould not now diſcuſs: that might introduce a doubt how far the petition ought to be entertained, in as much as it did not come from the deſcription of perſons on whoſe behalf it was offered. He had no diſpoſition to diſcuſs ſuch topics; it was enough for him to ſee that the petitioners ſtated a grievance which might be redreſſed by the Britiſh parliament; and, as they applied to the Britiſh parliament for relief, he, for one, was not diſpoſed to reſiſt the bringing up of the petition. He had very little more to ſay on this ſubject, becauſe he concurred with the honourable gentleman who made the motion, in one general ſentiment which he had expreſſed, that there was no alternative on this occaſion, for that the houſe muſt either go minutely into the ſubject in all its parts, or abſtain from the diſcuſſion of it altogether. Thus far he agreed with the honourable gentleman, but he muſt be permitted to expreſs a regret, that from one or two of the expreſſions of the honourable gentleman he appeared to have deviated from that ſentiment. He had ſaid, that if any judgement could be formed from the papers on the table, criminality would attach to thoſe who were at the head of the government of Bengal; of this, however, the honourable gentleman admitted no decided opinion could be formed. Now, Mr. Addington ſaid, whatever his opinion had been of the conduct of the noble perſons to whom this obſervation referred, it would not become him, in the preſent circumſtances, (there being no official detail upon the ſubject,) to deliver that opinion to the houſe; for the houſe could not form a correct judgement as to the propriety of that opinion, becauſe the houſe was not in poſſeſſion of the neceſſary documents for that purpoſe. He would go further, and ſay, he could not even permit himſelf to form a concluſive opinion without all the documents; but while he ſaid this, he ſhould alſo add, that as no inference could be drawn from the documents before the houſe, his opinion was, that no criminality whatever did attach either to the governor-general or to the other high character alluded to on this occaſion. He ſaid this on a view of the papers as they ſtood at preſent, and appeared before the Houſe. He firmly believed that no criminality whatever would be found to attach to theſe noble perſons; further than this he was unwilling to go into this ſubject at preſent, being convinced that it would be thoroughly diſcuſſed in the next ſeſſion of parliament. What would be the opinion of the houſe hereafter, it did not become him to foretell; but he was confident he

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was not asking more than the house was disposed to grant, when he asked them to pause before they gave an opinion upon a subject so interesting to the British character in general, and that of those noble persons in particular who had been so long employed in, who had been so steadily attached to, the public service of this country; on whose conduct, either for want of exertion or breach of faith, no blame or suspicion had ever yet attached.—He felt a satisfaction in reflecting, that the house would not entertain any sentiment coming from any quarter unfavourable to these noble persons, before the whole of the circumstances of the case came before them by authentic documents.

Mr. NICHOLLS said, he had no wish to discuss the question in the present state of the evidence. He must say, however, that the non-arrival of the details formed a ground of accusation against the Marquis of Wellesley and Lord Clive. The transaction took place eleven months ago; and the delay in transmitting the details furnished a presumption against them. If, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would pledge himself that justice should be done in the case, he should abstain from making any motion. It was not of the act of injustice done to the real heir of the late nabob that he complained, but of its consequences, and the system developed, of which it formed only one point. It was now avowed that the East India Company are over-spreading the country of India with conquests, and that their proceeding in the Carnatic has been followed by many other such acts. The only power now remaining able to resist them was the Mahrattas, with whom the present conduct of the Company, if persevered in, must provoke a war. He deprecated such a consequence with a power whose population amounted to twenty millions, and in the present state of the Company, who are twenty-four millions in debt. In case of such an event, this country must be drained to support the war; for such was the state of the Company, that it was with difficulty they contrived to pass over the present session without coming to that house for assistance, and must certainly come with an application for that purpose in the next. Here Mr. Nicholls was called to order by Mr. Wallace.

The SPEAKER said, he conceived that the honourable member's observations were not strictly applicable to the motion; but he was always delicate in interfering upon such occasions, as it was difficult to know whether an honourable member might not conclude with something that would bring him within order.

Mr. NICHOLLS acquiesced in the decision of the Chair. The motion which he intended to make, he said, was, for an address to his Majesty, praying that immediate justice might be done in the case; but as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had promised to that effect, he should not press it.

Mr. WALLACE denied that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have made any promise of the kind, as such a promise would be to prejudge the cause.

Mr. NICHOLLS answered, that if that were the case, he must persevere in moving the address. He then proceeded to state the various possible grounds upon which the East India Company might attempt a justification of their conduct in the Carnatic. In addition to those which he stated on the preceding night,

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night, he ſaid, he underſtood it was alledged, that papers were found at the taking of Seringapatam, which involved the late nabob in treaſonable practices with the late Tippoo Saib. Suppoſing the truth of this charge, there was no precedent of a caſe of the kind being brought forward after the death of the offending party, after a lapſe of two years, and againſt an innocent defendant. He would not merely ſay that this country furniſhed no ſuch caſe, but he would deny that any country of Europe could furniſh one. Admitting that the father had in his life-time given cauſe of offence, it was ſurely unjuſt to viſit it upon the ſon. If this doctrine be good, no prince in Europe could be ſafe; as for inſtance, France might charge the next ſucceſſor of the king of Naples with an hoſtile correſpondence againſt her, and depoſe him on that ground. If the title of the ſon of the late nabob were not good, why did the Company treat with him for the ceſſion of his dominions? Another ground of juſtification he underſtood was, an alledged right in the Eaſt-India Company, upon the death of the nabob, to appoint his ſucceſſor. Theſe were all the poſſible grounds upon which he could conceive that the advocates of the tranſaction could attempt its ſupport. He charged it as a departure from the ſyſtem laid down in that houſe in 1782, and confirmed by a reſolution in 1784. He had been charged with the principles which he held at that period, particularly in the caſe of Mr. Haſtings. He was not aſhamed of the ſentiments which he then expreſſed, as his experience ſince had furniſhed additional reaſons to admire the wiſdom of the ſyſtem recommended by him, of confining our Eaſt India conqueſts, and for which, inſtead of receiving remuneration, his country had paid him with a proſecution. A contrary conduct would certainly lead to a war with the Mahrattas, and eventually with France; for if we were to be two years at war with the Mahrattas, unleſs France ſhould depart from her old maxims of policy, there could be no doubt but ſhe would in that time interfere in the quarrel. The queſtion was urgent, and could not bear delay. An example of redreſs ſhould be held out to the princes of India, and the ſyſtem of univerſal empire now purſued in that quarter ſhould be abandoned. Entertaining theſe ſentiments, he thought it his duty to bring the queſtion forward; he ſhould accordingly move his addreſs; but whether any other perſon in the houſe was of the ſame way of thinking, he could not ſay, as the gentleman who had promiſed to ſecond him had been obliged to leave town in the morning upon other buſineſs. Mr. Nicholls then moved the following addreſs:

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly requeſting that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to direct ſuch meaſures to be taken as in his wiſdom he may deem expedient, for the immediate examination of the claim of the Eaſt India Company to the dominions of Omdut ul Omrah, late nabob of the Carnatic; and that juſtice may be done to his highneſs Tajee ul Omrah, his only ſon, and the ſucceſſor appointed by his will."

Nobody having riſen to ſecond the addreſs, it could not be put from the chair conſiſtently with the rule of the houſe; and of courſe the queſtion fell to the ground.

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ADDENDA

TO THE PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT IN 1801.

MR. DUNDAS'S SPEECH ON THE INDIA BUDGET.

In our account of the debate which took place on this ſubject, on the 12th of June 1801, (ſee *Aſiat. Reg. Vol.* 3, *Proceedings in Parliament*, *p.* 141.) we gave, as uſual, the abſtract of the India accounts preſented to the houſe by the miniſter; but our report of Mr. Dundas's ſpeech on that occaſion was not ſo full or accurate as we could have wiſhed, owing to an unlucky circumſtance, which it were now uſeleſs to explain. We have therefore much ſatisfaction in preſenting our readers with a very copious abſtract of what fell from Mr. Dundas, in the comprehenſive and luminous view which he took of the political ſtate of Hinduſtan, and of the affairs of the Britiſh provinces in that country.

After his elaborate and perſpicuous ſtatement of the India accounts, Mr. Dundas proceeded in nearly the following words:

When I undertook the taſk of ſtating this year the ſituation of India concerns in the manner I have been accuſtomed to do when in office, it was my original intention to have confined this ſtatement to a dry recital, in the ſhape of reſolutions, of the reſult of the accounts and eſtimates on the table. My reaſons for this were, firſt, that, with the opinion I entertain of the reſult of the adminiſtration of India for ſeventeen years paſt, under its preſent ſyſtem, I could not well take a retroſpective view of its paſt compared with its preſent ſituation, without being liable to the imputation of an oſtentatious diſplay of occurrences, in which I may be ſuppoſed to have had a conſiderable ſhare; and, ſecondly, if I was to indulge myſelf in too flattering a proſpective view of future expectations, I might be accuſed of holding out ſanguine predictions on future events, reſpecting which I had no reſponſibility, and the fulfilment of which was to depend upon others, and not upon myſelf.

But, upon a nearer view of the ſubject, and conſidering the manner in which I concluded my ſtatement of laſt year, I have perſuaded myſelf, that it would be both unmanly and uncandid on my part, at this moment, if I was to conclude with barely recording reſolutions ſtating the reſults ariſing out of the accounts which have been referred to the committee. I concluded my ſtatement of laſt year in the following words:

'The final reſult of the whole is, the financial departments in India have experienced material deterioration, from the united preſſure of war expences, and proviſion of inveſtments; but not in a degree to afford ground of alarm. A large proportion of the increaſe of the debt has been the occaſion of adding to the aſſets, from whence the home concern has been conſiderably enriched. It certainly is of the firſt importance to deviſe a method by which the preſent burthens on India may be relieved; and I am happy in being enabled to remark, that the means for accompliſhing this deſirable object are to be found in various ways:—in principles of economy, as to the future expenditure; and in a proper application of the increaſed reſources abroad. An examination muſt likewiſe be made, by what mode the home treaſury can contribute to the diminution of the foreign debt.

'From the circumſtances of the war, the eſtabliſhments have been conſiderably extended. It will be a point of my diligent and cloſe attention, that every practicable reduction ſhall be carried into effect, from which, with the favourable proſpect to be indulged from the ſtability and permanence of the reſources, and the unexampled proſperity of the commerce, no apprehenſions need be entertained on account of the magnitude of the preſent debt: I am prepared, indeed, to meet it at fourteen millions. My confidence in the means of retrieving the ſtate of the finances abroad is further ſtrengthened, by reference to the experience of former times. The ſituation of the Company, on the firſt eſtabliſhment of the preſent ſyſtem, is well known to have been ſuch, that the full extent of their difficulties could not be aſcertained till the year 1786. In the year 1797, I took occaſion to offer to the committee a moſt flattering view of the ſurpriſing improvements brought about

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about in the course of ten years. The reduction of the debts, and the increase of the assets, were to an amount exceeding 11,100,000l. sterling. It is true, that within that period money had been raised on additional capital, to the amount of 3,740,000l.; but it must likewise be taken into consideration, that the remainder may be termed a net improvement, under the events of an Indian war, at one time threatening serious disasters, though finally concluded highly to the advantage of the Company: under the events likewise of the present European war, during four years of the period, which caused enormous additions to the expence of freights, and of the provision of every article of equipment; and occasioned also great expences by several expeditions, from which our rivals were deprived of their possessions in the East. But I have carried the comparison three years further, which will take in a great part of the immense expenditure of the late war with Mysore, and find, that the improvement during these thirteen years, on the same principle, is 12,880,000l. If it be enquired, what is the state of the concern between 1796-7 and the date of the present accounts, in which period the extraordinary pressure has been mostly felt, it is satisfactory to discover, that without any aid from increase of capital, the improvement has still been 747,000l.

'It is fair, then, to infer, that so far from apprehensions, the most sanguine hopes may be indulged, from the present general aspect of the Company's affairs, whether considered politically or commercially, that unless any thing unforeseen should occur, the debts may, in a few years, be reduced to the amount at which it may be prudent to limit them; and that the surplus produce of the revenues may be applied to the purposes intended, when the last arrangement took place.'

These words have been given to the public; and therefore, both my successors, and the public at large, have a right to expect from me, at the close of my Indian administration, that I should more distinctly explain the grounds of those expectations which I had thus held out.

Although in the discharge of this task which I impose on myself, I may be obliged to refer to past transactions, I shall refrain from doing it, either ostentatiously or in great detail; but if I am to state my expectations as to the future, it is impossible for me to do so, without stating the grounds on which my confidence rests.

The change of system, in consequence of the institution of the present mode of administration, forming an æra rather remarkable in the annals of the East India Company, from the particular situation of their affairs, as well as from the clashing of interests and opinions occasioned thereby; it may not be altogether foreign to the present purpose, and particularly from the peculiar circumstances under which I have the honour to address the committee, if I take a view of some of the events which have since combined to the increase of our power and influence, and to their establishment on a basis not likely soon to be shaken.

Beginning with the state of affairs in India, both as it concerns our external relations, and the internal situation of our own extensive and valuable possessions, it is with the most heartfelt satisfaction my mind contemplates the amazing change in our political relations in the East at the present time, compared with what they were in 1784. A circumstantial detail of the many vicissitudes within the period, cannot be expected to be given, in the narrow space of time allotted to this inquiry: let it partly suffice to say, that, by a happy combination of efforts both abroad and at home, effects have been produced which could scarcely have entered the minds of the most sanguine.

In the year 1784, peace had been recently obtained from our inveterate and determined enemy, the late Tippoo Sultaun, as a boon, in fact, essential to the preservation of our possessions on the peninsula of India, for the most part suffering from the ravages of war, to a degree which peace and time alone could recover. The period following that peace, till the unprovoked hostility on the lines of our ally, the rajah of Travancore, was little more than an unceasing expectation of war. It then became necessary, not only upon the faith of treaties, but upon principles of self-defence, to enter again upon a most arduous conflict with our enemy, in the plenitude of his power; the issue of which rested, at one time, upon a very precarious balance, till the rare and singular talents of him whose name must ever be mentioned with gratitude and reverence, were called forth. (The noble and respectable character to whom I allude is the Marquis Cornwallis.) Such, however, was the nature of the contest, that two campaigns were requisite to bring it to an end; and truly glorious it was, affording at once a display of British prowess in arms, and moderation in victory.

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tory. The face of affairs was then completely changed. Peace was our grant, when ſummary vengeance was at our command. Policy and prudence required that the enemy ſhould be reduced in his power, and juſtice preſcribed, that our allies and ourſelves ſhould receive ſome reimburſements of the expences we had reſpectively incurred: he was, therefore, not only amerced in a conſiderable ſum, but ſtript of the half of his dominions.

The next interval of peace bore a near reſemblance to the laſt; and it has been clearly aſcertained, that the firſt bias of the mind of our enemy was not only the recovery of his dominions, but alſo the accompliſhment of our utter deſtruction. The day at length arrived when forbearance could no longer be exerciſed with common attention to the ſafety of our own intereſts. A new war became eſſentially neceſſary, which, by the moſt ſignal exertions of wiſdom, energy, and courage, was ſoon brought to a termination in the death of him who provoked it, and in the entire conqueſt of his dominions. Theſe great events, and the arrangements in conſequence, are on the records of parliament; but I have adverted to them, in order to diſplay the ſecure and permanent foundation on which our poſſeſſions are at this time held in that part of India. The accounts before the houſe will ſhew the pecuniary advantages derived from them; a reference to the map will diſcover, that we are now poſſeſſed of an extended territory, with a reduced frontier: and it further appears, that we are relieved from the dread of a power, which for a long ſeries of years had, in connexion with our common enemy, been bent, if poſſible, on our very expulſion from India. Such has been the extenſion of our power and influence in this part ſince the year 1784.

If we look to the ſtate of our alliances with the ſeveral powers in India, on the ſame compariſon, the view is equally ſatisfactory.

Firſt, the Nizam: although allied by treaty during a long ſeries of years, the advantages to the Company were frequently problematical, from the fluctuating politics of his court; and although his highneſs furniſhed ſome aſſiſtance towards the object of the laſt war with Tippoo, and reaped his proportion of the advantages from the ſucceſsful termination of it, very ſoon after an influence prevailed in his councils, threatening ſerious conſequences. By the judicious and deciſive conduct of the preſent governor-general, that influence has been deſtroyed, our common enemy deprived of any proſpect of annoying us from that quarter, and this alliance rendered truly valuable. It was to this circumſtance we were indebted for the uſeful co-operation of his highneſs's force in the late Myſorean war; and to this circumſtance may likewiſe be attributed the happy event of our connexion with Hydrabad being now more firmly cemented than ever. A new treaty has been lately entered into, ſtipulating for a conſiderable increaſed ſubſidiary force; and inſtead of leaving the payment of the ſubſidy to the uncertain receipts of his own treaſury, he has aſſigned to the Company the whole of the territories acquired from the late ſultaun of Myſore. By this meaſure, the poſſibility of diſpute between the two powers, on the ſcore of punctuality of payment, will be effectually removed, and the Company will receive ample remuneration for the expence of the forces ſupplied by them.

The treaty with the rajah of Travancore, though not productive of advantages to ſo great an extent, may ſtill be mentioned, as an event, within the period alluded to, tending to ſtrengthen our influence.

Our more particular connexions on this ſide of India are, the nabob of Arcot, the rajah of Tanjore, and the nabob of Surat.

The nabob of Arcot. The alliance with his family is well known to have been of very ancient date. The identity of intereſts between him and the Company is obvious. The treaty under which our preſent relation with him ſtands, was dated in 1792, and was entered into with his father, on terms extremely favourable to him. I have ſeveral times mentioned to the houſe my wiſh, that that treaty might undergo ſeveral modifications: the intereſts of the Company, and the welfare of the inhabitants of the diſtricts under his highneſs's government, required it. That it has not yet taken place, is no proof of any thing againſt our general influence, as no apprehenſion whatever is to be entertained of his power.

With the rajah of Tanjore we ſtand upon far better grounds. I have formerly intimated to the houſe the change introduced in this alliance, and the act of juſtice by which the preſent rajah was reſtored to his right. Diſtricts were, in the firſt place, aſſigned to the Company for the payment of the ſubſidy; but as this occaſioned a ſpecies of divided government,

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vernment, and our ſyſtem of management was far better calculated to reſtore this fruitful country to a ſtate of proſperity, the young rajah very wiſely choſe to aſſign the whole to our direction, reſerving a reſpectable ſtipend for the ſupport of the ſplendour of his own houſe, and that of his family. A treaty was accordingly concluded to that effect in the year 1799.

The nabob of Surat might not, perhaps, be thought of ſufficient importance to introduce upon this occaſion; but having adverted to the new arrangements with him, in the examination of the Bombay accounts, it is proper to ſtate, that, by the grants in 1759, the excluſive management of this city and its dependencies, was particularly veſted in the Company. From that period, however, it was thought proper to have a joint direction with the reigning nabob, till the laſt year, when it was deemed prudent that the Company's original rights ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, and that the collection of the revenues, the civil government, and the military defence, ſhould be placed with their ſervants. This was finally adjuſted by an amicable compromiſe. A handſome ſtipend has been given to the nabob, and allowances granted to ſuch of his dependents as appeared to have claims.

I have firſt noticed the ſeveral powers with whom we are in ſtrict alliance on this ſide of India, as being neareſt the more immediate and active ſcene of political operations and changes; but the improvement of the connexion and influence with the nabob of Oude is of no leſs conſequence to the intereſts of the Company. The occurrences, ſince the death of the late nabob, have been formerly brought to the notice of the houſe; and the hope that was entertained, of the preſent nabob being induced to diſcharge his own uſeleſs and ill-diſciplined army, and to employ an additional number of the Company's troops. This has been completely brought to effect, and at the ſame time that the Company derive ſubſtantial advantages, the real expenſe to the nabob will be diminiſhed.

Thus we find every alliance at this moment moſt completely ſtrengthened, a very large annual reſource obtained, and, while the friendſhip of the parties is effectually ſecured, the ſubſidiary force employed ſtill forms an integral part of the defence of our own dominions.

If we turn our attention to other powers of the Eaſt, a view entirely ſatisfactory preſents itſelf. From the preſent ſtate of the Mahratta empire, I ſee no cauſe for apprehending the interruption of tranquillity, independent of its being the intereſt of its rulers to maintain the principles of harmony and peace. But if it were even at the zenith of its power, and hoſtilely diſpoſed, our own ſituation is at this time ſuch as not to dread the utmoſt conſequences. The friendly diſpoſition of the Burman empire is another proof of the great reſpect with which we are viewed by our neighbours.

I truſt it will therefore be admitted, even from this abſtract view, that with regard to our influence in the Eaſt, it is ſuch as to gratify the wiſhes of the moſt ſanguine. But a ſtill further ground of ſatisfaction ariſes, from the recollection that our formidable European rivals have not only been expelled from their own poſſeſſions, but are, by the events now ſtated, effectually deprived of the power of ſeriouſly endangering our intereſts.

I think it proper, however, to obſerve, that while I give this flattering view of our political ſituation in India, it is not with any intention to lull our rulers into any ſupine or dangerous ſecurity. It would be an unwarrantable indiſcretion on my part, if I was, on ſuch a ſubject, to enter into any detail. I ſay, in general, that unremitting vigilance and watchfulneſs are as neceſſary as ever. Having got the better of old combinations, and annihilated the force of ancient enemies, do not let us ſuppoſe that circumſtances may not ariſe to produce new confederacies, and a ſyſtem of intrigue, not leſs dangerous, though differently directed. Thoſe who have given a comprehenſive conſideration to this ſubject will, without further explanation, underſtand me, when I direct their vigilant attention to the ſtate of Perſia, to the northern frontiers of Hinduſtan, to the mouths of the Indus, and to the gulphs of Perſia and Arabia.

I ſhall now refer to the ſtate of our own immediate dependencies, and the government of them.

Here a moſt flattering picture preſents itſelf, inaſmuch as we have the ſatisfaction of knowing, that, at the ſame time the Company's reſources have, during the period alluded to, been carried to the higheſt pitch of proſperity, the ſituation of the inhabitants of theſe extenſive dominions has been conſiderably ameliorated; and every meaſure is adopted, that, with the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed demand of the ſtate, thoſe who pay that demand ſhall likewiſe enjoy every ſecurity in their perſons and intereſts. The advantageous terms of the permanent ſettlement, and the

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the beneficial tendency of the judicial regulations in Bengal, need not now be mentioned, having been often before brought to the notice of the houſe; but merely as a diſplay of the ſuperior policy of the preſent ſyſtem, under which, at the ſame time that every ſpecies of force or compulſion, further than what is preſcribed by known and promulgated laws, is done away, the reſources are fully realized, and the land rents carried to an almoſt unprecedented extent, as already obſerved.

From the experience of this ſyſtem in Bengal, it has been thought fit to extend it, as far as practicable, to every province under the Company's government; and orders have been iſſued to the preſidencies of Madras and Bombay for that purpoſe.

The internal government of theſe preſidencies improves every year. As to Bombay, the revenues of the province of Malabar had, for the two laſt years, much increaſed in produce, as well as in facility of collection. One refractory tributary alone remained, who made the moſt ungrateful return for the clemency ſhewn him. Little doubt need be entertained but he will ſoon be effectually ſubdued.

A material change has lately taken place on this ſide of India, by the tranſfer of the Malabar province to the entire ſuperintendance of the Madras government. The numerous tributaries under this government are now happily brought to that ſtate of ſubjection, as to furniſh the hope that the frequent inſurrections which I had the mortification to learn by the advices, will no more be heard of. Their expectation of ſupport, and indeed the main ſpring of every revolt, being effectually removed by the death of Tippoo, every hope may be entertained of the perfect eſtabliſhment of the quiet of the country. This has in part been already obtained amongſt ſome of the moſt refractory, the ſouthern poligárs, who are now reported to be changed from an armed and lawleſs banditti, to a peaceful and induſtrious peaſantry.

The tranquillity of the northern circars has frequently been interrupted by the reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition of ſome of the zemindars. Military aid has, on many occaſions, been requiſite to eſtabliſh the authority of government. A more favourable proſpect preſents itſelf with regard to theſe diſtricts likewiſe, the vigorous exertions, very properly called forth, having convinced the rebellious of the inefficacy of their attempts. But the time is fully arrived for the complete aſſumption of every power of government. The happineſs of the numerous inhabitants of thoſe parts renders it incumbent that they ſhould receive the full benefits of a mild adminiſtration, in common with other claſſes of the ſubjects of the Britiſh dominions; and that their quiet, and in fact their lives, ſhould no longer be expoſed to the caprice of ſubordinate rulers. The orders for the general aſſimilation of the ſyſtem of government, both revenue and judicial, are, therefore, very properly timed. From the various habits and prejudices of the land-holders and inferior renters on this ſide of India, the full effects of this benevolent ſyſtem may not ſo ſoon be proved as in Bengal. The jealouſy of authority entertained by ſome of the zemindars may likewiſe occaſion interruption; but no doubt exiſts, that ſteady and unſhaken perſeverance will eventually ſecure to the inhabitants all the benefits intended, and to the Company the ſame advantages which they have reaped in the provinces of Bengal.

This favourable proſpect is further ſtrengthened by the prudent plans adopted, as far as practicable, that the minds of the people ſhould be prepared for the change, by their gradual introduction in ſome of the diſtricts. In every caſe, however, the due conſideration paid to their prejudices cannot fail of producing the ready aſſent of all who are not influenced by motives of private intereſt in the perpetuity of the preſent divided mode of government.

The ſecure and eaſy collection of the rents of the country is certainly an inducement to the introduction of this plan into the whole of the dominions; but it may likewiſe be ſafely averred, that the happineſs and intereſt of the millions of induſtrious inhabitants is likewiſe one of the great and leading motives. The example of the Bengal provinces is ſufficient to juſtify the intention, where the ready means of knowing the laws by their general promulgation, with thoſe of obtaining juſtice, has produced the happieſt effects; and it is certainly deſirable, while the attempt is laudable, to ſecure the demands of the ſtate, without the recourſe to military coercion which has unhappily been ſo frequently requiſite in the diſtricts under the Madras government.

If I had been the ſole actor in thoſe beneficial conſequences which have reſulted from the recent adminiſtration of India, I ſhould not have felt it decorous on my part to have alluded to them, even in

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in the general way I have done; but I owe it, in common justice to those who have either assisted with their judgement in the formation of plans, or their active exertions in carrying them into execution: and it cannot fail affording high satisfaction to the committee, to be informed that every measure, whether relating to revenue or police, has been undertaken, no less with the view to the comfort and welfare of the Indian subjects, than to the advantage of the state. Having distinctly explained, from year to year, most of these measures, a further recapitulation is not now wanting.

I shall, therefore, proceed to state, that the improvement of the commercial system, generally, has been equally an object of marked attention. The most liberal encouragement has been given, that the productions of the fertile provinces under our dominion, should yield every advantage to the cultivators of the soil, to the manufacturers of goods, and to the adventure of the private merchant. Taxes discovered to be oppressive have been uniformly abolished: and it may safely be averred, that a greater freedom of trade is enjoyed under our government, than in any other part of India. As to Bengal, by the official accounts, the general increase of the trade has been stated with great clearness and precision. Articles of export, as formerly remarked to the committee, not known till late years, have been cultivated to an immense extent. That of indigo, particularly, has flourished in a most flattering degree; produced both in quantity and quality, so as to offer a formidable rivalship to those from whom it was supplied in other quarters of the world. It may be said, that disappointments have occurred in the speculations of some individuals engaged in the trade; but it frequently happens that a lucrative branch of commerce will so much engage the public attention as to be carried beyond the current demand. The level always, however, returns. But with regard to this article, a most essential and truly valuable end would have been gained, if it had only been discovered that the ability existed to supply our own manufactures, without having recourse, as formerly, to the assistance of foreign merchants. The probability of the demand being still further extended, cannot fail of affording the highest gratification.

The increased produce of sugar and of cotton might likewise be mentioned, as well as other articles; but it would carry me into a larger detail than might at this time be proper.

The trade of the districts under the presidencies of Madras and Bombay cannot be exactly ascertained, as at Bengal, from the want of similar official documents. But that of the Company, at the former presidency in particular, has increased, in a very great degree, and would have been carried to a further amount, but for the pressing demands upon the treasuries in consequence of the war. The way in which it has happily terminated, affords the prospect of the Company being enabled to avail themselves of the industry of the whole of the peninsula, to their own advantage, to that of the inhabitants both native and European, and no less so that of this country, from the increased demands which will arise for its manufactures. It will, therefore, be admitted, that the commercial prosperity of India strongly corroborates what I have adduced with regard to the improvements in other respects.

Many objections have been from time to time raised to the policy of the restrictions imposed by the legislature on the trade of the East, and to the exclusive privileges placed in the Company. My decided sentiments on this subject are well known; I will therefore only now advert to it, by observing, that, at the renewal of the charter in 1793, the legislature shewed every disposition to adopt such arrangements as might secure to this country as large a share of the Indian trade as possible. If any of the arrangements then made have been found by experience inadequate to the objects in view, the wisdom of the legislature, and, I trust, a liberal and wise policy on the part of the East India Company, will concur in correcting former errors. The manner in which this shall be done, consistent with those regulations which parliament has thought proper to impose, has long been under serious consideration. Many indulgences have already been granted to individuals; and I have no doubt that, ultimately, such a plan will be determined upon, as shall be the means of affording all the satisfaction which, in reason and justice, could be expected. In doing this, I certainly do not mean to exclude every degree of proper caution; for I have no hesitation in expressing my thorough conviction of its being incumbent on those with whom the final arrangement of this very important branch

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ſhall reſt, never to loſe ſight of thoſe ſalutary maxims which have been preſcribed by long experience, and that they be ſtrictly upon their guard that ſubſtantial and permanent benefits may not be ſacrificed to caſual, and perhaps illuſory ſchemes of gain.

The trade with China is well known to be a moſt conſequential part of our commercial intereſts, not only as it concerns the particular advantage of the Company, but likewiſe as it concerns the empire in the demands for the manufactures, and in the material aid afforded to the revenue. It is, therefore, I have the greater ſatisfaction in bringing to view its proſperous ſtate in every point. The credit of the Company has always ſtood high in the opinion of the Chineſe merchant; for, notwithſtanding at one period the arrear to them was conſiderable, their confidence has not diminiſhed, and no interruption has occurred: if that was the caſe under ſuch circumſtances, the ſituation of affairs in China, at this time, muſt be admitted to wear a very pleaſing aſpect. The balance owing at Canton, in 1798, was 1,073,607l.: by the accounts upon the table, there was a balance in favour of the Company of no leſs than 1,226,079l. ariſing from caſh in the treaſury, goods in warehouſe or afloat homeward, or advances for future inveſtments; making a difference, in that period, of no leſs than 2,299,686l. The conſequence is highly propitious. The exchange upon India has materially benefited; and an opportunity has been afforded the government of Bengal to make the attempt to turn this favourable circumſtance to the utmoſt advantage in every poſſible reſpect. The effect has been already felt in the revival of the trade in opium, the principal demand for which is in theſe ſeas. It has alſo been experienced in other branches of Indian produce. While every facility of export is given from our own provinces, the Canton treaſury is opened for bills on the ſeveral preſidencies, ſo that the conſigner is aſſured of the return of the proceeds of his adventure. The bullion heretofore ſent from Europe to China may go to India, to the enrichment of our poſſeſſions there: it will therefore appear, that the benefits reſulting from this trade will not be merely confined to this country, but will be extended, in a great degree, to every part of the dominions in the Eaſt.

The view of this trade, on a compariſon with its amount in the year 1784, is particularly favourable to my preſent object. The ſales, in the year 1784-5, of which tea formed the principal part, amounted to 2,219,000l. In the year 1800-1, they were 3,616,000l.; the progreſſive increaſe, ſince the paſſing the commutation act, was laſt year noticed to the committee.

If the attention is directed to the ſtate of the affairs at home, on which I ſhall now offer a few remarks, every ground is afforded for the moſt ſatisfactory inferences. Here is found the grand criterion from which to form a judgement of the advantage which the empire derives from this immenſe traffic. The diſcovery is of importance, that notwithſtanding the convulſions by which the commercial world has been long agitated, the trade from the Eaſt to this country has flouriſhed from year to year, and is ſtill flouriſhing in an eminent degree, realizing every expectation held out on the eſtabliſhment of the preſent ſyſtem, and juſtifying the meaſures hitherto adopted for its extenſion. The progreſſive increaſe of the ſales has been noticed at the proper times. The compariſon of the ſales in 1784-5, and by the laſt accounts, gives the moſt correct idea of the amazing improvement within that period. In 1784-5, the aggregate of the ſales was 4,605,775l.; in 1800-1, it was 10,323,452l.; which is an increaſe of 5,717,677l. Leſt it be objected that the compariſon is made on a period peculiarly favourable, I will take it on the average of the laſt three years. In this view, the ſales amount to 10,275,439l. exhibiting ſtill an improvement of 5,669,664l. which, in both caſes, would have been yet more favourable, but for the operation of the act paſſed in 1799, reſpecting the cuſtoms, as already explained.

Having given a curſory view of the very flattering ſituation of the affairs of the Company, both in their political and commercial relations, it yet remains to anſwer a queſtion which muſt naturally ariſe:—From whence it reſults, that, in the midſt of all this proſperity, the financial ſtatements for the three laſt years have worn ſo unfavourable an aſpect, with regard to India, as to diſburſement and to the accumulation of debt? The very preciſe explanations given in each year on theſe points, will greatly leſſen the difficulty of making the reply. I have, therefore, only to quote them in abſtract. I muſt, however, take leave to offer one previous remark;—that the

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Company, in their political capacity, are most peculiarly circumstanced.

Possessed (as they truly are) of extensive dominions, enjoying likewise the advantage of beneficial alliances, yielding together immense resources, large and expensive establishments are required, not only for the administration of the government, but likewise for the collection of the revenues, and particularly for the protection of their territories, and the fulfilment of their engagements with their allies. Under these circumstances, even in time of peace, the outgoing must be great: still a considerable surplus revenue would be left for remittance to this country, through the channel of investments, for the purposes prescribed in the agreement with the public. But, in the time of war, in India particularly, where the expenses attending military operations are beyond all proportion greater than in this country, every financial disposition for peaceable times must necessarily be completely deranged, the demands upon the treasuries must increase with the pressure of the times, while there is no possibility of procuring extraordinary aids in any proportion to the exigencies of the government. Thus circumstanced, no alternative remains but having recourse to loans, either to supply the deficiency, or to prevent an interruption of the usual course of the investment. This measure, though affording relief for the moment, tends to add to the difficulties, from the demand for interest. From this remark it will be inferred, that the war has been the chief cause of the present situation of the Company's finances in India.

This will be a kind of general answer to the question stated as likely to arise, but may not be quite sufficient: it is therefore necessary, to preserve an accordance with the comparative statement given of our advantages since the year 1784, to enter a little further into the particulars of the charges since that time, which will likewise give some satisfaction on another query, which will follow, of course, on the most essential parts of the financial system. If, after the general termination of hostilities, any hopes may be entertained that substantial benefits will accrue from our increased dominions and extended trade, so that the financial embarrassments may be done away, and the advantages held out to the public may be realized?

The expenses of the Indian establishments underwent a very narrow investigation immediately after the introduction of the present system, and every practicable reduction was made. Upon the breaking out of the war with Tippoo, in the year 1790, and till the conclusion of it, the military charges were again greatly increased; but the sum received under the partition treaty, and the revenues of the countries ceded to the Company, may be looked upon as affording some relief in that case. The establishments were then again reduced within such limits as the circumstances of the time would admit.

I will, therefore, take my retrospect from the year 1793, when, preparatory to the renewal of the charter, every source of revenue, and every item of charge, underwent, once more, a most narrow investigation; and an estimate was drawn up with every possible degree of accuracy, in order to ascertain what might be a proper arrangement between the public and the Company in a time of peace. It would occupy too much time to enter into the detail of that arrangement, or of the estimate; I will only make such references to the estimate, as may be required for the explanation of the general heads of charge.

On the comparison of the estimate made in 1793, with that for the year 1800-1, now upon the table, the results are found to differ in a material amount; notwithstanding the resources in the latter period, from the increase of the old revenues, the additions of those from the conquered provinces, and the new subsidies, exceeded those of the former in upwards of three millions sterling. From the explanation of the detail of the accounts, the committee must be aware, that this apparently alarming difference arises from the enormous increase of the expenditure. This subject, in particular, has constantly occupied my most vigilant attention, and the court of directors have always enjoined the strictest economy; but from the very time when the estimate of 1793 was framed, such has been the state of affairs, that it cannot properly be taken as a criterion of expense. The war and the engagements with our allies have necessarily occasioned an immense addition to the military charges, which have likewise been greatly increased by the additional allowances to the officers, under the regulations of 1796, and by subsequent grants of increased pay to the private Europeans, and to the native officers and sepoys at Madras. In the civil branches of the administration, great changes have also taken place: liberal allowances have been granted to offices of high trust and respon-

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responsibility; the revenue and judicial departments have been entirely separated; and it will appear, on a minute investigation of the increased charge, that the part of it which may be looked upon as permanent, is to be attributed either to circumstances connected with the addition to the resources, or to the absolute prescriptions of policy and justice.

A very considerable part of the charge estimated for 1800-1, may be looked upon as temporary. The additional interest on the debts will cease as they shall be discharged; and I look with earnest hope to the reduction of the great expense of field operations, which may reasonably be expected, from the general tranquillity which, before this time, has probably taken place in every part of India. A further expectation may be entertained, that when peace shall generally take place, the necessity will no longer exist for military establishments so extensive as at present. Partial reductions have already been ordered; but when every practicable retrenchment shall be made in the expenditure abroad, and when that at home shall be relieved of the war contingencies, means will be found to recover the disorders in the financial system, and to put the Company in possession of every advantage, commensurate with all the general improvements, in other respects, which have been stated to the committee.

My sentiments on the propriety of furnishing investments by means of loans, have formerly been distinctly given: they are still the same. The measure was proper at the time, but by no means so for permanent practice; and although the same measure has been pursued in the last year, I should hope the very considerable supplies which have now for several years been furnished from the treasury in England, and which it appears the intention of the court to continue, will prevent the further accumulation of the Indian debt.

The general state of the Company's affairs, notwithstanding the increase of the expenses, and the accumulation of the debts in India, may be found, upon calculation, to have greatly amended within the periods of comparison. I have, upon a former occasion, brought to the notice of the committee, that the improvements under the operation of the present system, to the period of account then under consideration, was found to exceed eleven millions sterling: the alteration since not having been to any great amount, the amelioration may, on the same principle, be now taken at about the like sum. The additional capital must, as then noticed, be taken into the account, and some further adjustments will be required. If such has been the event, under the circumstances of two wars in India, in part of the period; under the circumstance, likewise, of a general European war, from the year 1793; the inference is highly favourable to the mode of administration—and the more so when the great additional revenue, and the complete conquest of every enemy in the East, are taken into the account.

The debts abroad are certainly much greater than at the first period of the comparison; but the effects exhibit an excess still more considerable. At home, the favourable alteration, in both respects, has been to such an amount as to form in some degree the most serious part of the present financial embarrassment, inasmuch as what appears to be the chief cause of the apparent deterioration abroad, has contributed to the amelioration at home, to an extent rendering it a matter of great importance and some difficulty to restore the balance. This cannot be expected fully to take place till the return of peace. It had, however, been an object of very particular attention on my part; and from the confidence I have in the ability of the Company's resources, I was led to form an extensive plan, by which, upon calculations as accurate as can be expected upon mere estimate, the Company would be enabled, in a few years, to restore the whole financial system to a state of the greatest prosperity; so that the debts in India would be discharged, the engagements to the public would be fulfilled, and the ultimate operation would be the security of the full capital at the end of the present charter.

I am fully aware that, in the judgement of some, my expectations will be pronounced too sanguine, and perhaps be such that their realization exceeds every degree of probability, or indeed possibility; as the rapid increase of the debt in the few last years must offer an insuperable bar to the accomplishment of events so desirable as those now pointed out. This consideration, however, strengthens the ground of my proposition. If the loss of the thirty-two millions revenue operated so quickly in an unfavourable degree, that the acquisition of revenue must be allowed to have an equal effect in the recovery of the system: Difficulties of a formidable nature, it must be admitted, will be in the way of the execution

execution of a plan on so vast a scale. But these difficulties are only at the outset: once surmounted, no other obstruction need be apprehended, than such as no providence or care on our part can possibly meet; and I have no fear of hazarding my opinion, that, should peace take place, and continue uninterrupted for a few years, and the trade remain in its present flourishing state, the realization of the whole of the advantages now stated may be safely reckoned upon, provided the principles upon which the calculations are made are regularly attended to.

The grand and leading features of this plan are;

First. An arrangement abroad, so that a full million from the surplus of the revenues shall, at the commencement, be applicable to the purchase of investments.

Secondly That the investments from India and China shall amount at prime cost to four millions annually, in equal proportions.

Thirdly. That, during the first four years from this time, the Company shall avail themselves of the power they already have, under the act, for augmenting their capital stock to the extent of two millions, at the rate of half a million annually, which, it is supposed, will realize one million sterling.

Fourthly. That the additional money, so raised, shall be applied exclusively to the liquidation of the present Indian debt at interest, either by increasing remittances in bullion or export to India to that amount, or by defraying additional bills drawn from India for the same purpose.

Fifthly. That the extinction of this debt, now calculated to amount to fourteen millions sterling, shall be carried on at the rate of one million annually, till the part of it termed the Decennial Loan shall become payable, which is expected to take place on or about the year 1807-8; and that the sum then payable on account of Indian debt, which is stated at 3,500,000l. shall be discharged in that year: on which suppositions the debts at interest abroad will then be reduced to 4,500,000l. at which amount it may be thought expedient to keep them stationary.

The gradual reduction of the debt will add to the surplus of the revenues, by the diminution of the interest; and in the year 1808-9, the sum of two millions sterling may be applied to the investments. The application of the surplus, thus increasing from year to year, will of course lessen the demand of India upon the home treasury, so that the balance of cash cannot fail of increasing to an immense amount.

I have stated the great difficulty to lie in the outset; my estimate is so calculated. In the first year, no surplus revenue is reckoned upon; the charges to be defrayed at home are all on a war establishment; the whole cost of the investment, four millions, is to be paid, and another million to be applied to payment of the debts, making together five millions, in aid of India. This must be furnished in exports; by the payment of bills to be drawn from abroad; and in whatever amount these, together, shall be found deficient, bullion must be remitted. In the second year, a surplus is expected in India of one million, and the freight is taken at a peace rate, and so continued from year to year, only lessening the amount to be paid at home on account of India, in proportion with the increase of the surplus from the revenues, as already mentioned. Ample allowance is made for the whole of the home charges in all the years; and if any unexpected additional charge should arise, the increasing balance of cash might be so employed, in the purchase of government securities, or otherwise, as to establish a fund fully sufficient to meet any peace contingency.

If it be objected, that the trade is taken on too great a scale, which, according to present appearances, I cannot allow to be the fact: still, taking it at a less amount, say only three millions of investment, the operation would be highly favourable, though not to the extent at first stated; while the other effect would be, to render the plan more practicable, from the smaller demand on the home treasury for the prime cost of the investments.

These propositions, it must be observed, do not arise from any new theory: they are simply upon the system I laid down in the year 1793, and are only an extension of that system. The expectations I then entertained were not wholly disappointed, and would have been most completely realized, but for the various events which have been brought to the notice of the committee. The difference between that time and the present is highly favourable to the success of the system I wish to adopt. There then existed every appearance of war with our European enemies, who held possessions in different parts of India; our most inveterate and formidable enemy, Tippoo, was still invested

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with considerable power:—We now reckon upon the prospect of peace, and have no immediate fear from any power in India.

The summary abstract of what I have now brought to the notice of the committee is as follows:—An examination of the accounts upon the table, both abroad and at home;—the influence and power of the Company in the year 1784, and at the present time;—the acquisition of territory, and state of alliances;—of foreign relations;—the improvement of the internal administration of their own dominions—of the commerce in India, and China, and at home:—an explanation of the increase of the charges, and the prospect of gain obtaining a surplus revenue:—the supplying investments by means of loans;—the improvement of the Company's affairs, under every event, during the periods of comparison;—and, finally, the plan in contemplation on the return of peace.

In retiring from my official connexion with the affairs of India, the committee will do me the justice to believe, that I can never be indifferent as to the success of the measures I have pointed out. I entertain on the subject the most sanguine expectations. Under other circumstances, I might, at the present moment, have felt deep regret, in the apprehension that new systems might have been introduced, and new theories applied to the administration of our Indian empire. I make no doubt, many things will be found to require improvement and correction, and none will rejoice more sincerely than I do, in the fame and glory of those who may be the instruments of those improvements. But I am perfectly satisfied, no radical change in the system I have pursued will be made, but on the fullest conviction of its propriety; and under that impression I shall continue to contemplate, with heartfelt joy, every progressive improvement in our Indian concerns; reposing the most entire confidence in the talents and integrity of those whom his majesty has appointed to succeed to me in this important charge. And it only remains for me to apologise to the committee for engrossing so much of its time; and that the result of the examination of the statements may, as usual, be placed on the records of parliament, to move the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and from Benares and Oude, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, post office collections, Benares revenues, Oude subsidy, land revenues, police taxes, customs, sales of salt and opium, and stamp duties, amounted: on the average of three years 1797-8 to 1799-1800, both inclusive, to the sum of six crore fourteen lacks seventy thousand three hundred and fifteen current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and from Benares and Oude, under the same heads, which were estimated for the year 1799-1800 to amount to six crore nineteen lacks sixty-seven thousand three hundred and thirty-two current rupees, amounted to six crore fifty lacks forty-seven thousand three hundred and eighty current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the charges incurred by the East India Company in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and in Benares and Oude, under the heads of civil, judicial, military, and marine, the charges of buildings and fortifications, of collecting the revenues and customs, and the advances and charges on account of salt and opium, and the charges of the stamp office, which were estimated for the year 1799-1800 at four crore fifteen lacks seventy-five thousand five hundred and thirty-four current rupees, amounted to four crore thirty-three lacks twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and nine current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and from Benares and Oude, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, post office collections, Benares revenue, Oude subsidy, land revenues, police taxes, customs, the receipts from the sales of salt and opium, and the stamp duties for the year 1800-1801, are estimated by the governor-general and council to amount to the sum of six crore thirty-three lacks ninety-two thousand and thirty-seven current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the charges to be defrayed by the East India Company in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and in Benares and Oude, under the heads of civil, judicial, military, and marine, the charges of buildings and fortifications, of collecting the revenues and customs, and the advances and charges on account of salt and opium, and the charges of the stamp

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stamp office, for the year 1800-1801, are estimated, by the governor-general and council, to amount to the sum of four crore forty-two lacks twenty thousand four hundred and seventy-six current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the presidency of Fort St. George, and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and northern circars, exclusive of Ceylon and the revenues from Mysore, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, post office collections, sea and land customs, subsidies from the nabob of Arcot, the rajah of Tanjore, and the nizam, land revenues, and farms and licences, amounted, on the average of three years, 1797-8 to 1799-1800, both inclusive, to the sum of forty-nine lacks twenty-two thousand and thirty-seven pagodas.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the presidency of Fort St. George, and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and northern circars, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, post office collections, sea and land customs, subsidies from the nabob of Arcot, the rajah of Tanjore, and the nizam, land revenues, and farms and licences, which were estimated for the year 1799-1800 to amount to sixty-two lacks sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and eighty-six pagodas, amounted to seventy lacks fifty-six thousand three hundred and forty-one pagodas.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the charges incurred by the East India Company at the presidency of Fort St. George, and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and northern circars, under the respective heads of post office, civil, military, and revenue charges, and for buildings and fortifications, which were estimated, for the year 1799-1800, to amount to sixty-eight lacks forty-eight thousand and seventy-seven pagodas, amounted to seventy-eight lacks thirty-two thousand two hundred and ninety-nine pagodas.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the presidency of Fort St. George, and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and northern circars, under the heads aforesaid, for the year 1800-1801, are estimated, by the governor and council of Madras, to amount to eighty-one lacks eighty-two thousand six hundred and seventy-eight pagodas.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual charges to be defrayed by the East India Company at the presidency of Fort St. George, and in the Carnatic and northern circars, under the respective heads aforesaid, in the year 1800-1801, are estimated, by the governor and council of Madras, to amount to the sum of ninety-three lacks seven thousand seven hundred and eighty-two pagodas.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, amounted, on an average of three years, 1797-8 to 1799-1800, both inclusive, to the sum of thirty-three lacks forty-three thousand five hundred and twenty-three rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, which were estimated for the year 1799-1800 to amount to thirty-two lacks seventy-four thousand three hundred and sixty-seven rupees, amounted to thirty-six lacks ninety-four thousand seven hundred and eighty-three rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the charges incurred by the East India Company at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, which were estimated for the year 1799-1800 to amount to one crore twenty-eight lacks ninety-three thousand one hundred and twenty-five rupees, amounted to one crore thirty-two lacks ninety-one thousand two hundred and ninety-two rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, for the year 1800-1801, are estimated, by the governor and council of Bombay, to amount to twenty lacks seventy thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual charges to be defrayed by the East India Company at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, in the year 1800-1801, are estimated by the governor and council of Bombay, to amount to ninety-three lacks forty-eight thousand three hundred and eighty-four rupees.

Resolved,

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the residency of Fort Marlborough and its dependencies, arising from customs, farms, and licences, amounted, on an average of three years, 1796-7 to 1798-9, both inclusive, to twenty-two thousand one hundred and fifty-six Spanish dollars.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the debts owing by the East India Company at the several settlements in India, amounted, on the 30th day of April 1800, to the sum of fourteen crore sixty-four lacks four thousand and eighteen current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the part of the aforesaid debts bearing interest amounted to twelve crore thirty lacks fifteen thousand seven hundred and one current rupees, and that the interest thereon amounted to one crore eight lacks twenty thousand four hundred and twenty-four current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the value of assets in India, consisting of cash in the treasuries, of bills receivable, of goods provided to be shipped for England, of goods imported to be sold in India, of silk, opium, &c. and of stores for use or sale, amounted, on the 30th of April 1800, (including current rupees six crore ten lacks ninety-one thousand five hundred and seven, of debts stated to be owing to the Company there,) to eleven crore fifty six lacks ninety-five thousand five hundred and thirty-one current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the balance of stock in favour of the East India Company's commerce in China, amounted, at the conclusion of the year 1799-1800, to the sum of one million two hundred and twenty-six thousand and seventy-nine pounds.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the debts owing by the East India Company in Great Britain, (including three hundred and forty-seven thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine pounds of debts transferred from India,) amounted, on 1st day of March 1801, to five millions three hundred and ninety-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine pounds.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the effects of the East India Company in England, and afloat outward, consisting of annuities, cash in the treasury, goods sold not paid for, goods unsold, cargoes afloat, and other articles in their commerce, amounted, on the 1st day of March 1801, to the sum of fifteen millions four hundred and four thousand seven hundred and thirty-six pounds.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the sales of the East India Company's goods, which, in February 1793, were estimated, on an average, to amount to four millions nine hundred and eighty-eight thousand three hundred pounds, amounted, in the year 1800-1801, to the sum of seven millions six hundred and two thousand and forty-one pounds.

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PROCEEDINGS AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE,

In the Year 1802.

APRIL 8.

A ſpecial general court was held for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration the ſubject of the private trade, relative to which the directors had printed and circulated a third report from their ſelect committee (ſee *State Papers, this vol. p.* 54), together with a correſpondence that paſſed between them and the commiſſioners for the affairs of India.

Mr. MILLS took the chair, and ſtated, that the whole of thoſe papers were now ſubmitted to the general court, that the proprietors might adopt ſuch meaſures reſpecting them as ſhould appear moſt adviſeable.

One of the moſt intereſting and animated debates followed, which perhaps ever took place in this aſſembly. We ſhall endeavour to do juſtice to the arguments and ſentiments of the different gentlemen who ſpoke on this occaſion, and as nearly as poſſible to give their ſpeeches in the very words in which they were delivered: ſo that our readers in India, who are in a peculiar degree intereſted in this moſt important ſubject, may be able to judge with perfect accuracy of the manner in which it was diſcuſſed in Leadenhall-ſtreet.

Upon the Chairman ſitting down, Mr. Twining and Mr. Henchman roſe together. The Chairman called upon Mr. Twining, upon which Mr. Henchmen ſaid, that as he only wanted to ſpeak to a breach of the privileges of the court, he had a right to be heard firſt. A tumultuous altercation on this point followed; but the Chairman at laſt decided againſt Mr. Henchman's claim to be heard firſt, and Mr. Twining was accordingly called upon to proceed.

He began by obſerving, that it gave him great pleaſure to ſee, at ſuch an early hour, ſuch a numerous attendance of proprietors; of proprietors who were, he was perſuaded, brought to that court by a deſire of preſerving the Company's commerce, and of preventing a violation of the Company's charter. He truſted that thoſe gentlemen would not think it too much to devote one day to a buſineſs of ſo much importance; and that, if the debate ſhould be protracted to a late hour, they would remain in court till the cloſe of it.

The ſubject of the private trade with India had frequently been offered to the attention of the proprietors; but though a commercial queſtion, decided where commercial queſtions ought to be decided, in that place, and by a great majority of proprietors, it had been offered, and, ſtrange to ſay, even by proprietors, to the interference of parliament.

The importance of the ſubject was acknowledged by all parties. The directors had told us, unani-

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monsly, that the plans proposed by the private traders endangered not only the interests, but even the existence of the Company; whilst, on the other hand, those private traders and their advocates, including the late president of the board of control, and the present governor-general of India, maintained, that those plans would promote even the Company's interests.

The court of directors had printed three reports in support of their opinion; and on the other side were the letters of Mr. Dundas, of marquis Wellesley, of an honourable proprietor, who was then in his place (Mr. Henchman,) and of an honourable baronet (Sir George Dallas.) When persons so respectable had come forward on each side of the question, and had delivered their opinions so much at length, it might appear, Mr. Twining said, presumption in him to offer, publicly, his opinion. But it sometimes happened, that those persons who professedly aim at the deep investigation of any subject, overlook, or pay but little attention to those common circumstances which are the result of common experience, and which afford perhaps the safest rules for practical decision. Besides, some of the papers which have been printed are of such a length, and contain such long and complicated accounts, that many proprietors, it may be presumed, have been deterred from reading them: and yet those proprietors, if the subject were offered to them in a plain and clear way, might be perfectly qualified to decide what part they should take upon this important occasion.

Mr. Twining also observed, that very soon after the renewal of the Company's charter, he had communicated to the proprietors his apprehensions concerning the views of the private traders. If, then, he remained silent upon the present occasion, it might perhaps be imagined, that he had altered his opinion; or, at least, that he was become luke-warm in the support of it. This, however, was so far from being the case, that all the circumstances respecting private trade which had happened from that time to this, (and they were numerous and important,) had tended to confirm the opinion which at first he entertained; and he scrupled not to avow his firm belief, that if the trade of the East India Company and that of the private trader had always been considered, as he thought they always should have been, as rival trades: if there had never been behind that bar any director who was, either directly or indirectly, interested in the private trade, or who was avowedly disposed to encourage it, the East India Company never would have been brought to the situation in which it was then placed.

It might be well, he said, to recollect, that the Company was originally formed for commercial purposes: but becoming, in the course of time, possessed of a great extent of territory, it acquired, in a considerable degree, a political form: and left those gentlemen to whom the commerce of the Company was entrusted, should, in the management of its political concerns, interfere with those persons to whose care the political interests of the nation at large were committed, it was thought right to institute a board of control. Not long after the institution of that board, it was evident that its operations extended themselves somewhat further than the title of control, which it assumed, could have given reason

to

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to expect. Still it was generally understood, that the commerce was to be left to the management of the court of directors; and that the political concerns of the Company formed the proper province of the board of control.

And here, Mr. Twining said, he could not but again notice an opinion delivered and persisted in by an honourable proprietor (Mr. Henchman,) viz. that the present question was as much a political, as it was a commercial question. An opinion more injurious than this to the East India Company, he had never heard delivered in that room; for it tended to annihilate at once the power of the Company, and to put all subjects, commercial as well as political, under the management of the board of control. It was true, that the East India Company had commercial interests and political interests; and that if the Company was commercially ruined, it would be politically ruined: or, if it was politically ruined, it would be commercially ruined. But did it therefore follow, that there was no distinction between commercial subjects and political subjects? If that was the case, most unwise indeed had been the conduct of the court of directors, of the court of proprietors, and of the board of control; nay, most unwise had been the conduct of parliament: for during the negotiation for the renewal of the Company's charter, the utmost pains had been taken by the directors, the proprietors, and the board of control, to make a distinction between commercial and political subjects; and to allot the one to the court of directors, and the other to the board of control.—Parliament also had endeavoured to make, in that act by which the charter was renewed, the same distinction. If, said Mr. Twining, when a subject relating to the revenues of India was offered to the consideration of the board of control, (a subject which was certainly in the province of the board,) any commissioner was to maintain, that such a subject might affect the Company's commerce—as undoubtedly it might—and that it should therefore be left to the decision of the court of directors, such a commissioner would not long be suffered to retain, and ought not to be suffered to retain his seat at the board. The question then was, whether the present subject was really a commercial or a political subject? What was the subject? It related to the Company's commerce, and to the commerce of the private traders. Now Mr. Twining thought he might venture to say for those proprietors with whom he acted upon the present occasion, that they did not lay claim to that sort of ingenuity, which was calculated to confound all distinctions, but that they professed themselves to be lovers of plain dealing; that they thought they were possessed of common sense; and that to them commerce really did appear to be a commercial subject.

At the time of renewing the Company's charter, individuals were desirous of being admitted to a share of the Indian commerce; and the late president of the board of control was disposed to yield to their desire. The East India Company, anxious to comply with the wish of Mr. Dundas, and to testify at the same time, a spirit of moderation and conception, consented to admit individuals to a share of their Indian commerce; for certain and clearly expressed reasons, and subject to certain clear restrictions and limitations. And here the

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Company might have imagined, that the ſubject was ſettled, and that they ſhould be left in quiet poſſeſſion of the remnant of their Indian monopoly, during the period of their charter. This, however, as the directors well knew, had by no means been the caſe: and now the private traders applied for that, which would not only be highly injurious to the Company's commerce, but would alſo endanger the Company's exiſtence. But the gentlemen on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion maintained, that their plan would prove beneficial to the Eaſt-India Company, to India, and to the nation at large, as well as to themſelves. Here, then, Mr. Twining obſerved, was the proper ſubject of inquiry; and, with the indulgence of the court, he would proceed to make a few obſervations; *firſt*, upon the intereſts of India: *ſecondly*, upon the intereſts of the Eaſt India Company: *thirdly*, upon the intereſts of the private traders; and *laſtly*, upon the intereſts of the nation at large. And in the courſe of theſe obſervations, he ſhould notice ſuch opinions on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion, as ſeemed moſt to require notice.

There was no circumſtance, he ſaid, which had a ſtronger claim upon the attention of the proprietors, than the intereſts of India; for the Company could no longer be juſtified in retaining poſſeſſion of that country, than whilſt it paid a proper attention to the intereſts, and to the happineſs, of its native inhabitants: and here the adventurous ſpirit of commerce might be tempted haſtily to decide, that the intereſts of India required the utmoſt poſſible extenſion of the commerce of India, without duly conſidering by what means that extenſion was to be brought about, or what effects it might be likely to produce. But haſty deciſions are apt to be erroneous deciſions: and it might, therefore, be prudent to examine this ſubject more accurately. The inhabitants of India, like the ancient Egyptians, and the Chineſe, had never been diſpoſed, whilſt left to themſelves, to engage in foreign and extenſive commerce. Poſſeſſing uncommon advantages for internal traffic, with the enjoyment of thoſe advantages they had been contented. It ſhould alſo be remembered, that thoſe inhabitants of India, whom we were conſidering, were a peaceable race of people, and utterly unable, if left to themſelves, to defend themſelves from their powerful and warlike neighbours. The greateſt misfortune, then, which could happen to thoſe inhabitants of India, who were the preſent objects of conſideration, would be, their being deprived of European protection.—Now, without applying towards any other nation in Europe thoſe harſh expreſſions, which, as they tend to create or to perpetuate animoſities, had always better be avoided, it might ſafely be aſſerted, that there was no nation in Europe, which, poſſeſſing in India the power we poſſeſſed there, would employ that power more temperately, and more to the advantage of the native inhabitants of India than we did. Under our protection their commerce was encreaſed: the utmoſt attention was paid to their opinions and to their prejudices; and by us they were defended from thoſe warlike nations of India, by whom, if they were left to themſelves, they would ſoon be overpowered. It ſhould here be remembered, that all parties hitherto had acknowledged, that there was

no certain method of preserving the connexion between this country and India, and consequently of securing to India the advantages of British protection, but by means of the East-India Company. Instead then of the hasty and inconsiderate proposition, that the interests of India required the utmost possible extension of the commerce of India, Mr. Twining said, he should assert, that the real interests of India required *that* extension of the commerce of India, of its produce, natural and artificial, which might be consistent with the permanent security of the East-India Company. That extension of the Indian commerce which should put in peril the security of the East India Company, would also put in peril the interests of India; and that extension of such commerce which should prove fatal to the East-India Company, would also prove fatal to the interests of India. Sound policy, therefore, and not only sound policy, but also humanity required, that we should not attempt to assist India beyond our powers of assistance.

There was a circumstance materially affecting the interests of India, in which there was a wide difference between the East-India Company and the private trade. The East-India Company always looked forward to permanent advantages; and in order to obtain such, either for itself or for others, to whose interests it was bound to attend, it was willing to make, and it was able to make, great temporary sacrifices. But present advantage was usually the object of private commerce; and whenever the permanent interests of India, of the East-India Company, or of this country, should come in competition with the temporary interest of the individual, it might be expected, that with him that temporary interest would prevail. Or if it should be said, that the private trader would be anxious to secure to those who were to come after him, and for whose welfare he was as deeply interested as for his own, a continuation of the benefits which he enjoyed; this would lead to, or rather would itself be, that principle of colonization which was with so much reason apprehended.

If, then, it were wiser to preserve known and considerable benefits, than to risk them in the pursuit of novelty and experiment: if it were more prudent to adhere to old and approved friends, than to abandon them for the sake of promised but untried friendships, it would of course follow, that the native inhabitants of India would consult their real interest, by preferring the old system of the East-India Company to the chimerical projects of the private traders.

Mr. Twining proceeded to consider, in the second place, the interests of the East-India Company. It was, he said, a mortifying and an humiliating circumstance, that a proprietor of East-India stock should find it necessary to stand up in that place, and to exhort other proprietors not to consent to a transfer of the Company's commerce, or to a violation of the Company's charter. He would, however, do that justice to the majority of those gentlemen who heard him, to express his firm conviction, that they were as anxious as he was, and more anxious they could not be, to preserve the Company's commerce and its rights. He should not, however, think the trouble which he took ill bestowed, if he could call to a sense of recollection even a single proprietor, who had inadvertently united himself to the opposite party, without having

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having at all foreſeen the extent or danger of their plan.

Mr. Twining ſaid, he ſhould not have been much ſurpriſed, if thoſe gentlemen who are merely private traders, and not proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock, had contended for ſtill greater indulgencies than thoſe which were granted to them at the renewal of the Company's charter; and yet even thoſe gentlemen would not have been perfectly juſtified in their preſent demand. They ſhould have recollected the conceſſions which were made to them at the renewal of the Company's charter, and they ought not to have diſturbed, or to have attempted to diſturb the arrangement which then took place: but it frequently happened, that conceſſion did not produce the effect which it ought to produce; on the contrary, it too often encourages thoſe, in whoſe favour it has been made, to aſk for more: and ſome perſons are never ſatisfied by conceſſion, whilſt any thing remains which can poſſibly be conceded. But Mr. Twining owned he was *much* ſurpriſed, when proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock ſupported and encouraged the views of the private traders: and he was *moſt* ſurpriſed, when thoſe gentlemen refuſed to acquieſce in the determination of a great majority of proprietors, and appealed to the deciſion of parliament. But the proprietors who acted thus, maintained that they had the intereſts of the Eaſt-India Company in view, as well as thoſe of the private traders. Let us ſee then what the intereſts of the Eaſt-India Company really require.

Upon firſt conſidering the extent of our power in India, it might perhaps be imagined that we could ſupply Europe at leaſt, and perhaps America, with Indian commodities: and ſome gentlemen appear, I think, to have adopted even ſuch an opinion. But here again let us guard againſt haſty deciſions; and let us ſee, not merely what we might like to do, but what we are really able to do.

Thoſe nations which are in amity with this country, and are diſpoſed to trade with India upon their own capitals, and for the ſupply of their own wants, muſt be allowed to do ſo. At the time of the renewal of the Company's charter, this point was acknowledged by all parties; by the proprietors, the directors, and Mr. Dundas. If foreign ſhips were to be excluded from our ports in India, they would viſit the ports which belong to other nations, and we ſhould loſe thoſe benefits which at preſent we derive from them; or if, in the plenitude of our power, we could have excluded other nations from India, it may well be doubted whether they would not rather forego the uſe of Indian articles, than ſubmit to, and in fact encourage, ſuch an arbitrary uſe of power.

But Mr. Twining declared, that he did not mean to deny any evil which really exiſted. It might be that ſome portion of that trade which was carried on under foreign flags, was really ſupported by Britiſh capitals, and was therefore an illicit trade. From the reports which had been printed by the court of directors, he was authoriſed to conclude, that the extent of this illicit trade was by no means conſiderable. But whatever it might be, the court of directors would doubtleſs pay proper attention to it, and endeavour, by all prudent methods, to convert that illegal trade into a legal channel. If, however, by raſhly attempting to do this, they were to ruin the Company,

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pany; their conduct would resemble that of the unskilful physician, who, by his injudicious endeavour to remove a particular complaint, put his patient to death.

A large portion of that Indian trade which is not carried on by foreigners, belongs, as it ought to do, to the East India Company; and it is their trade, and not the trade of foreigners, which would principally be affected by the plan of the private traders. As, however, those private traders and their advocates deny this, it may be well to examine how their trade is likely to affect, and to injure ours: and this will appear if we consider the Indian trade as to the purchase, the conveyance and the sale of Indian articles; that is to say, in all the circumstances of that trade.

To commercial men it must surely appear evident, that the private traders, purchasing goods *in* the same market as the East India Company, and *for* the same market, must be rivals to the Company; and by competition, raise the price at which such goods are to be purchased. Having done us this injury in the first instance, we shall sustain a second injury by the manner in which they propose to convey their goods to England. When those private traders were admitted to a participation of our commerce, it might have been thought sufficient if their trade was carried on in the same ships, and at the same expence of shipping as ours. This would have been admitting them upon terms of equality, and therefore upon terms which, it might have been imagined, would have prevented complaint. But the East India Company did at first, and now proposes to do, much more than this, and to furnish the private trader with shipping upon such terms as can scarcely fail of giving him, in many respects, an advantage over the Company. The Company, having thus sustained a second injury in the conveyance of goods to this country, is again injured by the private trader in the sale of them. The profit arising from the sale of Indian articles must of course depend, in a great degree, upon apportioning the quantity of any article offered to sale to the demand for that article. The East India Company might be able to accomplish this; but this is very unlikely to be accomplished between the Company and the private trader. In another respect the Company is very likely to sustain, and has already sustained, considerable injury. If the Company has reason to think that a certain quantity of any article would, if it were exposed to sale at a certain time, fetch a sufficient price, it publishes a declaration accordingly: that is, it gives notice, that upon a particular day a certain quantity of that article will be exposed to sale. But between the publishing of such a declaration and the day appointed for the sale, one or more of the nimble ships, belonging to the private traders, may arrive with the same article on board which the Company has declared for sale: the consequence would be, that the Company's goods would sell for less, probably for very materially less, than they otherwise would have done; and the Company would suffer from the indulgence granted to its rivals, the private traders. In this respect, as was before observed, the Company has already been injured.

There is a subject which has been pressed upon the notice of the proprietors by the opposite party, as much concerning the interests of the East India Company. It would be

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be well, say the advocates for the private trade, to recollect, that in a few years the Company's charter will expire, and that the Company must then treat for its renewal. If, then, the proprietors expect to renew their charter upon favourable terms, they must shew their moderation now, and not stand up too rigidly for their monopoly. This language, Mr. Twining said, he considered as the language of intimidation; and such language never produced any effect upon him: at least not the effect which it was intended to produce. It was true, indeed, that when the time should arrive for renewing the Company's charter, the Company would be very likely to have to treat with a party stronger than itself; with a party which, if it pleased, might take from the Company the whole of its territory, and the whole of its commerce; and when it had so done, say, in justification of the deed, what the royal animal in the fable said, when he took to himself the whole of the prey: "*quia fum fortis*"—"*quia plus valeo.*" But the subject of renewing the Company's charter must ultimately be decided by parliament; and whoever thinks of the power of parliament should also think of its justice; and it may reasonably be supposed, that parliament would deem it inconsistent with justice to take from the Company its territory and its commerce, without considering what it had done both to acquire and to preserve them. Or, if the worst were to happen; if, when the charter expires, the Company should be deprived of all that it possesses, Mr. Twining said, he would declare for himself—and, upon a question of so much importance, he would not presume to speak for others—that he would much rather be deprived, by the strong hand of power, of whatever, as a proprietor of East India stock, he possessed, than lose it by his own timid and unwise surrender. He who properly defended what he conceived to be his just right, if ultimately he lost it, had no reason to reproach himself, or to look for reproach from others: but he who weakly abandons what he ought resolutely to defend, can scarcely avoid self-reproach; certainly will not avoid reproach from others.

There was another subject, Mr. Twining said, to which he particularly wished to call the most serious attention of the proprietors, as it concerned their most important interests. It had been repeatedly asserted by those persons who were best acquainted with our Indian possessions, that they were held, in a considerable degree, by opinion: but what could tend more strongly to lower the East India Company in the opinion of the natives of India, than such a dispute respecting the commerce of that country, carried on in the way in which that dispute had been carried on. When the directors asserted that the British character might suffer in the opinion of the inhabitants of India, from the reports which would be spread in that country by the lascars, after they had witnessed scenes of the greatest depravity in England, it was replied by our opponents, and with a considerable degree of levity, that the lascars could not possibly injure us; that they were taken from amongst the lowest ranks of people in India; that they were confined to the sea-ports; and that their opinion of us, whether it were favourable or unfavourable, could not affect us. But who were the persons who, upon the present occasion, opposed

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the court of directors, and charged them (to say the least) with being wholly unacquainted with the Company's interests? There were, in the first place, several gentlemen, who had been employed in the Company's service, who were well known in India, and who had acquired their fortunes in that country in the service of the Company. There was also the late president of the board of control, and, Mr. Twining said, he was most sorry to add to the list the present governor-general of India. There was not a prince in India whose views or whose wishes were hostile to the East India Company: there was not a prince in amity with it, or an inhabitant of India, whose good opinion it behoved us to cherish, who would not know of such a contest as the present, and who might not possibly turn that knowledge to our disadvantage. The interests of India required, then, not only the preservation of the Company's commerce, but that such discussions as had taken place upon that subject should be discontinued.

In the third place, Mr. Twining considered the interests of the private traders. He would not, he said, imitate their conduct towards the directors, and charge them with being totally ignorant of their own interests. On the contrary, he would readily own that they were, as far as worldly wisdom went, extremely wise; and that they knew perfectly well what would promote their interests. But when he proceeded a little further, and inquired whether those interests were just interests, he found that they were utterly unjust; and that the plan proposed would promote those unjust interests at the expence of the just interests of the Company.

In considering, lastly, the interests of the nation at large, Mr. Twining thought it necessary, he said, to repeat the declaration so often made by all parties, that the only certain method of preserving to this country the advantage of our Indian possessions, was by means of the East India Company. The interests of the nation required, then, that every plan which affected the security of the Company should be rejected. Those interests were of too important a nature to be risked, in order to favour the speculative views of individuals.

Upon the much-talked-of subject of colonization, Mr. Twining said, he should add but a few words. There was one circumstance respecting that subject, and that a circumstance of the utmost importance, concerning which all parties were agreed, viz. that colonization, if it were to take place, would be a great evil. Instead, then, of disputing about the greater or the less chance of incurring this evil by the adoption of the plan proposed, it would be more prudent to guard against the evil by rejecting the plan altogether. It would be unwise to run the risk of inducing such an evil by the adoption of a measure which was likely to be, in some respects, beneficial to the Company. But the curious circumstance is, that the proprietors are called upon to adopt a plan which has (to speak moderately) some tendency to lead to colonization, and which, independently of that consideration, is likely to prove injurious to the Company.

It has been asserted that the power of the government in India was sufficient to guard the East India Company against any evil which might otherwise be occasioned by those agents, who were to be employed in conducting the private trade with India, and that such

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power was more likely to be exerted effectually againſt Britiſh ſubjects than againſt foreigners. To theſe opinions, Mr. Twining ſaid, he could not accede. He was not diſpoſed to rely, in this caſe, upon the exertion of that power, which the government of India certainly poſſeſſed. In conſidering what might happen in future, we ought to recollect what has happened already. If there ſhould be in the direction, and at the head of the direction, a gentleman who was avowedly a friend to the private trade with India; and if the preſident of the board of control ſhould alſo favour that trade, would it not be reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a Governor-general would be diſpoſed to encourage rather than to control thoſe perſons who were employed to carry it on? His power was little likely to be exerted upon ſuch occaſions. But if the conduct of foreigners was injurious to the Company's intereſts, ſuch conduct would undoubtedly call forth the power of the Britiſh government in India.

The laſt ſubject which Mr. Twining intended to mention as applicable to the intereſts of the nation at large, was the Company's charter. It ſurely intereſted the nation to reſpect thoſe chartered rights which had the moſt ſolemn ſecurity which this nation could give. There was no ſubject ſo frequently dwelt upon by Engliſhmen, or dwelt upon by them with ſo much pleaſure, as the conſtitution of this country; nor could too much be ſaid in its praiſe, or too much be done for its ſupport. But, Mr. Twining ſaid, he could not conſider that conſtitution as ſecure if its moſt ſolemn acts were to be violated.

Under a firm perſuaſion that the proprietors would not abandon the intereſts of India, of the Eaſt India Company, and of the nation at large to promote the intereſts, the unreaſonable intereſts of the private traders, Mr. Twining ſaid he ſhould proceed to ſay a few words in explanation of that motion, which he ſhould have the honour of ſubmitting to the court.

The objects of that motion were three: firſt, to approve the conduct which the court of directors had hitherto adopted; ſecondly, to declare the determination of the proprietors not to abandon the rights of the Company, empowering, at the ſame time, the directors to take ſuch further ſteps as they might think requiſite for the ſupport of thoſe rights; and thirdly, to teſtify a diſpoſition to adopt even yet any conciliatory meaſures which might be ſuggeſted, and which could with propriety be adopted.

That the directors were entitled to the ſupport and approbation of the proprietors for their paſt conduct, for the manner in which they had contended in defence of the rights and juſt intereſts of the Eaſt India Company, would, Mr. Twining imagined, be generally acknowledged. He alſo thought that the expediency of placing confidence in them, and of authoriſing them to have recourſe to ſuch meaſures as they might find neceſſary, would be generally admitted. He was however anxious that his motion ſhould clearly ſhew (what the directors had uniformly ſhewn,) a diſpoſition to preſerve a good underſtanding with his majeſty's miniſters and the board of control. And indeed he could not but flatter himſelf, that when the board of control and his majeſty's miniſters obſerved this diſpoſition, and re-

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considered the subject, they would not be inclined to adopt severe and hostile measures towards the East India Company. The long and important struggle in which this country had been engaged, was ended, and peace, the blessing of peace, was restored. The part which the East India Company had taken during the whole of the late struggle, would doubtless be remembered. Upon every occasion they had been ready to come forward and to contribute largely towards the publice service. The return for this surely would not be a neglect of the Company's just interests, and a violation of their chartered rights. Whilst the rest of the nation rejoiced at the return of peace, the East India Company surely would not be marked out as the object of severity and oppression.

Mr. Twining concluded by making the following motion:

"Resolved, That this court confirm and approve the proceedings of the court of directors upon the subject of the private trade of India. That in their proceedings they have shewn themselves, and the court are convinced will always shew themselves, desirous of preserving, by reasonable arrangements, that good understanding with the board of commissioners which is so important to the interests both of the Public and the East India Company; but that the court of directors be authorised to take such further steps as may appear to them necessary for the defence of those rights which have been solemnly sanctioned to the Company by their charter, which are essential to the interests of the public as well as of the Company, and to the violation of which the proprietors of East India stock can never consent."

Mr. HUDLESTON said, I rise, sir, to second the motion, and although I have not the vanity to think I can add to the impression which my honourable friend's speech must have made on the mind of every person present, I shall endeavour to deliver my sentiments on the present momentous subject, hoping for the same indulgence that I have on former occasions experienced in this room.

The East India Company, sir, are certainly arrived at an awful crisis, struggling abroad with serious difficulties, and at home threatened with an hard requital for the sacrifices by which they have been occasioned; but I will yet hope, sir, that the highly respected nobleman at the head of the board of control, and his colleagues, will re-examine their opinions, and that a mutual spirit of conciliation, and a mutual perception of the necessity of harmony, and cordial co-operation, to all the interests concerned, will lead to an amicable adjustment of the existing difference.

I have perused, sir, the reports of your special committee, and the other papers that have been printed for the proprietors, on the subject of the private trade. I have also perused the publication of an honourable proprietor present, and have traced in it the same talents and industry that I have formerly, with great pleasure, seen exerted in this room, on the side of the East India Company; and I can truly declare, that I rose from the perusal, impressed with a conviction, that all the material principles and deductions laid down by your committee are substantiated; and looking forward to what I consider as unavoidable consequences, I can see no solid distinction between the change desired and an indefinite enlargement of the trade; which it is, I believe, pretty generally admitted, would lead directly to a system of colonization, and from thence to the dissolution of our Indian empire.

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This has been termed a watch-word, and I hope it will prove a watch-word, and a signal of alarm, not only to the proprietors of India stock, but to every man who knows how inseparably connected is the stability of our possessions in India with the vital interests of the state: it is, at least, sir, incontestible, that whoever brings forward, or assists the efforts of others, to accomplish so important an innovation as that which now engages the industry of that honourable proprietor, is bound to demonstrate that no such peril can attach to it; and that it may be adopted without wound or injury to rights which the Company have so dearly earned, and which the private traders themselves ought to feel it a sacred obligation to protect. Now, sir, what are the arguments and inducements offered in favour of the plan, and to disprove the danger? Why, sir, the late president of the board of control, and after him the honourable proprietor, lay their principal stress on the unanimous opinion of your most intelligent servants in India, in its favour; that is to say, the most intelligent of those persons, a just indulgence to whose interests the late president states, in the same paragraph, to be the leading object of the plan. No one, I am sure, can entertain a higher opinion of the servants of the Company than I do, both in respect to ability and integrity; and few have had better opportunities of judging of them; but, sir, there is a principle universally recognised, which prevents it from being usual to rely in favour of any plan on the approbation of those who are to profit by it: in such cases we receive the testimony of the most upright with considerable allowance, recollecting that it comes to them with one of the strongest instincts of our nature on its side, which may blind them to its imperfections. To what other cause can it be ascribed, that those servants see only beneficial effects, and no risk of any unfavourable consequence, from a system which we, and many with us, think fraught with immediate injury, and final ruin to the Company? Is it unfair to answer, that they see it only on one side, and pursue its effects no further than the period of their own administration or residence in India? But if it had been thought adviseable to obtain the unbiassed sentiments of intelligent servants of the Company, are there not servants of that description in England, who, their fortunes being already remitted, have no motive on the side of interest to warp their judgement? Let me see their written opinions in favour of the plan, after they shall have examined it in all its bearings and relations, and I will acknowledge them a solid ground of argument. The next argument relied on, is the opinion of the present Governor-general, the Marquis Wellesley. I hope I shall not be thought to derogate from the great merit and splendid talents of this nobleman, who, almost immediately on entering on his high station, had occasion for all those energies which distinguish a great from a common mind, and shewed that he possessed them; but I contend, sir, that on a subject of this nature we do not look for judgement, or judicious opinions, from splendid talents or elevated rank; but from plain sense and matured experience: longer experience, certainly, and more maturity than the noble marquis could have possessed at the period when his lordship appears to have made

up his mind on the subject; and it is therefore not unfair to conclude, that the ideas expressed in his letters were adopted on the partial suggestions of others. The publication of the honourable proprietor would lead a reader to suppose that the opinions of the Governor-general, and of the late right honourable President of the board of control, were equally favourable to the views of the private traders; but your committee have shewn that there is an essential difference between them. The late president would limit the plan to *bona fide* Indian capital—"to the making the surplus produce of India the means of transferring the fortunes of the Company's servants in India to Great Britain." He agrees with your committee, that "the permitting the transfer of British capital to India, would establish the first principle of a colonial system, and directly tend to introduce that system into India." The Governor-general, on the other hand, sees no danger, but on the contrary, beneficial consequences, from applying to the trade capital drawn directly from Europe. His lordship spoke generally of British merchants, and observes, that "if the extension of additional indulgences to them should involve the admission of numerous British adventurers into India, the government can always with less difficulty control the operations of British, than those of foreign agents;" and his lordship adds, that "it is not *probable* that any increase of private British trade would necessarily produce a proportionate augmentation of the number of British agents resorting thither, but that British agents in India would be likely to be employed by persons engaged in commercial concerns at home." This clearly admits an option in British merchants at home, to send agents to India to manage their concerns there, and of course shews that the noble marquis does not limit the private trade to the Company's servants, or the remittance of their fortunes. Indeed it would not in practice be possible to limit it. It is obvious that the Governor-general, relying on the powers of government, of which he was conscious in himself, over unlicensed persons, sees no dangers in admitting an indefinite number of agents to settle in India, or his lordship would not be satisfied with opposing to it a probability. With regard to the position, that it is more easy to control British than foreign agents, it seems to be extremely problematical, at least even now; and looking forward to future times, supposing it acted upon, consequences of serious importance must, I think, suggest themselves against it. Upon the whole, sir, with the sincerest deference to the opinions of the noble marquis on every other subject, I venture to think that his lordship has on this one demonstrated the error of supposing, that splendid talents, and a mind enriched with science and literature, supersede the necessity of local knowledge and experience.

I come now, sir, to an authority, in venturing to dissent from which, I fear I may be accused of yet greater presumption—I mean, sir, the authority of the late president of the board of control, whose great talents, and beneficial application of them to the general affairs of the empire, I most freely acknowledge. I consider him as having been one of the principal members of an administration, to whose councils, under Providence, we owe the salvation of the country. With respect to his system

of Indian administration, I have the misfortune to differ from him extremely: and must be resigned to all the discredit attached to the confession. I mean, sir, his system taken as a whole: many of his measures have my warmest approbation. God forbid that I should forget that he sent Cornwallis to India, and thereby exhibited to astonished millions, a union of all the virtues that adorn the human character—a union of absolute power with consummate honour, and a conduct that sought its object, not in the mysterious haunts of diplomatic craft, but in the plain, right onward path of openness and candour.

On the subject in question, I balance against his opinions, the almost unanimous opinions of the court of directors, many of whom have, for as many years as he did, devoted their faculties to the affairs of India, and with less divided attention; and several of whom possess the advantage of local knowledge and experience, in common with those persons whose sentiments are so much relied on.

But, sir, are the private traders, or their agents, willing to accept the trade on that right honourable gentleman's limited principles, and to forego the more liberal system of the Governor-general? The error of the right honourable gentleman (if I may presume to attribute error to him), I conceive to be, in supposing it possible that the trade could be, or remain so limited. He states, "that the parties themselves should manage the trade, or agents for them, subject to the control and regulations of the Company;" and afterwards, that he sees no reason why those agents may not be permitted to exercise their agency in any of the territories in India; but, sir, it must be obvious to all who have had experience in India, that the managers of your own trade, and of all your other vast concerns, cannot be allowed to manage this trade on their own account. In all the different boards and offices of importance, they are, and must continue to be precluded from carrying on private trade, either as principals or agents: they must consequently have agents to manage this trade with England on their account. The Company's military officers too, must have agents, and of course his majesty's officers must have agents, for they will have fortunes to remit through this same private trade. Thus, sir, even on the late president's limited plan, you will have a host of legalized agents in India, and an European public at every out-settlement, as he "sees no objection to the agents exercising their agency in any of the territories in India." How numerous then will be the agents, if the trade is to be carried on by British merchants indiscriminately, and with British capital?

In addition to the vast numbers that the trade will invite to India, let it be considered how many hundreds, and, in process of time, thousands of European ship-carpenters, joiners, and other artificers, will be required for the prosecution of that trade, which your committee have stated strong grounds to conclude is, after all, the primary object, namely, a trade in Indian-built ships, the subject of which is so unanswerably discussed in your committee's third report, that I have but to observe, that the only argument in favour of the trade, that appears to me to have any real solidity, was the supposed

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scarcity of timber for the royal navy, in consequence of the great demand of large timber for the Company's regular shipping: and the argument is completely done away by the proposition of your committee to build, if necessary, large ships for his majesty's service, and by the declaration, "that the directors are ready to sacrifice their own judgement, and to exert every endeavour to carry such plans as may be recommended by his Majesty's ministers for the public service, into effect." Thus, sir, the consumption of large timber may, if necessary, be, diminished, without destroying the privileges of the East-India Company.

I shall now, sir, briefly notice the grand and captivating idea held out to conciliate friends to the plan, and make the public see with indifference the East-India Company despoiled of their rights. The idea, sir, of bringing the whole of the trade of India to the Thames, making London the grand emporium of Asiatic commerce, and excluding foreigners from the share they now hold in it! I said I should briefly notice this grand idea; for your committee have left very little to be said upon it; they have shewn it to be a baseless fabric, and that it would end in complete delusion. Sir, they have not only shewn that it would be impracticable, but that if practicable, it would be unwise to attempt to reduce the proportion which foreigners now hold in this trade. They have stated a remarkable circumstance; they have shewn that the Governor-general was calling on the court of directors to take effectual measures to guard against the Portuguese, while the Portuguese were assisting his government, then in distress for money, by the importation of 574,000l. in silver. On this head I shall only add one observation. In Bengal, on the coast of Malabar, on the coast of Coromandel, from Cape Comorin to Orissa, ports and factories are possessed by the French, the Dutch, the Danes, and the Portugueze; they are all maritime powers, possess commercial capitals; their merchants as eager in pursuit of gain, and almost as enterprising as ours, and their respective governments equally sensible of the advantages of a trade with India; can there then be rational ground of hope that we can exclude them from their share in this trade, or induce them to relinquish it, and consent to obtain the product of India only through the port of London? Besides, sir, in a political view, it would not be wise to acquire for ourselves so invidious a preference; for we can but ill afford to lose any part of the reputation we possess with foreign powers, for moderation or liberality in this respect. But if, sir, the private traders really think that this brilliant object can be accomplished, are they content to receive what they demand, on the condition of restoring it in case of failure? Will they consent that the private trade shall return to its present footing, if the hope shall prove delusive?

I believe, sir, I have adverted to the several speculative opinions and arguments that have been brought forward in support of the views of the private traders; they do not, in my opinion, prove that those views can be acquiesced in without infringing the rights of the Company, or that the adoption of them will be attended with benefit to the public. As to the momentous point of, whether the plan will tend to introduce a system of colonization, I shall refer them to

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the higheſt authority they have quoted in their own favour, to ſhow not merely that what they now demand will have that tendency, but that what they have already obtained has directly tended to it; for, as I have already obſerved, the late preſident of the board of control agrees with your committee, "that the permitting the transfer of Britiſh capital to India would eſtabliſh the firſt principle of a colonial ſyſtem, and directly tend to introduce that ſyſtem into India." I aſk then, if the capital now employed in the private trade, or a great part of it, is not Britiſh, and therefore if the firſt principle of a colonial ſyſtem is not already eſtabliſhed?

The only arguments offered to diſprove the exiſtence of danger of colonization from the projected change, (even after the firſt principle of it has been eſtabliſhed,) are compriſed in the honourable proprietor's publication, and they reſt upon the concluſion, that the governments and commanders in India, preſent and future, will always do their duty, and enforce the eſtabliſhed regulations. The non-exiſtence of the danger is thus allowed to be conditional at leaſt; the anſwer, in every part of it, implies doubt, and reſts upon an *if*; and ſhould the author unhappily live to find himſelf miſtaken, (for I am ſure it would be a ſubject of deep affliction to him,) he will refer to that *if* in his defence: but I think I might ſafely appeal to his candour, whether it would in reality (as he ſtates) be a very heinous libel on the governments and commanders abroad, to ſuppoſe it poſſible that, under the new ſyſtem, they might be remiſs in the reſpects alluded to? and even whether the danger might not exiſt, and increaſe imperceptibly to them? For my own part, ſir, ſhould the change be adopted in all its deſired extent, I am fully perſuaded that all attempts to limit the number of agents, and prevent the influx of Europeans into India, would be nugatory and ineffectual. Even now, as you, ſir, muſt be aware, it is extremely difficult to prevent perſons from finding their way to India, and ſettling at our preſidencies: the regulations on that point are often evaded, and the evaſions connived at.

The officers and crews of foreign ſhips, which the honourable proprietor ſpeaks of, do not at all reſemble the perſons who will wiſh to proceed to India under the new ſyſtem; the latter are not equally diveſted of the means of obtaining protection by the influence of connections here. To the ſpirit of adventure, and the golden proſpect held out by this ſpeculation, and the hope of finding other avenues to wealth, and a better trade than they were ſent to manage, will be added the ſerious inducement to emigration afforded by the preſſure of the times. The perſons who proceed to India as agents, thoſe who may employ them there, and the numerous friends of the plan in England, will have one common object; and to judge of the probable iſſue, look only to the powerful intereſts already united againſt the Company, and the ſupport they meet with; advert to the ſituation in which we at this moment ſtand, and the occaſion of this meeting!

Juſtly, indeed, ſir, does your committee obſerve, that the conceſſions made in 1793, are the ſource from which the preſent claims originate; and, if admitted, they will give birth to others. We know, ſir, that where paſſions leſs ſtrong than that of gain are ſet at work, conceſſion begets conceſſion, and

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that it is not always safe to grant even those that are just; for that passion never yet was satisfied, while any thing remained within its possible grasp; and unhappily, whatever contributes to its success, augments its means of gratification. If, therefore, on other grounds, it were safe to grant what is now desired, it would be discovered that something yet was wanting, and that to complete the system, the private traders must have liberty to send their teak ships to Canton, to be laden with surplus teas, and bring the whole of the trade with China also to the Thames. This will be disclaimed, and I doubt not with sincerity, by the present Indian agents and their friends; but the object is too valuable not to be hereafter attempted: as they increase in strength, their views will enlarge, and new enterprizes be suggested, by a consciousness of the power to effect them. Therefore, sir, in 1793, your motto should have been, "*principiis obsta!*" as it should also long since have been, in respect to another important branch of your affairs, of which I shall take a cursory review, in order to shew that our commerce at present is our only sure dependence. Your revenues, immense as they are, are absorbed by your more immense expenditure, and that, even on a peace establishment. When your income scarcely exceeded one-half of its present amount—when you had a powerful and inveterate enemy, against whom it was necessary to be constantly upon your guard, you had a clear surplus revenue, I think, of more than half a million sterling! Now that that enemy is destroyed, his capital, and a very great portion of his country, added to your dominion—now that all opposition is laid at your feet, and that you are secure from any but what you may yourselves provoke, you have not a rupee of surplus revenue, and are twenty millions in debt! But a perseverance in the system you have persevered in for these seventeen years past, is, in seven or eight years more, to lead you back to prosperity and affluence: be it so. I shall, if in existence, sincerely rejoice, and acknowledge the weakness of my present apprehensions.

Enthusiasm, sir, is of different sorts, and operates variously—mine tells me that no half measures or partial savings will avail; but that your affairs can only be retrieved by economical retrenchments in every department abroad and at home—by the suppression of all establishments and offices that are profitable only to the possessors—by making talents, experience, and integrity the only recommendations to promotion abroad—by a just and conciliating conduct to all with whom you have to deal, whether weak or powerful—and, finally, by forsaking the system once declared to be repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation! [*Hear, hear! from the corner occupied by the friends of the private traders.*] The gentlemen seem to be elated at this statement, but I trust I shall shew that it affords them no cause of triumph. Sir, as matters now are, others have in effect a clear income from territories which you protect; and, with receipts to the utmost, I believe, of eight millions sterling, your real income is worse than none. *Your commerce*, however, remains; and from that the proprietors derive their dividend. But even that resource is now grasped at, and in a way that, were it certain the public would benefit by it, would still be unjust, because it strikes at your

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chartered privileges. But you have not that consolation: should your opponents prevail, the public will suffer with you, and the grandchildren of many present, tracing on the map the topography of that quarter of the globe, will point out to their children the vast tracts that once were British India! But, sir, I will not yet believe that this "interference in a department of your business, where the administration is declared by the highest authority to be exclusively your own," will be persisted in: until the fact shall stare me in the face, I will not believe that the present minister, of whom, amidst all the collisions of party, there is but one opinion, and that unmixed with a single shade of disapprobation, will give the sanction of his fair name to so great an injustice as that of wresting from the East India Company the privileges of their charter, and retaining the price that has been paid for them. I have meant here, sir, no invidious comparison, being convinced that the mind of the illustrious person who presided in the late administration, would have equally revolted at such an injustice; nor am I less convinced of the pure and upright motives which govern the conduct of the noble earl who presides at the board of control: to err, and to yield to partial representations, is human; but his lordship can have none but disinterested views, nor any other object than virtuous fame. At all events, it is desirable that the business should speedily be brought to a final issue; otherwise, sir, what will be the opinion in India of the situation of the Company, and what the estimation there of your authority? If, unhappily, the decision should be against the Company, they must state with respectful firmness to Parliament the sacrifices made, the ruinous burthens incurred, and the vast sums expended by the East India Company during the last thirty years, to aid the national cause, and often in enterprizes in which the Company had no distinct interest, but the success of which was made subservient to the public welfare, and the expences left on them: they must petition against the injustice of being compelled to protect a trade in opposition to their own, and a system operating to their own destruction: they must respectfully claim, that this rival Company, admitted to a participation in the Company's commerce, shall participate in the expence of protecting it.

Sir, in contemplating the more transcendantly important consequences of the system demanded, I have overlooked the injury it must operate to the Company's regular shipping, and the commanders and officers in your naval service: this is too obvious to require any detailed argument—the Indian markets will be glutted; the teak ships will often be filled with the Company's goods; and gentlemen returning from India will often, if not generally, embark on them. You will find it necessary to increase the pay of your commanders and officers, but no increase will compensate the difference; and those who may engage in your service, under the new system, will not be of the same description with those who have done it and themselves so much honour, and who have, at different times, and whenever called on, so nobly seconded those efforts of the British army and navy, by which your Indian empire has been so often preserved.

In fine, sir, my honourable friend has

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has shewn, and your committee have abundantly shewn, that the court of directors have been, and are, willing to give every facility to the private trade that can consist with the rights of the Company, and the interests of the Public, and to fulfil, to the utmost, the intentions of the legislature in its favour; but the paragraphs sent for the adoption of the court of directors would make them profess sentiments, and acquiesce in principles, in opposition to those which they have uniformly maintained, and a departure from which would be a compromise of those rights and privileges of the Company, for which the public faith is pledged. But I repeat my hope, that the board of commissioners will re-examine their opinions, and that a mutual spirit of conciliation will lead to that happy adjustment of the existing differences which my honourable friend's motion is so well calculated to promote. But in all events, should the subject be discussed in another place, the proprietors may rely with confidence on that candour in his majesty's ministers which they have so lately experienced, and on the wisdom and justice of parliament.—Whatever may be the result, I shall always feel it an honour to have borne a share in the labours of this day, and to have seconded my honourable friend in that signal effort by which he has crowned a long career of undeviating efforts for the welfare of the Company.

Mr. ADAIR said, the impression, sir, my mind received from the perusal of the printed papers on your table, has been considerably relieved by the motion of my honourable friend. The manner in which his proposition has been received, offers an expectation that the ground of a painful contention may be removed. And in that hope I cheerfully accede to it.

Though, sir, the consideration of the private trade has so long engaged your proceedings, and absorbed so much of the attention of this court, I was, when I came into it, by no means prepared to consider the question of this day as a question of private trade. It seemed to me to affect the very existence of the Company's commercial franchise. The consideration seemed to me to be, not what we should concede, but what we possessed—not what we should grant to others, but what we actually retained ourselves—not how the portion of the subject assigned should be limited, but whether the whole of it was not gone.

This court, sir, on the 28th of May, in the last year, after the maturest deliberation, and the fullest information of your proceedings, gave them their confirmation, and by their resolution instructed,—"without delay to act upon the principles detailed in your resolutions." Ten months elapse, and you come to a resolution, that the proceedings of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, "taken altogether, demonstrate a decided and unequivocal intention of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the East India Company."

Through the whole of the transactions, of which you state this as the result and inevitable conclusion, there is no one, I am persuaded, who considers the positive directions you received from your constituents, who can impute to you the want of conciliatory dispositions. For I observe, that by your resolution of the 15th July, you propose a *statu quo*—you offer to let things remain as they are for this season. This, no doubt, was in some degree a variance

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riance from your instructions; but you probably judged, and truly, that this court would have acquiesced in it, when it appeared in fact, that though a departure from the letter, it was not a departure from the spirit of your instructions, and that in the whole of your proceedings you were maintaining those principles upon which you had been directed to act. But, sir, even after this concession, after every endeavour on your part to alter, modify, and render unobjectionable the paragraphs you had proposed on the subject, the board send you, for transmission to India, two of their own; that is, they assume, not merely the power of *approving, altering,* or *amending*, but of *originating* directions on a subject which has been expressly defined to be of the exclusive authority of this Company.

From the earliest existence of this corporation, there is not an act in the statute book that in any manner relates to it, which does not expressly affirm your exclusive commercial privileges. But, sir, the very nature of the transaction, sanctioned by the last act, the act of 1793, amounts to the most decisive recognition of them that can well be conceived. For what is it? It is a stipulation on the part of the state that you shall, to a certain limited extent, to certain persons, for the purposes described, allow a concurrence in your trade. Now, sir, can any thing more completely affirm your commercial franchise than this provision for your indulging it to others? Can there be a more irrefragable argument in favour of your *exclusive* right than this stipulation for your *letting in* others to a limited enjoyment of it? Thus stands your compact with the state—a compact of the highest, most unlimited good faith, and to be construed with the most liberal spirit. Is it by a construction in that spirit that, after an agreement between the parties to it, that what belonged to the *political* department of the territorial possessions should be conceded to the control of government, but that the *commercial* department should remain absolutely and independently with the Company,—is it, sir, I say in that spirit, that we are now to be told that the commerce is political? Political! in what sense? It is true that in a more general sense this Company, and all which belongs to its administration, may be termed political, as it constitutes that great machine which the national policy has adopted as the best and only medium through which those distant possessions can be maintained and preserved with national benefit to this country. In this enlarged sense every thing that regards this Company may be considered as political. But, sir, when we are speaking in the sense of that compact which the state, for its political ends, has thought it wise to enter into with the members collectively, the *United Merchants* of this Company—in the sense furnished by the context of the act which sanctioned it, and which, like every other, has most anxiously defined and distinguished the political from the commercial concerns of the Company—is it, sir, in this sense that the trade of the Company can be deemed political? If it can be so deemed, then indeed I admit there is no question remains for us. The board have pronounced upon it; your functions are gone; and this court has nothing left to debate upon: for of a right to exercise

cise that trade of which another can claim the direction, I have not a conception.

With these impressions I will own it appears to me that, as a preliminary to every other discussion, it was necessary that this court should take into its consideration the actual state of the Company under the operation of the late acts. I certainly should not have been disposed to admit the claim of the board of commissioners, but on the contrary should have thought it my duty, in consistency with the line I have uniformly observed, to have contributed my poor endeavours to the assertion and vindication of your just rights. Had such a discussion been necessary, it would not have been possible that this court could have disguised to itself the origin of the difficulties that presented themselves. In the very first letter from that board, No. 1. of your Appendix, I read it in very distinct characters. "The present Governor-general, as well as the late President of the board of control, to whose experience the greatest deference is due, have impressed a conviction entirely adverse to that of the court." So that we should have had to encounter a sort of system of the late president. This is the right hon. gentleman's *last legacy* to the Company, of which he has indeed appointed the *executors* from our own body.

But, sir, this is not all. In a publication written with great ability by an honourable gentleman now present, for the communication of which I return him my best thanks, I find the following public declaration during the progress of this question, ascribed to a right hon. gentleman, the ex-chancellor of his majesty's exchequer: "He should be glad to be informed by what right the East-India Company, or the Nation, could deprive the people of India of the privilege of exporting their own produce and manufactures in their own shipping." If, sir, by the people of India is meant those whose pretensions were at the moment in question, I ask, sir, what are we? We are in the case of an unfortunate purchaser, who discovers a flaw in the conveyance. All I can say is, that we have for a large sum of money bought an estate with a bad title.

The hon. mover, with that good sense and ability which he always displays, has shewn, that the commercial franchise of this Company is best conducive to the interests of the public, of India, and of this country: and these points the report of your committee has most convincingly established. These topics certainly furnish the best answers to the reasonings which, within and without this court, have been employed to raise the public prejudices against what *ad invidiam* is termed the *monopoly* of this Company. But, sir, in themselves these are properly topics of *legislation*, and we are not *legislating*. With me the most decisive argument in favour of this exclusive franchise is, that though it is not the first time by many that individuals have thought it their interest to assail it, yet in all the successive changes of administration, whatever their different political complexions, the wisdom of it has uniformly been recognized. In a word, the most decisive evidence of its policy is its existence at this moment.

Let me, however, sir, for a moment imagine that, against all the reasoning which long experience has confirmed, the rage of innovation should induce a persuasion of its impolicy,

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impolicy, would it, sir, I ask, necessarily follow, that the pretensions of the present *postulants* should be admitted? Would it follow that, without more this corporation should be dispossessed of the franchise? I venture to assert the reverse; and I assert it upon a principle which I trace in every parliamentary proceeding that regards the rights of any body of men, or any individual whatever. There is not a bill for a public road, or country bridge, in which I do not discover it. Should the cottage and ground of the meanest individual stand in the way of a work of public utility, does the state exact an absolute sacrifice of his private right to the public interest? No, sir; he is treated with upon liberal terms for the transfer, and compensated. A signal instance occurs of more appropriate analogy in no very remote times. The seignory of the Isle of Man, derived from royal grant, which had been recognized and confirmed by parliament, existed in the hands of a subject. It had descended from the earl of Derby to the family of the dukes of Athol. In the reign of George I. the inconvenience of this sort of *imperium in imperio* became manifest. As the king's process could not enter the jurisdiction, it was found inconsistent with the purposes of public justice and public revenue. Now, sir, in this case every argument for the sacrifice of private right to public interest applied in full force. The independency of this jurisdiction was an anomaly in the government. But, sir, did the state for this reason proceed to invade this right? Was the subject despoiled of this franchise, if I may so term it? No, sir; the state treated for the transfer of it. An act of parliament was passed to empower the treasury to purchase it of the then proprietors for the use of the crown. It is in the administration of this sort of justice that the legislature of a free country appears in its most august form.

I had more to have advanced upon this subject, but I trust the occasion does not call for it. I have scarcely touched upon the pretensions of the private trade, because I do not think that to be the question of this day. Before I conclude, however, I wish to make one observation upon it. It can never enter into my conception that the exclusive franchise of this Company was granted to it merely for the benefit of the individual members of it. I think it was projected by a more enlarged and enlightened spirit, with a view to great national interests; and that this court cannot better consult those interests, than by maintaining, unimpaired, their own rights. But, sir, with this impression, I do not mean that it would, in my opinion, become it to say, with Shakespear's Shylock, "*How is it nominated in the bond? —I stay upon my bond.*" There is no indulgence to others which I should not be forward to grant, short of that which would impair the paramount rights of this Company in the subject; rights, I repeat it, which it is equally the interest of the Public with that of the Company to maintain inviolate.—With respect to the adverse claims of authority opposed to us, the proposition of my honourable friend offers the facilities of conciliation; and this, sir, of all others, is not the moment for contest. Nothing but the imperious necessity of vindicating the rights of this Company could render this line of conduct eligible, at a time when this court, in common with others, feel with

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with gratitude the bleſſing the miniſter has been the inſtrument of obtaining for the country and the ſpecies. He has alſo contributed another ingredient to the public happineſs; he has relieved the country from the preſſure of a tax, the character and principle of which I cannot better deſcribe than by appealing to the joy and exultation which all men have felt at its repeal. This indeed, ſir, is not a moment for diſſatisfaction and ill-humour.

Should we unfortunately be diſappointed in our hopes and expectations that the differences which have prevailed will be terminated, I have only then, ſir, to ſay, that if the miniſter carries with him into public life thoſe qualities which have attached his friends in private life—if, as I truſt, the candour and impartiality with which he filled his former ſituation accompany him to his preſent poſt, he cannot diſreſpect the principles of thoſe who are contending for the inviolability of plighted public faith, for the ſecurity of the rights of others, as well as for their own.

Mr. IMPEY ſaid, I entirely concur, ſir, in the opinion delivered by my hon. and learned friend who ſpoke laſt, that nothing can be more contradictory and oppoſite than the proceedings of the court of directors, and the reſolution which we are called upon to paſs this day, approving thoſe proceedings; yet contradictory as they are, I have the misfortune to diſſent from both. The meaſures which have been purſued by the directors for a long courſe of time, in relation to the private trade, ſeem to me equally impolitic in their end and imprudent in their means; I cannot, therefore, aſſent to a reſolution which ſanctions and approves them; neither can I give my vote for that part of the reſolution which recommends conciliation, (though I moſt ſincerely wiſh theſe fatal differences may terminate amicably,) becauſe conciliatory ſteps have been already taken, and have led to an actual engagement with government, which, in my opinion, ought to be carried into execution.

The Eaſt India Company has *indeed*, as the honourable proprietor who ſeconded the motion expreſſed himſelf, arrived at an awful criſis; and I heartily wiſh he could prevail on the directors to take the opinions of the late Governors-general of India, whoſe ability, information, and integrity, cannot admit of diſpute, on this extenſive and intricate ſubject; but the honourable proprietor will do us on this ſide of the court the juſtice to recollect, that we preſſed this very propoſition on the directors laſt year, and that it was treated as little better than an inſult on their ſuperior wiſdom; perhaps at laſt the experience of their own weakneſs may teach them a little diffidence.

When I conſider the great ability and information of the honourable proprietors who brought forward and ſeconded the motion, I confeſs I am ſurprized to find ſo little to anſwer or animadvert upon; they have ſaid very little on the great queſtion of the private trade, and ſtill leſs on the conduct of the directors reſpecting it, which they call on us to ſanction by our approbation. As I do not diſpute any of the general principles they have laid down, and differ from them only in ſome of the concluſions they draw, and ſome of the facts they ſtate, I ſhall take notice

notice of those differences as they arise, in the course of what I shall submit to the court.

If the doctrine which obtained here last year is still to prevail, that the opinions of the directors are infallible, and that it is presumption in any proprietor to controvert them, I am wasting time and labour in attempting to argue this question; but that is a doctrine to which I shall not easily be brought to subscribe. I consider this court as the constitutional corrective of the errors and exorbitancies of the directors; its powers have often been exerted most beneficially for that purpose, and may again; and thinking, as I do, the impediments industriously thrown in the way of the general trade between India and Great Britain highly pernicious to the Company as well as the Public, and that the line of conduct the directors have thought proper to adopt, is equally weak and violent, full of disrespect to us their constituents, and full of duplicity to the government and legislature, I shall express that opinion, and the grounds of it, without any reserve.

Much has been said in other places of the aristocracy of Leadenhall-street, but such only as have been present at our late general courts can have any adequate idea of the plenitude of its power: Here the directors have of late made no scruple to affirm, that any man who stands up to argue against their resolutions is an enemy to the East India Company, an oppugner of its chartered rights and privileges.—This, sir, you scruple not to affirm, though you know those resolutions are in direct opposition to the deliberate judgement of the first statesman in the country. But these excommunicatory anathemas have no weight with me, while I know I am pursuing what I conscientiously believe to be the true interest of the Company. I know, sir, that assertions, unsupported by reason and argument, are of no real value, whether they come from that side of the bar or from this, but I will venture to assert, that throughout this business the directors have been the real enemies of the Company, and I think they have this day put me in a condition to prove it to the satisfaction of all impartial men.

As the private trade of India has been the ground and origin of the controversy which subsists between the directors and the government of the country, I cannot avoid making some general observations upon it, and what has been said respecting it: My opinion still remains unshaken and confirmed, that it is of primary importance to the interests of the empire at large, whether viewed in a commercial, financial, or political light; it opens an unbounded field to mercantile enterprize; it supplies and promises fertile and unfailing sources of revenue; and what may be considered as far more valuable, it provides the means of additional strength and security to the whole community, by an incalculable increase of our naval power, and that at a time, which, from the inordinate expence of naval equipments, may be called a time of need. Were the Company even to be sufferers in a slight degree by those great public benefits, I should think them unjustifiable in their opposition; but I maintain that they actually are and will be advantaged by them, and that the Company cannot be losers. The honourable proprietor, who began this debate, begs the question between us from the beginning

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ginning to the end, when he ſtates that injury is intended, or can accrue to the Company by the encouragement of the private merchants. He re-ſtates objections long ſince made by the directors and refuted, and which, however ſeriouſly urged, I can ſcarcely treat as ſerious. He tells us, the private merchants will rival the Company in their trade. How can that poſſibly be, when they do not deal in the ſame articles? when they admit that the Company ſhall at all times exerciſe the privilege of monopolizing what articles they pleaſe, and excluding the private trader? Again we are told, that the private trade will lead to colonization in India. How is it poſſible that any natives of this country can ſettle in India, when the Company are furniſhed with the moſt deſpotic powers to prevent it? No Engliſhman can hold lands in that country, or go ten miles from any of the principal ſettlements without the Company's ſpecial licenſe. All India as well as England is combined to enforce the execution of theſe laws, and to prevent a free intercourſe between the natives of that country and this. Surely then, ſir, we are treated like children, as wholly unverſed in human affairs, their cauſes and effects, when this bugbear colonization is conjured up to terrify us.

The honourable proprietor talks of the *ingratitude* of the private traders for the *conceſſions* that have been made to them, as if this trade had originated in the conceſſions of the India Company, and as if there were ſomething reprehenſible in attempts to extend it; nothing can be more falſe than ſuch a notion. Let us ſee how the fact ſtands, and in what ſtate of relation to the merchants the Company are placed by parliament. Till the year 1793 we were the monopoliſts of the Indian commerce; at that period our monopoly ceaſed, and the legiſlature, in its wiſdom, eſtabliſhed it as one of the conditions of renewing our charter, that we ſhould encourage by every liberal facility and indulgence the new trade created by them. This proviſion was founded, not only on the narrow principles of tranſmitting the fortunes of individuals to England through the medium of commerce, as the directors pretend, but, as the act itſelf declares, with the view of extending the manufactures, commerce, and navigation of the whole Britiſh empire. The private merchants have as much right to all the aſſiſtance and protection we can afford them, conſiſtently with our own excluſive privileges, in the proſecution of the mercantile concerns, as we have to their ſubmiſſion and obedience, when legal, and reaſonable reſtrictions are impoſed by us for the defence of thoſe privileges. Under the foſtering care, not of the directors, but of ſome of their ableſt and moſt enlightened ſervants in India, (whom they have been pleaſed to ſtigmatize for it, as hoſtile to their intereſt,) this trade has thriven to ſuch a growth, that it occupies this ſeaſon 15,000 tons of ſhipping, and its ſale amount is not leſs than three millions ſterling. Do the directors believe that any miniſter of this country can be ſo weak and ignorant as to ſacrifice ſuch a trade to their prejudices, or even to riſk its tranſmiſſion into the hands of foreigners? Even if ſuch a miniſter could be found, do they imagine that parliament has ceaſed to have any regard to the reſources of the nation?

Sir, it required no ſpirit of prophecy to foreſee, that your reſolutions

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tions of last year could never be carried into effect; and I will venture to predict, that whatever may be the resolutions of the directors, or of this court, the private trade must and will be supported by those, whoever they may be, that administer the affairs of this nation. The prospect is already opened of bringing the whole or nearly the whole of the surplus produce of India into the Thames, and making London the emporium of Europe for Indian commodities. The directors complain that this prospect is chimerical, that it is new, that it never was dreamed of by the legislature in the year 1793. In answer to that complaint I charge the directors themselves with having opened that prospect to the nation; with having urged them by the most incontrovertible arguments to realize the views of greatness and opulence they pointed out. Those arguments still remain unanswered; those views are in a great degree realised, and their further prosecution is only retarded by the preposterous opposition of the directors themselves.

It is superfluous for me to urge arguments in support of the policy of these views; if the directors can answer their own arguments, I shall be satisfied. In the year 1797 they presented a memorial to the lords of his majesty's treasury, praying a reduction of the duties on Indian commodities, in which all the principles, all the views, all the reasonings are detailed on which the private merchants now rest: I will read some extracts from it to this court, and I will then ask the proprietors, I will then ask the directors, what answer can be given to this memorial, and how it can be reconciled with their present reasonings and conduct.

Mr. Impey here read the following extracts from a memorial presented by the directors to the lords of his majesty's treasury, dated the 3d May 1797:

"Your memorialists have taken into consideration the situation of the East India trade, not only so far as concerns the Company's own commerce, but that carried on by individuals; and it appears to your memorialists that the regulations and indulgences which have taken place, in consequence of a late act of parliament for the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1793, relative to the permission granted to individuals to participate in the East India trade, having already led to consequences most beneficial to the British nation, your memorialists are perfectly convinced, that the increased trade to this country from India, as before stated, notwithstanding all the encouragement given to it, would not have taken place to the extent it has, if the situation of the principal commercial countries of Europe, in consequence of the war, had not rendered their trade more expensive and hazardous than the trade to this country; but this, on the return of peace, must necessarily cease, from a variety of causes. Amongst these it may be material to impress upon the attention of your lordships, that individuals residing in India cannot be restricted to particular ships, but that they have it in their power to select the ships of any nation which will take goods on the lowest freight, or that will best suit the purpose of conveying their commerce to Europe; and the policy of all the other commercial powers of Europe, will give every facility to this trade, for the purpose of drawing it to their own country.

"The policy of Great Britain certainly should be to remove every obstacle that will prevent its carrying on this trade upon as low terms as any other country.

"If this was done, there is every reason to hope that almost the whole trade from the East would pass through London.

"In such case, the rate of sale of India goods would be increased, from the increased quantity of goods sold for exportation, bringing the greater competition.

"The sale of our exports in British manufactures would also be proportionably increased, from the increased number of foreign purchasers of Eastern goods at the India sales, the same persons frequenting a country for one article inadvertently buy many others.

"This increased commerce would not only

only give an immediate increaſe to the number of our ſeamen, but it would ſerve the moſt uſeful purpoſe of bringing thoſe back who now ſerve under foreign flags in the illicit trade carried on at foreign ports with Engliſh property. It would encourage our ſhip-building; throw much money into the country by the charges of merchandize, and give employment to numbers. In ſhort, the advantages accruing from ſuch a plan cannot come *within calculation.*

"Your memorialiſts, in troubling your lordſhips with this addreſs, are only actuated by the public benefit. As lords of the ſoil in India, advantages will certainly reſult to them, which will give more perfect ſecurity to their property embarked in the trade, but every other advantage will continue to paſs through the hands of the Company merely as engines in the ſervice of the ſtate."

This memorial was accompanied by another paper, entitled general obſervations, which contains paſſages equally curious and important.

"It is to be expected almoſt the whole of the articles produced in India, ſeveral of which were new to the Europe trade, until within theſe few years, ſuch as ſugar, cotton, indigo, &c. will find their way here, if proper encouragement ſhall be given by the removal of the clogs, and extra expences which attach upon importation here, and which are a great check upon the exportation of thoſe articles for foreign uſe; for it ſhould be remembered, that it is impoſſible for Great Britain to tax foreign countries by levying any conſiderable duty upon articles for foreign uſe, while thoſe countries have it in their power to procure the articles themſelves, without coming to this country for them, either by trading directly to the places of produce, or by giving encouragement to the ſhipping there to ſend the articles to them, which the merchants of India have in their power to do beyond any other perſons concerned in commerce in any part of the world, from the variety of articles, and the extent of the produce of them, the neceſſity of remittance to Europe, and from the ports in India being free to the ſhips of any nation.

"The ſituation of foreign countries at this time, and the inſecurity of neutral flags, are particularly favourable for the transfer of this great and growing India commerce to its legal and natural channel, from which it has been forced by the high duties, and the mode by which levied.

"A low duty collected on the ſale prices of goods ſold for exportation, would, it is expected, make London the great emporium of India commerce, at preſent almoſt carried on entirely by Engliſh capitals, although under foreign flags—even a conſiderable part of the Daniſh Company's cargoes are purchaſed with Engliſh funds.

"It is alſo a matter of great regret, that moſt of the private ſhips trading to and from India, under foreign flags, are navigated by Engliſh ſeamen, who are thus alienated from their country.

"All the advantages ſtated to reſult from this trade to foreign countries, when transferred to this country, would centre here; and from the whole of the private importations being joined to thoſe of the Company, the ſale prices would thereby be ſupported from the concourſe of foreign purchaſers, who would alſo export many articles of Britiſh manufacture; whereas, at preſent, the ſales here are frequently counteracted by the ſales at Hamburgh, &c. anticipating thoſe of the Company, in order to fill the market previous thereto.

"Another ſtrong circumſtance is, the India trade does not drain this country of its capital, or divert it from other channels, as is the caſe with the Weſt Indian trade, where immenſe ſums are advanced upon mortgage of plantations, and in the American trade, where goods are ſent upon long credit, to the detriment of commerce. From a well regulated intercourſe with our fellow ſubjects in India, it is preſumed many articles, the manufacture and produce of this country, would be ſent there in preference to thoſe of the countries they now reſort to, to the great advantage of the community."

It is worthy of obſervation, that this memorial and thoſe obſervations have never been printed by the directors among the papers which they have laid before the proprietors for their information; but they have been printed by order of the houſe of commons, and by my honourable friend near me in the able book he has publiſhed on the ſubject of the private trade; the directors have prudently kept them in

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in the back ground, and it is from extraneous ſources we are ſupplied with thoſe proofs of their inconſiſtencies and contradictions.

It appears by Lord Welleſley's letter to the court of directors, of the 21ſt Sept. 1801, that the export trade of the Company is about two fifths of the whole export trade of India. The remaining three fifths are carried on partly by private Britiſh traders, and partly by foreigners, ſome of whom trade on their own funds, and ſome, as is diſtinctly admitted by the directors in their firſt report, on Britiſh capital. The private merchants deſire no more than that they may be permitted to uſe the means in their power of proſecuting to advantage that portion of their Indian commerce which the Company cannot embrace, and which, if unoccupied by them, muſt be carried on by foreigners. The merchants tell us, that they ſhall be enabled to bring the whole, or nearly the whole of the ſurplus produce of India into our warehouſes, if we will allow them to take advantage of the Indian ſhipping at ſuch a rate of freight as they can agree upon with their owners, if we will allow them to ſhip their own commodities under ſuch reſtrictions as we chooſe to impoſe, and to diſpatch their veſſels at the periods moſt convenient to them. "No, (ſay the directors,) we inſiſt upon ſhipping your goods when and in what manner we pleaſe; we inſiſt that your veſſels ſhall ſail in the fair weather ſeaſon only; we inſiſt on providing for your whole tonnage, at a vaſt increaſe of expence both to you and to ourſelves." Their project laſt year was to build a new fleet for the conveyance of the private trade in this country; now half of their fleet is to be built here and half in India.

The directors, ſir, undertake to furniſh annually a ſufficiency of tonnage to anſwer the whole demand in India of the private trade: this year, when the cotton crops have almoſt entirely failed, the trade occupies no leſs than fifteen thouſand tons, and this whole quantity the directors do not ſcruple to promiſe. How it is poſſible for them to perform this promiſe in the preſent ſtate of the ſhipping of this country, and at the preſent enormous rate of all the articles of ſhip-building, it is for them to explain. But admitting their performance of this engagement to be practicable, let us ſee how they have been accuſtomed to execute ſimilar engagements on former occaſions. In the ſeaſon 1800-1, they were bound by the act of 1793 to furniſh the private merchants with what is called the ſtatutable tonnage, that is, *three thouſand tons at the leaſt*: did they fulfill that obligation? So far from it, that we are told by Lord Wellesley, in the letter I have already quoted, they did not furniſh a ſingle ton, and that if the merchants had been deprived of the reſource of Indian ſhipping, either their goods muſt have lain on their hands, or they muſt have diſpoſed of them to foreigners. If this was the caſe in 1800-1, when, comparatively ſpeaking, ſo ſmall a quantity of tonnage was required, what may be expected at this time, when the trade is ſo much increaſed? Can the private merchants, with ſuch an example before their eyes, truſt with any degree of ſecurity the promiſe of the directors?

But the merchants plainly tell you, that even if you could ſupply them with the whole tonnage they demand

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demand, in the manner you at present propose, they could not occupy it; it must remain in your hands, useless to them and burthensome to the Company. "Your mode of contracting for our shipping, (say they) is so inconvenient, so clogged with limitations and provisions, that the freight must necessarily be enhanced by it: besides, your officers distribute our cargoes at their pleasure over a variety of vessels we know not where or when, and the periods of their dispatch are confined within a particular season: under these vexatious incumbrances we know not how to regulate our consignments or insurances." Addressing a mercantile assembly like this, I confidently ask them, whether these are frivolous or captious complaints, or are they substantial, and necessarily arising out of the conduct of the directors? Is it not plain and evident, that these restrictions, if not removed, must transfer this valuable branch of commerce to foreign nations.

The honourable proprietor who moved the resolution tells you, that foreign nations have a right to trade to your settlements in India, and that you cannot with justice exclude them. No advocate, sir, for the private traders has ever disputed this principle, or has even sought to exclude them. What is it then they ask? that they may have the means of rivalling them, that they may be enabled to enter into that fair and honourable competition, by which Great Britain has become the most opulent and powerful nation upon earth.

Let us suppose for an instant that it were possible for the directors to carry their plans into execution to their utmost extent, and build a new fleet of their own for the conveyance of the private trade---What is to become of the Indian shipping which this commerce has already created, and which I am sure I do not over estimate at forty thousand tons, at a period when ship-timber is so scarce, when all the articles of ship-building are so dear, when, after six months of peace, ships cannot be built for less than twenty-one or twenty-two pounds a ton---is the whole of the Indian shipping to be lost to this country? Is it to rot unemployed, or to be sold at a low price to foreign nations, while we are building a new fleet to supply its place at a ruinous expense, and to the incalculable increase of our difficulties in naval and mercantile equipments?

The more, sir, we consider the plans of the directors, and trace them to their consequences, the more clearly do we discern the mischief and absurdity with which they are fraught. But were they ever so wise, were the principle of excluding Indian shipping ever so clearly connected with the prosperity of the Company, I could never approve (as I am called on to do by this motion,) the conduct of the directors in the prosecution of their measures, as it is detailed in these printed papers. I think their conduct at once weak, indiscreet, and violent, disrespectful to us their constituents, and full of duplicity to his majesty's ministers and the legislature.

More than a twelvemonth since the court of directors came to certain resolutions, by which they declared the admission of Indian ships into the commerce of Europe to be incompatible with the safety of the India Company, and determined to set aside the whole system recommended by Mr. Dundas, and

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purſued by lord Welleſley, for the encouragement of the private trade. This ſtep was conſidered by the directors ſo little liable to doubt or objection, that they did not think it worth while even to call a court of proprietors, that they might ſanction it with their approbation before it was carried into execution. Some gentlemen, however, on this ſide of the court were not quite ſo precipitate; they wiſhed for further information; they wiſhed, as the hon. proprietor who ſeconded the motion does to-day, that the late governors-general of India ſhould be conſulted before a final deciſion; they called a general court, and ſubmitted to it a propoſition to that effect; but this propoſition was treated by the directors as little better than inſult on what they were pleaſed to call their *unanimous* opinion, though they are compelled to admit to-day it was not unanimous. The proprietors confirmed their reſolutions by a very large majority, and by their vote of the 28th of May laſt, inſtructed them "to act without delay upon the principles detailed in them."

What were the principles on which the directors were thus required to act without delay? The firſt and moſt prominent of them was, that the total excluſion of Indian ſhips from the private trade was eſſential to the preſervation of the Company, and of the Britiſh empire in India. Be this principle right or wrong, the directors became bound by the inſtructions of their conſtituents to act upon it, more eſpecially as thoſe inſtructions were the reſult of their own arguments and opinions. If they found any impediments to the immediate execution of the orders they had received, if they found them reſiſted or impugned by any higher authority, it became their duty, in my humble opinion, to call the proprietors together, to repreſent to them the difficulties that occurred in enforcing their orders, and to aſk their advice how far they ought to perſiſt in their reſolutions, and how far it might be prudent to recede from them. Inſtead of this, though inſtant obſtacles occurred to arreſt the progreſs of the directors, they have never recurred to our advice from that day to this; and ſo far have they been from adhering to the principles on which we directed them to act, that we find by theſe printed papers, they have wholly departed from them, that they have actually drawn up orders to their governments on the oppoſite principle of admitting the Indian ſhips to an equal participation in the private trade; and had theſe orders been approved by the commiſſioners, they might have been diſpatched to India without our knowledge, or without the poſſibility of our legal interference, if we had known them. This conduct is, in my judgement, highly diſreſpectful to the proprietors, and an infringement of their juſt rights and privileges in the management of their own affairs: but as my honourable friend near me has promiſed to bring forward a motion on the ſubject, I ſhall dwell upon it no longer at preſent.

I ſhall proceed to what is further detailed in theſe printed papers. It appears that immediately after the debate of the 28th of May, the directors diſpatched paragraphs, intended for their Indian governments, to the board of commiſſioners, founded on their reſolutions of the 4th of February: theſe the commiſſioners refuſed to ſanction, till they had conſulted other branches of his majeſty's government; for this

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this refusal they assign their reasons in a letter dated June 2, 1801.

"Though the paragraphs are *denominated* commercial, and may be, therefore, supposed not to be within the exercise of the powers of the commissioners for the affairs of India, yet the proposition, extended as it is, fixing permanently and finally the condition of the private trade, and confining it *solely* to British ships, appears to us to involve in it much more than merely commercial considerations, and to embrace points of great political importance, which may, in their consequences, deeply affect the interests of the state."

A very few days after, notice was given by an honourable member of the house of commons (sir William Pulteney), that he intended to bring this great question before the legislature early in the present session; and an order was served on the directors to lay all the papers on the subject before the house. In this stage of the business, I beg leave to call the particular attention of this court to the conduct of the directors, and to ask them, Whether, in their judgement, it was calculated to promote the interests of the India Company? When parliament had actually taken the question of private trade under their cognizance, with a view to its final arrangement, the directors think fit to commence a contest with the board of commissioners for the transmission of their paragraphs to India; whereby the judgement of parliament would have been anticipated by a final arrangement on the plan of their own resolutions. This the commissioners very properly resisted; and I will state to the court the curious correspondence on the subject, in which the firm temper and moderation of the one side form a striking contrast to the indiscreet and violent temerity of the other. The commissioners answer the requisition of the directors for a confirmation of their paragraphs by a letter of the 20th of June, in which they say—

"As various papers respecting the private trade with India have been laid before the house of commons, preparatory to an investigation of the subject, which it is the obvious intention of parliament to enter upon early in the ensuing session, they feel it inconsistent with their sense of public duty, by any intermediate step, to anticipate the decision of the legislature on a question of such magnitude, and so closely connected with the maritime strength of the country; and they therefore signify to you, that they withhold their approbation from the draft proposed."

The directors do not yield to this reasoning of the board, which one would imagine to be quite conclusive. In a letter, dated the 2d of July, they again press for the transmission of their paragraphs, and say—

"If the board mean to prohibit the transmission of the paragraphs to India, the court take the liberty of representing, that such prohibition appears to them not to be within the legal exercise of the powers delegated to the board by the act of 1793; and the acquiescence of the court would, in its consequences, sweep away all the exclusive privileges of the East India Company."

The commissioners reply on the 14th of July, with great temper, re-urging their former arguments:

"Considering," say they, "the weighty opinions which have been stated upon the subject, we think it sufficient to express a strong doubt, how far paragraphs can be considered as simply and purely commercial, the immediate effect of which may be, to prevent the public from enjoying the full advantages of the immense resource which, it is contended, the forests of India may afford to the maritime strength and commerce of Great Britain, at a time when the great and increasing scarcity and dearness of the materials for ship-building, threaten the most serious detriment to both: as it is, however, the understood intention of parliament fully

to investigate the subject, and certain steps preparatory thereto having already been taken in the house of commons, the board are induced to persevere in withholding their approbation from paragraphs, by which the manner of carrying on the private trade of individuals may be affected."

The directors, instead of yielding to this firm opposition, are irritated by it; they kindle in their course, and not only insist on their paragraphs, but break out into an invective against their governor-general. In a letter to the board, of the 16th of July, they lament,

"That the commissioners still persist in withholding their approbation from paragraphs which they conceive purely commercial." They add, "As much time has elapsed, and as the conduct of the governor-general in India operates in a manner hostile to the rights of the Company in regard to its exclusive trade, the court of directors think it absolutely necessary that some instructions should be transmitted to India forthwith, in order to preserve those rights, which cannot be impaired without a violation of the exclusive commerce of India in the hands of the Company."

The commissioners, still adhering to their resolution, endeavour to moderate the violence of the directors. In a letter of the 21st of July, they say—

"If it had been clear to the board that the important business in agitation between the court of directors and the board, had been simply of a commercial nature, no difference of opinion could possibly have subsisted between them. Under the present circumstances, they conceive, that it would be unnecessary to send out any paragraphs, the tendency of which might be, to occasion uneasiness in the mind of the governor-general, who has, no doubt, acted upon this occasion in the manner which he conceived would be most to the advantage of his employers."

The directors, however, still continue obstinate in the controversy; they tell the commissioners, in a letter of the 23d of July,

"That it was the intention of the directors to convey to the governor-general their marked disapprobation of his conduct, *as a subject purely commercial*, and which conduct, if persisted in, the court think would operate to the destruction of the Company's exclusive trade."

At length the board of commissioners found it absolutely necessary to close this scene of rash importunity, in a letter dated August 4, equally remarkable for its firmness, moderation, and liberality; which, if it fails to make a strong impression on the proprietors, I must say they have very different views from what I entertain of the interests of this Company. The letter is as follows:

"GENTLEMEN,

"The board think it necessary that the court of directors should explicitly understand, that however much it may be their wish, that their ideas of the interests of the East India Company, and of the public (interests, in their opinion, inseparable), should coincide with those of the court of directors, they are by no means disposed, for the sake of securing that coincidence, to relinquish any points by which they think those interests may be materially promoted. They *dare not shew a marked contempt* for *what may be the opinion of the legislature*; they *dare not risk the adoption of measures* which *may counteract the regulations of parliament in a matter of great political importance*, where they have the power of resisting them. They have too much regard for what they conceive to be the real interests of the East India Company, to give their approbation *to any measures which may expose the Company to public obloquy*, and awaken prejudices, now perhaps dormant, in the breasts of a few individuals, but which may eventually, if revived, extend themselves even within the walls of parliament. They are aware that paragraphs may be worded in such a manner, as by bringing them within the letter of the act of 1793, may prevent them giving them a decided rejection, even when they cannot approve, and they are ready to *concur* where the law points out to them the path of their duty; but no law can oblige them to *approve*; and they do not hesitate to declare, that it is their opinion that in the present circumstances it is not expedient that any paragraphs whatever, respecting the private trade,

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trade, ſhould be ſent out to India; as, however, it is poſſible that in this reſpect they may not obtain the concurrence of the court of directors, they return them the paragraphs ſo corrected as to leave the queſtion entirely open for future arrangement and diſcuſſion, and they are determined that no powers which the legiſlature has veſted in them, ſhall remain unexerted, to prevent any attempts to fetter ſuch future diſcuſſion."

Whether the directors were at laſt convinced by the arguments of the commiſſioners I know not, but it appears that theſe paragraphs, though ſo often ſtyled *purely commercial*, were never ſent to India; and here the matter reſted, till ſir W. Pulteney gave notice in November laſt, that he intended to fulfil his promiſe of bringing the matter before parliament. On this occaſion, you, ſir, as chairman of the Company, thought fit to addreſs a letter to Mr. Addington, dated Nov. 7th; the contents of that letter at our laſt meeting here, you challenged me to diſcuſs; I have ſince read it with renewed aſtoniſhment again and again, and I muſt ſay, that, in miſrepreſentation, preſumption, and indiſcretion, it ſtands unrivalled by any public document that ever fell under my obſervation. Firſt, as to its miſrepreſentations, it repreſents "the claims of the private traders" as "undefined," whereas nothing can be more clear and definite; they demand the liberty of employing Indian ſhips at the rate of freight they can agree upon with the owners; they demand the liberty, under due reſtrictions, of loading and diſpatching thoſe ſhips as is moſt convenient to themſelves.—Can any thing be more definite? Yet theſe the chairman calls undefined claims: he repreſents the merchants as endeavouring to "transfer to themſelves the beneficial commerce of the Company," whereas, in truth, they diſtinctly diſclaim any wiſh to interfere in any branch of commerce which the Company may chooſe to monopolize, and merely aſk permiſſion to carry on, in the only practicable manner, that ſurplus trade which the Company's capital cannot embrace. Next, as to the preſumption of this letter; the chairman ſays, "As chairman of the Eaſt India Company, I have felt it my duty to preſs on your attention how impoſſible it appears that any ſatisfactory reſult can be the conſequence of ſuch a mode of proceeding;" that is to ſay, by an inquiry in parliament:—a reſult ſatisfactory to whom? If it be meant that it is impoſſible for the reſult of an inquiry in parliament to be ſatisfactory to the public, it is a direct inſult on parliament; if it be meant that the reſult muſt be unſatisfactory to the directors, it is a complete dereliction of the juſtice of their cauſe—I leave to the chairman the choice of either meaning. The letter proceeds thus:

"To undefined claims urged before the legiſlature on the ground of political expediency, the Eaſt India Company, I apprehend, are compelled to oppoſe their rights, founded on a deliberate compact with the public, after a laborious and minute diſcuſſion, confirmed by parliament. If theſe ſhould be violated, without the conſent or concurrence of the Eaſt India Company, I profeſs myſelf at a loſs to conceive how any rights can remain to them, or to other bodies of men dependent on the public faith. If from a different view of public or private intereſts, the rights of the Company may be narrowed, they may alſo be overturned; and it muſt be underſtood in future, that thoſe who form compacts with the ſtate, hold what they have underſtood to be rights, *during the good pleaſure of parliament.*"

If I have any underſtanding, theſe paſſages can only be conſtrued to inſinuate, that parliament *may probably* feel a diſpoſition to infringe the juſt rights of the Company by

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a violation of public faith, and to threaten them, if such should be their disposition, with proclaiming to the nation "that such as form compacts with the state, hold what they have understood to be rights during," what the chairman is pleased sarcastically to call "the good pleasure of parliament." Do I make use of too strong language, when I call such an insinuation as arrogant and presumptuous, as it is unfounded, in the character of the British legislature. Lastly, as to the indiscretion of this performance; "I am sensible (says the chairman) that the East India Company are strongly implicated with the public government of the country, and that it may appear ungracious on their part to oppose *legal rights*, in the *rigid letter* of their compact, to any *reasonable change* which the *public interest* may require." I ask this court, whether it be discreet and prudent in the chairman thus to represent the India Company to the Nation in the amiable attitude of opposing the rigid letter of their compact to any reasonable change the public interest may seem to require? Is such a representation, or is it not, likely to rouse those prejudices in the public mind against the Company, which Lord Dartmouth tells us are at present dormant? "I need not suggest (says the chairman) to your enlightened mind, the danger which may result to the government of India, now become so important a part of the empire, by a too curious inquisition into the present state of their affairs, just emerging from the distress of an eight years war." In this paragraph the nation is told, in plain terms, that too curious an inquisition into the Company's affairs, would endanger our empire in India. A prudent and comfortable statement this of the condition our affairs are in; but I hope and trust I may term this one of the chairman's misrepresentations as well as indiscretions. No comment I can make can in any degree do justice to the contents of this curious epistle, and I would recommend it to the attention and study of every proprietor, as a specimen of the ability and prudence with which our affairs are conducted.

The next step taken by the directors was an attempt to stop the further progress of parliament, by conciliation and accommodation; and if this had been done *bona fide*, and with a true conciliatory spirit, nothing could have been wiser or more calculated to secure to the Company the permanent possession of her exclusive privileges, and the good opinion of the public. As I was present when Mr. Addington laid before parliament the terms of accommodation proposed by the directors, I can with confidence detail to this court the opinion he then delivered on the general subject: the minister "expressed his regret at being compelled to say, that the directors had not extended those facilities to the private merchants, to which they were bound by the act of 1793, and if they had continued to shew the disposition they had hitherto shewn, he thought it would have become incumbent on parliament to interfere for the protection of the private trade; but he had the satisfaction to state to the house, that the directors had declared their willingness to permit the employment of the Indian shipping in the private trade during the two next seasons, in order that a *fair experiment* might be made of its alledged advantages over the tonnage sent from this country, and of the evils that were likely to result

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ſult from it." In a ſubſequent part of the converſation, he read to the houſe the eleven propoſitions printed in theſe papers, upon which an explanation took place, and all parties acquieſced in his motion "that the previous queſtion ſhould be put," upon its being fully underſtood that thoſe propoſitions were to be conſidered *as the baſis of a future arrangement*, to be modified according to the reſult of the experiment propoſed. That they were viewed in this light by lord Dartmouth, is clear from his letter to the directors of the 20th of November, acknowledging the receipt of them, in which he expreſsly calls them "the propoſitions agreed to *as the baſis of an arrangement for the private trade*;" and expreſſes his earneſt wiſh "that they may *lead to ſuch accommodation* as ſhall be to the mutual advantage of the Eaſt India Company and the Public, parties whoſe intereſts, rightly conſidered, I conceive," ſays he, "to be inſeparable." Yet, although this clear underſtanding of the nature of theſe propoſitions had been expreſſed by the miniſter and lord Dartmouth, the directors, on the very day that they were made, without any regard to the eventual deciſion of parliament on the reſult of the experiment they themſelves had propoſed, reſolve, in a ſecret court, that orders ſhall immediately be ſent to their Indian governments, "that no teak or Indian-built ſhips ſhall be employed on a voyage to Europe, except under and in conformity with the eleven reſolutions ſanctioned by the directors." This conduct of the directors I again charge as preſumptuous, in anticipating the deciſion of the legiſlature, whom they had induced, by their propoſal of an experiment, to ſuſpend their judgement. This conduct I charge as full of duplicity to the public, in holding out terms of conciliation, when they were reſolved, at any rate, obſtinately to perſevere in their meaſures; yet this conduct we are called on to approve.

The directors proceed next to act on the ſecret reſolution they had formed; they frame orders on it to be tranſmitted to India, and ſend them to the board of commiſſioners for their approbation. When lord Dartmouth receives theſe orders, nothing can exceed his ſurpriſe; he ſays in his letter of the 28th January laſt,

"I find, moſt unexpectedly, what I had conſidered as a matter of experiment, upon the reſult of which the future regulations of the private trade was to be formed, is in theſe paragraphs treated as a fixed and final determination, as a permanent ſyſtem not hereafter to be departed from; as a regular code not in future to be infringed, by which, in every circumſtance, and under all contingencies, that trade is to be regulated."

The anſwer of the chairman to this obſervation of lord Dartmouth, in a letter dated Feb. 9th, is curious enough: he does not venture to deny the conſtruction put on the propoſitions of the directors; if he had, he knew he might have been contradicted by Mr. Addington, and all the members of the houſe of commons, who heard thoſe propoſitions explained: he anſwers with great caution, "that the paper preſented by the deputy and myſelf to Mr. Addington, and altered by him, will bear ſuch a conſtruction, I am not willing to admit." I give him credit for this unwillingneſs, but I think in the end he will be forced to admit it.

The commiſſioners were driven by this proceeding of the directors to the alternative of approving or diſapproving their orders; an ac-

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tual engagement had been entered into with government, acting for the public, from which it became their duty not to permit the directors to swerve. Accordingly they made such alterations and additions as they thought themselves called upon to make, by that duty, and the true construction of that engagement. Upon this the directors instantly come to the following intemperate and furious resolution: "That the letter received this morning from the board, together with two commercial paragraphs to be transmitted to India, when taken altogether, *demonstrate a decided and unequivocal intention of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the East India Company.*" This also we are now called on to approve and concur in; but as the directors are not yet vested with the prerogative of declaring war on the part of the East India Company against the government of the country, I trust this court will be inclined, and think it prudent to examine a little the grounds of this resolution, before they consent to become allies, or rather principals, in the hostilities thus solemnly proclaimed.

The paragraphs, say the directors, are commercial, and as such out of the jurisdiction of the board. It is true, the word "commercial" is written in large characters at the head of them, but that, it is obvious, will not alter their real nature. But let us look into the section of the act on which this assertion of the directors is founded. (*Mr. Impey here read the 16th section of the act of 1793.*) The first observation that occurs on reading this section is, that the word "commercial" is not contained in it. In the second place, by this section, the authority of the board is admitted to extend *to all points connected with the revenues of India.* Is this court prepared to say, that the private trade, which employs so many Indian agriculturists and manufacturers, which is the fertile source of so much revenue in all shapes, is "*not connected with the revenues of India?*" An honourable proprietor has triumphantly asked "if commerce be not a commercial subject?" In return, I ask him, "if what produces revenue in India is not connected with that revenue?" In the third place, if directors really feel confident in their exposition of this clause, why do they not pursue the remedy pointed out by the act, of petitioning his majesty in council, instead of publishing this violent manifesto, that their rights and privileges are invaded, and that there exists a fixed design to destroy them? But be the construction of this section of the act what it may, of this I am sure, that by the spirit of that statute, clearly pervading every part of it, the commissioners are constituted trustees for the public in all points of Indian administration, nearly affecting the interests and prosperity of the British empire. It is the avowed opinion of the first naval characters in this country, and particularly of lord St. Vincent, as declared by his authority in parliament, that the employment or rejection of the Indian shipping may materially affect the maritime strength as well as commerce of this kingdom. Knowing such opinions to exist, the commissioners would in my mind have been wholly inexcusable, if they had permitted that shipping to be excluded from the British commerce, either totally or partially, directly or indirectly, without the express sanction of the legislature.

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With respect to the two paragraphs which the board has recommended to the adoption of the directors, the first seems to me to furnish a distinct and decisive proof, that the question of the private trade is intimately connected with the revenues of India; it approves the conduct of the Governor-general in permitting the advances of the private merchant to the manufacturers, as a mean to prevent the ruin of the manufactures and defalcation of the land revenue. The second relates to a subject in which I think the commissioners had a full right to interfere, as general trustees for the public, under the act of 1793; the insuring of a full supply of cotton to the manufacturers of this country. It is well known that those manufacturers applied to the court of directors, requesting that they would turn their attention to the importation of this article; they received a very extraordinary answer, "that if they wanted cotton, they should have the full permission of the East India Company to send as many ships as they pleased to India to fetch it." This insulting permission to the cotton manufacturers to turn merchants, the directors have since boasted of as a high strain of liberality. The commissioners, in my opinion, have taken a much juster view of the subject, when they conceive the directors bound by the act of 1793, to furnish all the means in their power for the transmission of the largest possible quantity of the raw material to this country.

But even admitting, for the sake of argument, that this subject is purely commercial, and that the commissioners, in the ordinary exercise of their jurisdiction, have no right to interfere with it, yet in this case the directors are quite precluded from any just ground of complaint, by their own acts and resolutions. In this case they had actually entered into a solemn agreement with government, acting on behalf of the public, which it became the duty of the commissioners to see conscientiously executed. In this case, the directors had resolved on the 25th of November, "That as much depends on the manner in which this arrangement is made known in India, they presume the best mode in which it can be done will be by paragraphs to India, to be approved by the board of commissioners." Could the directors possibly mean, that the commissioners should sign an approval of what they thought objectionable? Could they possibly mean to preclude them from removing what they thought objectionable, and substituting what they approved in lieu of it? The supposition is so absurd, that it seems to me impossible to contend, that the right of alteration and addition in the commissioners does not necessarily flow from the resolution of the court of directors.

The directors have annexed to these printed papers a curious composition, which they call a third report on the private trade; it appears to have been prepared, if not actually printed, as far back as last November, though it has been published, for the first time, a few days ago, for the purpose of the present debate. If I were to describe it in a few words, I should say it was compounded of vague and often contradictory arguments, founded on very bold assertions. I cannot pretend, from the very short time it has been in my hands, completely to anatomize it; I must leave that task to the industry and ability of my honourable friend near me, who

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who has made ſkeletons of the two former reports, and hung them up for the amuſement and edification of the public. I truſt he will add this, which is a much greater curioſity, to his collection; but in the mean time I will give the proprietors a taſte of it, by the ſelection of a few paſſages.

In page 135, the directors lay down a principle as generally applicable to the ſubject they are diſcuſſing, than which nothing can be more true; and yet almoſt every ſentence in their three reports is at variance with it. "On a queſtion, (ſay they) which in its progreſs produces ſuch very important and ſerious conſequences, mere opinions, drawn from inferences and ſpeculative calculations, ought not to be admitted." What are all their reaſonings about colonization, the depravation of the morals of the laſcars, the degradation of the Britiſh character in India, and the overthrow of the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt, but "mere opinions, drawn from inferences and ſpeculative calculations," and which therefore, according to their own calculation, "ought not to be admitted." On the other hand, the private trade is not a ſpeculative, but a preſent ſubſtantial benefit; it actually produces annually three millions ſterling.

In another paſſage the directors give us a ſpecimen with what eaſe they get rid of propoſals for the public benefit. They tell us, that in the year 1787 Mr. David Scott made a propoſition for exporting Britiſh manufactures to India in the Company's ſhips, to an immenſe and annually increaſing amount. "To ſuch a propoſal (ſay they) one ſingle fact was oppoſed by the court of directors, namely, that at the time Mr. Scott made the propoſal, returns were received of the *draught of water* of each ſhip, as the *only means* to enable the court to aſcertain whether the ſhips were not too full to perform the voyage from Europe to many parts of India with ſecurity; and on ſeveral occaſions ſhips were not ſuffered to proceed, until ſome part of the cargo was taken out, in conſequence of the ſhips being over-loaded. *Such a deciſive proof of the want of any baſis* on which a project of ſo much importance could reſt, gave the Company a ſhort reſpite.—"Were returns of the draught of water the only means of aſcertaining whether the Company's ſhips were laden?" Had they no invoices of their cargoes, from which they might have derived much more deciſive proof whether their tonnage was fully occupied with *their own* goods? How does it appear at this inſtant, from the evidence they have adduced, whether theſe ſhips were loaded with the Company's goods, or whether they were conniving at the frauds of their ſervants? Yet this is what they call a "deciſive proof," that this project, admitted to be highly beneficial to the public, could not be executed.

In page 168, the directors diſplay their philanthropy, by lamenting the dreadful mortality that prevails among the laſcars on board the ſhips of the private merchants, but they give us no opportunity of comparing it with the dreadful mortalities that ſometimes prevail among the Europeans on board their own ſhips in India. If any criminal neglect takes place in the management of the crews of particular ſhips, that neglect ſhould be enquired into and puniſhed; but it is no more an argument againſt the private trade, than the miſconduct of

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of the Company's affairs is againſt the exiſtence of the Company. It is no more an argument againſt the private trade that the laſcars are ſubject to mortality in northern latitudes, than it is againſt the trade to India, that Europeans are ſubject to mortality in tropical climates; theſe are evils from which the greateſt human benefits are inſeparable. Did the directors never hear of the terrible havoc that diſeaſe makes among their ſailors in Diamond Harbour? Yet they would think it a ſtrange argument for the diſcontinuance of their trade.

I ſhould quite exhauſt the court, and myſelf, were I to enumerate all the paſſages that are equally contradictory and inconcluſive; I ſhall ſelect one more only, which ſeems to me completely to prove, if it be true, the injuſtice and precipitancy of the ſteps the directors have been taking. They tell us in page 178, "There can be no difficulty to aſſert that delay will be dangerous, nay fatal, to the cauſe of the private traders; for the experience of one or at moſt two ſeaſons, will refute every argument they have uſed, and deſtroy thoſe fallacious, chimerical plans and eſtimates, by means of which they have attained ſo much credit." Upon this fact the merchants join iſſue with the court of directors, and demand the experience of thoſe two ſeaſons, to prove which is right and which is wrong. The king's miniſters and the board of control think it but juſtice to the public, that a full and fair experiment ſhould be made: this juſtice I now demand for the private traders from this court, and as I cannot approve the conduct of the court of directors, or the motion that has been made, I ſhall move as an amendment, that all the words of the motion, except the word "That," be left out, and the following words ſubſtituted:

"Reſolved, That the queſtion of private trade between India and Britain, on which ſuch oppoſite opinions are holden by perſons of the higheſt authority, appears to this court to involve conſiderations of the utmoſt importance, as well to the Eaſt India Company, as to the maritime, commercial and political intereſts of this kingdom; and this court is of opinion, that previous to the final arrangement of a permanent ſyſtem, a full and fair experiment ſhould be made, as propoſed by the board of commiſſioners for the affairs of India."

Sir FRANCIS BARING roſe to beg the attention of the court to a few obſervations, which would, he truſted, clearly ſhew, that the learned gentleman, with all his abilities, had laid a falſe ſtatement before the court, and which was capable of refutation in many parts of his argument. The learned proprietor had made uſe of great names, had been very free in his obſervations on their opinions, and had contended for the great weight which they ought to carry with them. The learned gentleman had, in the firſt place, laid conſiderable ſtreſs on the opinions ſtated in the letters of the marquis Welleſley, the preſent Governor-general, who certainly maintains ſentiments highly favourable to thoſe, whom he could view in no other light than as men, who preferred their own intereſts to thoſe of the Company; but it was to be remembered, that when the marquis firſt adopted the ſyſtem of tranſmitting that portion of the produce of India, which the Company did not themſelves freight for Great Britain, he was but recently arrived in Bengal, could have formed no mature and well weighed opinion of his own, and muſt naturally have his mind open to the prejudices and falſe lights held out to him by the

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the reſident traders and merchants of India, whoſe prevailing principle it was to get the ſyſtem moſt favourable to their intereſts, ſanctioned by the Governor-general's authority. Having once imbibed the poiſon thus adminiſtered, he naturally fell into the error of zealouſly advocating this ſyſtem of the reſident traders. With all his great and acknowledged talents, and no man was more ready, Sir Francis ſaid, than he was, to do them the fulleſt juſtice, it was impoſſible for the Governor-general, who had not, nor could be ſuppoſed to have, any great ſhare of that extenſive knowledge of the true intereſts of the Eaſt India Company, which long experience, and repeated deliberations upon every part of their complicated concerns, and enabled the directors at home to acquire. They viewed the ſubject of the private trade in all its bearings, and were fully convinced, from repeated diſcuſſions, that if the plan ſo earneſtly recommended by the marquis Welleſley were given way to, it would not only take away the rights and privileges reſerved to them by the eſpecial proviſions of the act of 1793, but ultimately ruin their commerce altogether. With regard to the late preſident of the board of commiſſioners for Indian affairs, that right honourable gentleman undoubtedly poſſeſſed great abilities, and was maſter of all the ſubject of Indian affairs and the Company's intereſts; but he had moſt unaccountably changed his mind reſpecting them, ſince he wrote his letter of the 21ſt of March 1801, to be ſeen in the printed papers reſpecting the trade between India and Europe. In the concluſion of that letter, ſpeaking of the private trade, he ſays—*It is a trade, over which the commiſſioners have no control.* After ſuch a broad, unqualified declaration, what could the directors, or what could the court think of a contrary opinion maintained by the ſame right honourable gentleman? With the miniſter, the learned gentleman, ſir Francis ſaid, had taken great liberties, and choſen to put his own conſtruction upon a ſpeech of the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, delivered in the houſe of commons, a conſtruction directly contrary to that which he thought it entitled to. Sir Francis advanced one or two arguments as to the validity of the agreement, and at length ſaid, that lord Welleſley, Mr. Dundas, and the miniſter, were entirely out of the queſtion; he would therefore proceed to the next authority that the learned gentleman had relied on, that of the preſent preſident of the board of Indian commiſſioners, the earl of Dartmouth. Was it poſſible that lord Dartmouth, though a man of undoubted talents, unimpeached integrity, and very amiable qualities, could be thorough maſter of the ſubject in ſo ſhort a time after his appointment? Was it not well known that the noble lord was ſurrounded by the inſtruments of Mr. Dundas, and acceſſible only to the agents of the private traders to India? How was it poſſible, therefore, to expect any other opinion from a nobleman thus circumſtanced, than that deducible from his lordſhip's letter of January 28, 1802, the alterations in the paragraphs encloſed, and which afterwards the board of commiſſioners had confirmed?

The directors, Sir Francis ſaid, called for attention to documents in their reports, but it was evident the learned gentleman had not paid much attention to the report itſelf, when

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when he talked of employing Indian-built ships, for two years, as a fair experiment. The word "experiment" did not occur in the reports of the directors, but he admitted that it had been used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in parliament, on the 25th of November 1801. The directors, therefore, were not to have an argument retorted upon them, which was founded on misrepresentation; nor to have the terms of others animadverted upon, as if they had been their own expressions. It was, undoubtedly, the duty of the directors, to give a clear explanation of their whole conduct, since they received the instruction of the general court, held on the 28th of May 1801; but he must deny the truth of the charge so roundly made by the learned gentleman, of their having disobeyed the orders of the proprietors then agreed upon by a large majority. The directors were at all times animated by an anxious desire to shew the utmost respect to the court of proprietors, but they could not perform impossibilities. So far from wilfully disobeying their orders, they had immediately done all in their power to carry them into full effect; and when it was well known what the impediments thrown in their way from another quarter were, it was not a little extraordinary that a gentleman who had been active in endeavouring to prevail on the general court of May 28, 1801, to vote against the resolutions come to that day, and to procure their sanction to a resolution of a very different tendency, should be the first to complain that the directors had been guilty of disrespect to the rights of the proprietors, in not having acted upon the orders of the general court. By the act of 1793, 3000 tons was the portion of the freight allotted to the private trade, and it was to be recollected, that the limitation was not prescribed by the directors; the directors offered *a carte blanche* to the right honourable president of the board of control, and would have readily allowed 6000 tons, or as much more as should have been required, but Mr. Dundas himself confined the amount of tonnage for the private trade to 3000 tons. Experience had since shewn that he made a wise estimation, as, excepting the single instance of Mr. David Scott and Co's house, who claimed a freight of 800 tons, &c. in the year 1793-4, no other claim of any thing like a considerable quantity of tonnage had been presented. So far, however, were the directors free from the charge of confining the private trade to 3000 tons, the quantity of tonnage limited by the act of 1793, 15,000 tons had come home last season; an undeniable proof that the directors did not cramp the private trade, as they were represented uniformly to have done.

Much has been said respecting the lascars employed in the service: it was an undoubted fact that the mortality attending on that unfortunate race of Indians, from change of climate, was dreadfully great, and could not be looked at without pain to every humane mind. It must therefore excite a degree of horror, when it was proposed to employ Indian-built shipping to bring the surplus trade of India to the Thames, which must of necessity be, in a great proportion, navigated by lascars, and, in consequence, tend to increase the mortality that already too greatly prevailed among them, from the hardships they, from constitution, felt and experienced in an European voyage. Besides, it was notorious,

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notorious, and a very melancholy truth, that the mortality among the laſcars was not only infinitely greater on board the private ſhips than on board thoſe of the Company, but that the miſeries of their fate were lamentably aggravated, by the little care that was taken of theſe unfortunate men, on their arrival in this country, where they were left to periſh, without the attention of their ſituation that the Company uniformly manifeſted to ſuch as came here in their own ſhips.

The learned gentleman had laid conſiderable ſtreſs on the memorial of 1797, but he choſe to make no mention of the main object of that memorial, which was the obtaining a reduction of certain duties paid by the Company. With regard to the other parts of that memorial, Sir Francis ſaid, that he had never oppoſed the private trader but where the paramount intereſts of the Company made it his indiſpenſible duty to do ſo. But was it to be wondered at, that there were paſſages in that memorial favourable to the arguments of the advocates of the agents of the Indian reſident traders, when the ſource from whence it originated was conſidered. If it was aſked, who was the original ſource of it? he could not heſitate to ſay, the ſource of all this miſchief. With regard to the conduct of the directors in this buſineſs, the excluding private ſhips was all *their* object. They had no objection to the merchants and reſident traders ſending home as much as they pleaſed of the ſurplus trade, but they did feel a moſt ſerious objection to the ſending home that trade in Indian ſhips, and were at the ſame time ready to agree to the employment of any number of Britiſh ſhips for the purpoſe, navigated by Britiſh ſeamen, becauſe, without attention to that particular, it would become a queſtion, how the Company's trade could be ſaved and ſecured from invaſion and ruin, ſince it would lie open to the encroachment of the private traders, if due care were not taken in time to guard againſt it.

Sir Francis ſpoke at ſome length upon the trade carried on by foreigners between India and Europe, and denied that there was a ſingle trace of proof that any Britiſh capital was employed in the foreign trade. He touched upon various other collateral points, and declared he was convinced, that in proportion as the Company loſe, the private traders would increaſe and become more and more the ſucceſsful and powerful rivals of the Company: he felt it his duty, therefore, as a director, to reſiſt an evident and almoſt undiſguiſed attempt to ſubvert and ruin the Company's rights and intereſts. For theſe reaſons he ſhould vote for the original motion.

Sir Francis at length concluded with apologiſing to the court for having ſo early intruded his ſentiments upon their notice, but he could not conſiſtently with his duty and feelings conſent to give a ſilent vote on the occaſion; and the learned gentleman had delivered ſo pointed, direct, and unqualified a ſeries of animadverſions on the conduct of the court of directors, and on that of the chairman, that he thought it highly neceſſary to make an immediate reply, and refute the ſtrained and fallacious arguments he had urged, while their impreſſion remained on the minds of the numerous proprietors preſent. He had

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had only to add, that he duly felt his obligations to the general court for their attention and indulgence.

Mr. JOHNSTONE began with declaring, that if a perſon of the honourable baronet's acknowledged talents thought it neceſſary to apologize to the court for delivering his ſentiments, how much more was it neceſſary for him to intreat their indulgence; yet he could not hear the arguments of his learned friend (Mr. Impey) treated as they had been, without offering a few obſervations. The honourable baronet ſays, that my learned friend has made uſe of great names; he has quoted the names of lord Welleſley, Mr. Dundas, and the miniſter; now it is curious to obſerve how the honourable baronet treats theſe authorities. "Lord Welleſley and Mr. Dundas (ſays he) I lay entirely out of the queſtion, and lord Dartmouth is ſurrounded by the inſtruments of Mr. Dundas, and the agents of the private trade, and is inacceſſible to truth and reaſon." Whence does the honourable baronet form this opinion? It cannot be from the papers that are printed, for they diſplay the moſt attentive and deliberate conſideration of the ſubject; "but with the miniſter, (ſays the honourable baronet,) my learned friend has taken great liberties." What are thoſe liberties? Will the honourable baronet deny, that he himſelf heard the miniſter utter the words quoted by my learned friend? Will another honourable director (Mr. Thornton), take upon him to deny, that thoſe were the very words uttered by the chancellor of the exchequer? It is not my learned friend, but the honourable baronet himſelf who takes great liberties with the miniſter, when he aſſerts, that he is bound by an agreement, the validity of which he denies (I mean the paper of the 25th of November); for if the validity of that paper, in the ſenſe ſtated by the honourable baronet, were acknowledged by the miniſter, it is not poſſible that he ſhould have ſanctioned the alteration and additions to the diſpatch of the board of directors, which had been made by the board of commiſſioners. The honourable baronet knows that theſe are ſentiments of the miniſter, no leſs than of the board of commiſſioners; he knows that theſe inſtructions have been reviſed and approved by the miniſter; he knows, therefore, that the miniſter does not acknowledge the validity of the paper of the 25th of November, in the ſenſe ſtated by the honourable baronet.

The honourable baronet has told the court, that it is the anxious deſire of the gentlemen behind the bar to ſhew the utmoſt reſpect to the court of proprietors. Mr. Johnſtone ſaid, he gave the court of directors full credit for entertaining thoſe ſentiments, and certainly if any conſtituent body was entitled to the conſideration of their executive, by the unlimited confidence repoſed in them, it is the court of proprietors, yet he muſt ſtill contend that the obſervations of his learned friend were well founded. After the reſolution of the 28th of May, the plain and obvious path which the court of directors ſhould have followed, was to carry into effect the reſolutions of the 4th of February, and if unable to accompliſh this object, it was their duty again to have come to the proprietors; then the court would, at leaſt, have been at liberty to conſider the ſubject free from all embarraſſment. If, as is aſſerted, this queſtion be purely

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commercial, the court would have taken its ſtand on this legal point; inſtead of which, the court of directors, after near twelve months of correſpondence with the board of commiſſioners, after coquetting with the miniſter, after intriguing with the ſecretary, now come back and tell us, that the miniſter is faithleſs, and that an intention exiſts of invading and deſtroying the commercial rights of the Company. We are now no longer at liberty to take our ſtand upon the legal queſtion; for, in the proceſs of this intrigue, the court of directors and the miniſter having agreed upon certain propoſitions, and thoſe propoſitions having been ſubmitted to parliament, the miniſter has acquired an authority to review and controul the inſtructions to the governments abroad, by which theſe propoſitions are to be carried into effect.

Another remarkable aſſertion of the honourable baronet's is, that in proportion as the private trade of individuals has increaſed, the trade of the Eaſt India Company has diminiſhed. Mr. Johnſtone ſaid, he noticed it more particularly, becauſe it ſerved to ſhew, that if gentlemen on this ſide of the bar ſometimes lapſed into errors from want of information, yet the gentlemen on the other ſide, who were fully provided with official documents, were likewiſe apt to hazard very bold aſſertions. It appeared from the account of the Company's ſales, that the fact was directly the reverſe of the honourable baronet's ſtatement.

In the year 1794-5 the ſales of the India company amounted to . . . . . £. 5,521,000
The private ſales . 1,053,000

From this period they continued in progreſſive increaſe till the year 1801-2, when the Company's ſales were . £. 7,404,000
The private ſales . 2,382,000

The honourable baronet tells us, that the memorial of 1797 "proceeded from him who is the cauſe of all this miſchief, and was intended merely to obtain a reduction of the duties." By an alluſion to its author, does the honourable baronet mean to deny his acquieſcence in the ſentiments it contained? And if he acknowledges the ſentiments it contained, the purpoſe to which they were directed is of little conſequence. Is there any aſſertion contained in that memorial, is there any reaſoning there uſed, which does not apply to the preſent queſtion, and incontrovertibly ſupport the principles for which we are now contending? And if ſuch be the fact, is it not apparent that the ſentiments of the honourable baronet at this moment are directly at variance with the ſentiments he entertained in the year 1797?

But, ſays the honourable baronet, we are repreſented as unfairly ſeeking to cramp the private trade, yet while three thouſand tons only are allowed by the act of parliament, fifteen thouſand actually came home the laſt year. But are the court of directors content that the ſyſtem actually exiſting ſhould continue, or is it not rather the object of all theſe reports, and all this intention, to ſubſtitute a new ſyſtem in place of that actually exiſting? Gentlemen on this ſide of the bar are repreſented as innovators, as perſons ſeeking to trench on the juſt rights of the Company; but let it not be forgotten, that the preſent mode of permitting individuals to ſend home the ſurplus produce of India in their own ſhips, was firſt adopted in this ſeaſon of 1793-5

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1794-5 by lord Teignmouth, and continued in greater or leſſer degree of encouragement until the commencement of the laſt year, when the court of directors, foreſeeing the moſt alarming danger from the continuation of a ſyſtem which, in ſix years of practice, had produced no evil whatever, ſuddenly propoſed a new and complex plan of their own. If individuals, being permitted to bring home from India their own goods in their own ſhips be productive of ſuch alarming miſchiefs, how did it happen that the court of directors, which was then compoſed of nearly the ſame perſons as the preſent, did not immediately repreſs ſo fatal an innovation? How was it ſuffered to continue during five years? where then was the zeal of the honourable proprietor, who forebodes the deſtruction of the Eaſt India Company? Among other alarming pictures, that honourable proprietor has repreſented to us the injury the Company may receive from the arrival of the goods of individuals, when a conſiderable ſale of the Company's goods has been advertiſed. The honourable proprietor forgets that the queſtion has gone far beyond this narrow ground; he forgets that the Company profeſs their readineſs to bring home thoſe very goods, and that the queſtion is merely concerning the mode in which they ſhall be brought home. Why then does he approve of the cumbrous and intricate mode by which the Company propoſe to bring them home, inſtead of the plain and ſimple road which now exiſts of bringing them home, but becauſe he knows that the Company will not perform what they profeſs to intend, and that thus a check will be given to the introduction of the goods themſelves?

Mr. Johnſtone ſaid, that he could not concur in the motion, but ſhould ſupport the amendment, becauſe he conſidered the motion to be at variance with itſelf. If gentlemen approved of the firſt part, he thought the laſt was cold and tame. Upon the face of the papers ſubmitted to them, were gentlemen prepared to concur with the reſolution of the directors of the 26th of March? were gentlemen prepared to ſay, that the chancellor of the exchequer had been guilty of a deliberate breach of faith, by an attempt to vary completely and fundamentally, the true intent and ſpirit of his agreement, and that a divided and unequivocal intention exiſted of invading and deſtroying the commercial rights and privileges of the Company? and if ſuch is their opinion, what room is left for conciliation? With a man convicted of a deliberate departure from his agreement, it is fruitleſs to negociate; and if a decided and unequivocal intention of deſtroying the privileges of the Company be apparent, there can be no room for conciliatory meaſures.

Lord KINNAIRD ſaid, he had the misfortune to differ from his honourable relation, and therefore he could not conſent to give a ſilent vote. It was not his intention to go into the conſideration of the printed papers, and all the relative points that bore upon them; he would put them aſide, and look directly at the main ſubject of debate, —the queſtion, whether the court of directors, the executive of the Company, had, or had not, done their duty in the whole courſe of their conduct, under the arduous and difficult circumſtances in which they found themſelves involved, by the reſiſtance made by the board of commiſſioners for Indian affairs, to their endeavours faithfully to diſ-

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charge their duty to their conſtituents, and act, as they were deſirous to do, upon the reſolution and directions therein contained, of the general court of May 28, 1801? The motion, ſo ably moved by his honourable friend, and ſo powerfully ſeconded by an honourable proprietor, appeared to him to be moſt appropriate, and moſt happily adapted to the ſubject. It went directly to its object, and completely embraced it. That it was the duty of the general court to approve and applaud the firm, manly and conſiſtent conduct of the court of directors, in the whole progreſs of the buſineſs, appeared to him ſo manifeſt, that he was not a little ſurpriſed to find men of ſuch enlightened minds, and ſuch acknowledged talents, as his learned friend and honourable relation, riſing to object to the original motion, and propoſing an amendment, which they ſpared no pains to ſupport and enforce. The general court would be blind to their own intereſts, (when the queſtion at iſſue between them and the commiſſioners for Indian affairs, was, on the one hand, the ſubverſion of the Company's rights, privileges, and commerce; and on the other, the preſervation of them whole and entire, as pledged to them on the faith of parliament by the act of 1793,) if they did not ſupport the directors. A very embarraſſing and diſagreeable conteſt had ariſen on this queſtion; it remained, therefore, for the general court to aſk themſelves whether they would not ſupport the court of directors, their executive body, for having manfully ſtood forward the advocates and defenders of the very exiſtence of their commerce, and firmly reſiſted the attempt made to invade their undoubted rights, ſpecifically reſerved to them by the act of 1793? His lordſhip enlarged upon this reaſoning with his uſual *copia verborum*, but the reporter flatters himſelf that he has faithfully given the ſum and ſubſtance of his ſpeech.

(Mr. Boſanquet and Mr. Moore roſe at the ſame time—but as Mr. Moore had ſeveral times preſented himſelf to the court before, Mr. Boſanquet very handſomely waved the privilege of a director, and gave way.)

Mr. Moore ſaid, the ſame cauſe which the noble lord has juſt urged before me, will not allow me to truſpaſs long on the time of the court; for I can moſt truly aſſert ſuch to be my indiſpoſition, that nothing but a ſtrong ſenſe of duty on this moſt important and alarming occaſion, could have brought me into court. Sir, I have been very attentive to the debate as far as it has proceeded; but I think the main queſtion before us is already nearly loſt ſight of, and I will therefore endeavour to recover it. I do not feel that we are aſſembled for the purpoſe of conſidering the internal arrangements neceſſary to the conducting of the private trade in future, or indeed to conſider the queſtion of the private trade at all, but to conſider, whether the board of commiſſioners for India affairs, have a juriſdiction over our commercial department. This I hold to be the queſtion which we are to argue and decide, without the leaſt regard to conſequences, which, however ſtated to be alarming, I ſhall put wholly out of my ſight, as of very minor conſideration to the main queſtion on which the motion before the court is founded.

The diſcuſſion of this queſtion, then, naturally directs us to the act of the legiſlature on which our chartered rights ſtand. The act of the

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33d Geo. III. c. 52., though not at all convenient in black letter language, I have endeavoured to underſtand ſo far as to enable me to make up my opinion on the queſtion before us; and I have no heſitation in ſaying, that it does not give the board of commiſſioners any ſuch juriſdiction as they have claimed, and that our executive truſt are entitled to the warmeſt approbation of their conſtituents, for the firmneſs with which they have reſiſted their influence, and maintained the chartered rights of the Company. [*Applauſes.*] Indeed I had hoped that ſome of the learned gentlemen in court, whoſe ſpecial province it rather is to enter into legal interpretations, would have favoured us, unlettered men, with the weight of their knowledge and opinions, as inſtructions for our guidance. But only one learned gentleman (Mr. Impey) has ſo far favoured us, and only on one point of the act, which certainly does give a juriſdiction over that point whenever it ſhall occur.

The act grants an excluſive trade and traffic generally, ſubject to certain limitations:—then I argue thus; what is granted generally under exceptions, grants all but the parts excepted. If a grant be made of the whole of an annuity of one hundred pounds per ann. except twenty, it is a clear grant for eighty pounds. In like manner, I ſay, the act of 1793 grants all which it does not proviſionally except. It grants the whole excluſive trade and traffic, ſubject in certain caſes, when they occur, to certain rules;—for inſtance, by clauſe 90, if the Company advance the rates of freight on private trade, they ſhall report it to the commiſſioners, and that no increaſe ſhall be made but ſuch as they ſhall approve. Here it gives the board a juriſdiction in a ſpecific caſe on a poſitive point, and no more—a point which has not occurred. By clauſe 91, every three years the directors are to communicate to the board on the rates of freight, and the order of the ſaid board, *in reſpect thereto*, ſhall be valid and concluſive on the ſaid Company.

So, by clauſe 96, the act gives the board of commiſſioners a ſpecial juriſdiction over the appointment of free merchants: thus, in ſpecial caſes, the board of commiſſioners have an appropriate juriſdiction, but it is in ſpecial caſes on poſitive points only, not one of which have ever yet occurred. Hence, then, they can have no juriſdiction over our commercial department, ſave and except on the ſpecial points therein provided, in manner before ſpecified: and I again make my bow of acknowledgment to our executive truſt, for the firmneſs with which they have reſiſted the attempt.

Sir, until now, I never even heard that the board of commiſſioners ever attempted to aſſume any ſuch juriſdiction. I ſee by the appendix to the report of the ſpecial committee, now before us, that the late chancellor of the exchequer did not entertain any ſuch opinion; and in page 175, I find, in the compilation of my honourable friend (Mr. Henchman), that Mr. Dundas, the late preſident of the board of control, in his letter to the ſhipbuilders of 1ſt July 1797, unequivocally declared, in ſtill ſtronger terms, that the ſubject of ſhipping was connected with the commercial ſyſtem of the Eaſt India Company; "upon which they are liable to no control but what parliament may think proper to impoſe." It was therefore with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment I heard that all theſe authori-

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ties were in a moment to be thrown down, and an opposite doctrine maintained.

Sir, when the act of 1793 passed, the whole jurisdiction of the East India Company was divided into two distinct departments. The act itself is my evidence, and the practical execution of that act has been conformable. The one department classed all the money, revenues, and politics: the other was the department of commerce. Over the first, the minister conditioned for this label, as over the new committee rooms in the India House, *Free Admission*:—over the other, the Company wisely conditioned for a *noli me tangere*, and had it not been so, I do not believe the Company would have accepted the act of 1793.

In the first of these departments it was clearly foretold, that the minister would endeavour inscrupulously to revel; but the second was wisely, and has been firmly protected against every assault: and the language manifestly has been—Confine yourself to your own department; no approach, no admission here: and thus it rested, it seems, till the late correspondence with the board of commissioners on the subject of private trade, now printed for our use. Let us now look a little at the influence and operation of this correspondence.

Our executive trust, in the usual order, send their commercial dispatches for the perusal of the commissioners. The commissioners not only alter many parts, but originate new dispatches. The directors, as became their trust and duty, remonstrate and contend for our exclusive rights under the act of 1793, retransmit their own dispatches, and protest against all growing contest. The board of commissioners, nevertheless, persist, and although professedly desirous and studious to maintain all possible harmony in the management of India affairs, declare, "that they are determined that no powers which the legislature has vested in them, shall remain unexerted;" and they again return the dispatches mutilated. The directors still persist in the performance of their duty, more than ever convinced of the necessity of maintaining unimpaired the exclusive privileges of the East India Company. The dispatches are consequently stopped; but it is not to be lost sight of, that whatever powers the legislature had vested in the board of control, the exercise of them stops also; some tolerable admission, that the whole attempt was a new assumption, and had not that authoritative foundation on which alone they could stand. I read also a great deal about the opinion of parliament; and the opinion of parliament seems to be introduced, if possible, that its influence may supply the deficiency of power in the board of commissioners. Clearly this was the motive for blowing this high sounding trumpet. For my own part, I do not know what the opinion of parliament means. I am most willing to respect acts of parliament—they are entitled to my prompt obedience; but I do not know what opinions of parliament are, and neither I nor this court have any thing to do with them. Let us now advert to the letters of the hon. Mr. Broderick, and the Right hon. Mr. Addington, the present chancellor of the exchequer. We all know, that while Mr. Dundas presided at the board of control, no other minister ever ventured to look into this department; it must therefore be astonishing to us, how this subject of India commerce

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merce has crept into the department of the chancellor of the exchequer: and it must appear wholly paradoxical to us, unless to supply all the defective powers of the board of commissioners, and the unsuccessful influence of the novel doctrine of the opinions of parliament. But here I find a new twist. In these letters the subject of commerce is suddenly metamorphosed into maritime and naval importance, in order, by conversion, to bring it into the political department, for the purpose, evidently, of obtaining, by new creation, that jurisdiction over it which the board of commissioners had not:—such is the implied acknowledgment. So, indeed, by the skilful introduction of a good adjective, or some relative qualities, may they easily form a jurisdiction over every subject, however foreign. It puts me in mind of a very singular cause that once came before me, as a chief magistrate, in India. It was a cause between a Mussulman and an Hindu. The Hindu possessed a beautiful garden, which the Mahommedan had set his heart on obtaining. He proposed to purchase it:—No—it was not to be sold. He bid high for it, price upon price—No—the Hindu would not part with it. The Mahommedan declared he must have it, he could not rest without it, and, in short, that he could not live contentedly without it. But all would not do—the Hindu would not part with it—he would rather part with his life, as his whole race of ancestry had lived there, and been nourished there before him. Still, sir, the Mahommedan persisted, he would have possession of the garden; at length he obtained it. But what course do you think he pursued, since both threat and alluring temptation had failed? Sir, you know the Hindus hold the Bull sacred: the Mahommedan killed a bull, and throwing some of he blood into the garden, the Hindu instantly ran away with his whole family, to avoid contamination. Thus it is with this commercial dispatch, the minister throws into it the words naval and maritime, which are, in this case, the bull's blood, in order to acquire possession, and to bring the subject under his control and jurisdiction. [*Loud laughing and applause.*] But, sir, we have to thank our executive trust again and again, for not yielding to the political fraud intended to be thus practised against us.

The next stage of this intended usurpation I trace in the letter of Lord Dartmouth, the actual president of the board of control. All the preceding letters are public, beginning with the dispatch of Mr. Broderick, threatening to leave no powers vested in the board of commissioners unexerted to accomplish their object, unto the political feint last played off by the chancellor of the exchequer; but here their courage manifestly droops, and they appear to be perfectly contented with the formidable repulse they have met. But now a new battery is to be opened, the pursuit is renewed, and we are to be abused, under all "the amiable manners" characteristically given of the noble lord at the head of the board of control, accompanied by all the "bewitching smiles of sweet Anne Page," in the form of a *private* letter, which, containing all the united wisdom of the board, and a prompt decision on every point of trade and shipping, handsomely burnished with friendly recommendations and the kindest whispers, in order to render it irresistible. What a direct attack had failed to accomplish,

pliſh, is now to be effected by deiſurely ſapping; and we behold the order of command wholly merge in private recommendation. But, I am happy to find our executive truſt alike ſucceſsfully reſiſted both, and that neither public power, or private influence, have been able to inſtigate them to what would have been a direct and criminal abandonment of their truſt and duty to us. Sir, I have pleaſantly mentioned ſeveral eminent perſonages, whoſe official conduct forms a part of the documents before us; but I mean them no diſreſpect. I am a ſincere advocate for maintaining the exiſting law; I contend for principles, and for the integrity of their practical application. So much for the dry queſtion of law, and miniſterial manœuvres which have been put in motion to ſuperſede it.

Though not my original intention, I ſhall now, ſir, with permiſſion of the court, make a few obſervations on the queſtion of private trade, for which I am as ſtrenuous an advocate as any individual preſent, though, perhaps, on different principles from many, and, I believe, I can venture to claim as early attention to it. The private trade of our oriental empire attracted my attention as early as the year 1780, and my firſt impreſſions on the ſubject were committed to writing, to be communicated to the then miniſter Lord North, in the year 1782. I was then a junior in the ſervice of the Company, and it was wholly foreign to my then employments, but it had ſtruck me very forcibly on having found it difficult to make a ſmall remittance, for the relief of indigence, through the caſh of the Company, and being obliged to reſort to foreign channels, with whoſe ſhipping the river was then wholly occupied.

The next ſtage of my interference was at the general court in July 1799. Sir, if the general court book be not at hand, I beg it may be ſent for—I wiſh to reſort to the motion on the ſubject of the private trade, of which notice was then given by one of the preſent repreſentatives of the city of London (Mr. Luſhington), and an honourable proprietor (Mr. Johnſtone), who was to have ſeconded it, now below me in the court; I reſort to this motion for the ſake of further evidence againſt the juriſdiction of the board of commiſſioners for India affairs over our commercial department. That motion expreſsly ſtates, and it was worded with great caution and circumſpection, to avoid all poſſible infringement of the chartered right—that his Majeſty's miniſters be *ſolicited* to grant their aſſiſtance. Now, ſir, the very term *ſolicit* precludes all ſhadow of authoritative juriſdiction, and the term ſo uſed was wiſely calculated not to give that control which the board did not poſſeſs. [*Mr. Johnſtone nodded aſſent.*] As the honourable proprietor admits this doctrine, I ſhall have no occaſion for the general court book; for however willing that honourable proprietor ſeems to be to act as the lieutenant either of Scipio or Fabius, under a full impreſſion of gratitude to the Company, of ſervice to the State, and with honour to himſelf, I am ſure he never will contend, that *that* which was an object of ſolicitation in 1799, can now be a matter of competent legal juriſdiction, unleſs ſome act has ſince paſſed, of which I have never heard, to make it ſo. The next ſtage of my ſharing in the diſcuſſion of this ſubject, was in ſigning the application of the famous forty-three, ſubmitting to the court the propriety of my calling

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for further information. My whole aim and object pointed only to a well-regulated licenſed trade, ſubordinate to the Company's juriſdiction and control; but as I thought the ſubject was treated with a great deal of undeſerved and growing ill-humour on both ſides the bar, I withdrew from the ſubject, and have never ſince interfered. But although I have been ſilent, I repeat that I am a friend to the private traders, and ſhall briefly ſtate on what principles, as the law ſtands; though, as I have ſaid before, I do not conſider the queſtion to be before us, and whether ſo or not, the ſubject is of too extenſive import to be ſettled in this court. I obſerve that the report of the ſpecial committee denominates theſe private traders their opponents. Why they are ſo called I do not know, as at preſent, I mean as the law now ſtands, they are only trading under ſufferance; and when our executive truſt condeſcends to hold them in the character of opponents, they ſtrangely depart from their conſtituted authority and dignity. Was I to argue in another place, and under other circumſtances, I ſhould hold a different doctrine; but while the law remains as it is, I muſt contend that the private traders can only be conſidered as humble petitioners, ſubordinate to the Company, to engage in thoſe branches of eaſtern commerce which they reject; and I have not converſed with any perſons on this ſubject who hold a different language, or entertain different views. [*A cry of Hear! hear!*] If there are any perſons who hold a different doctrine, I can only declare that I do not know them, and am not with them. If they convert ſuch their applications into individual rights, and become contentious demanders, I repeat, that ſo far from being with them under any countenance which the exiſting law gives them, that law requires that I ſhould oppoſe all ſuch pretenſions, as diveſting the Company of that ſolemn juriſdiction with which the act of the legiſlature has veſted them. The juriſdiction of the Company, and their chartered rights, muſt be maintained, not according to the wiſhes of individuals, but according to the act of parliament. If the board of commiſſioners are diſpoſed to encroach on the rights of the Company, it is the ſpecial province and duty of our executive truſt to reſiſt; nay, for them to accede, would be equally a breach of the act—neither muſt do that; the act is the preſcribed boundary of juriſdiction to both, and by both muſt alike be held ſacred. Common ſenſe tells us, that the chartered rights muſt be maintained, and can neither be altered nor modified by any authority leſs than that which created them. That power muſt be reſorted to for granting what the private traders aſk beyond the exiſting law. The expediency of it has long ſince * been demonſtrated by an honourable friend of mine below me (Mr. Prinſep,) as he promiſed to do in this court, by facts and arguments which appeared to me unanſwerable; and had his expectations been followed up, I humbly conceive the Company and the State muſt have benefited to a degree not now eaſily calculated. Nothing more need or can be ſaid to any purpoſe on this topic at this time; I mean as to the expediency. The right of interference then is the ſole queſtion, and on that I maintain our executive to be well grounded in their reſiſtance, and the private

* July 5, 1799.

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trader must continue to act as heretofore under sufferance. But, for the present, that is, while the legislative regulation remains as it now stands for our guidance, I beg leave to read what I conceive to be the arrangement which should regulate the private traders.

1. To define the articles of distinct concern; and call on the private traders for a definition, on which the Company will decide.
2. To publish them both here and abroad.
3. The facilities to British subjects to be realised to them as completely as may be, by regulations simple, clear, and rigid, but prompt and certain.
4. The whole must be under the control of the executive trust, and the relative situation of a licensed trade be maintained as our's used to be, under the government of the nabobs of India.
5. The act of parliament must be maintained in all its force as it now stands, until the legislature alter it; and whenever it may pass any other, it must be careful to preserve a most rigid jurisdiction against danger and severance.

These are the principles which I humbly suggest for regulations, while the law remains as it at present stands; and I remember well when I first stated them in this court, one of the worthy members of the city of London (Mr. Lushington) highly applauded what he was pleased to call the former relative situation between the Company and the nabobs of India, as a very happy appropriation in this case of private trade. The whole of this commerce consists in articles of trade and shipping. As to the articles of trade, the definition which I suggest is most necessary to all parties, to prevent those dreadful evils attending forestalling so strongly stated in the special report before us. And as to shipping, the teak built ships of India, the question may be easily set at rest, by allowing them (all I believe that is desired) to benefit by the standing system of fair and open competition which now regulates our tonnage. I confess, for one, that when we formed that regulation, I believed the principle was to be extended to teak ships, as well as others, as most likely and best calculated to promote that economy which was the object of that principle. This I think ought to be the rule in future. But as to the present shipping, they ought to be employed, from every motive of justice, equity, and good faith, as they were encouraged by government; and if not employed, that encouragement must inevitably tend to the ruin of individuals.

Then, sir, we are to consider the different descriptions of traders, for they are many and various, and different are their objects. Even the gipsy pilferings and pretty nothings contained in the letters published under the signature of an Englishman, admit that the traders of Bombay and Surat are not so easily accommodated and suited as those of Bengal, Madras, and other parts of India, or to that effect.

Sir, this subject is of very great magnitude, and is entitled to the most solemn deliberation. I repeat, it is not a subject that can be settled here. It is fraught with incalculable consequences: if wisely decided, it must produce great national benefit; but if otherwise, it may prove dangerous in the extreme; we may argue, but cannot decide

decide it. It requires all the united wisdom of the executive governments of the Country and of this Company, and demands the most deliberate arrangement of the Legislature, and even of the Nation. It is a most important state question, but has been treated as a party question. Against the last I for one solemnly protest, declaring that I can have no possible interest in the issue, but as a proprietor of India stock, wishing to promote the true interests of the Company; and as a subject of England, desirous of promoting the prosperity and aggrandizing of the nation, by extending her navigation and commerce.

Sir, making my acknowledgements for the attention of the court, I have only to repeat my thanks to our executive trust for the steadiness and firmness with which they have maintained our chartered rights, and to express my decided and unequivocal opinion and hope, that if we are to lose them, it may be by an helpless submission to an act of violence from the strong and irresistible arm of power, and not by any surrender or act of suicide committed by our own hands.—The East India proprietary, and the creditors of the Company, place their sole reliance and confidence in you, as their executive trustees, thro' whom, and whom alone, their rights can never be injured or lost.

Mr. CHISHOLME delivered his sentiments upon the subject generally, but expressed his strong approbation of the firm and manly conduct which the court of directors appeared to him to have pursued, in defence of the rights and privileges of the Company. He considered the question of the private trade as a question purely commercial, and, as such, exclusively reserved to the management of the Company's executive, the court of directors, by the act of 1793. He, therefore, should vote for the original motion, because he thought the directors eminently entitled to the approbation of the general court, and that the proprietors could not do less than confirm and support their conduct.

Mr. BOSANQUET said, this subject has been now more than a year before the public:—Three reports by the court of directors, and many publications on the other side, have been published. I should have been content to rest upon the arguments brought forward from this side of the bar; but the great importance of the subject, as it respects the rights and interests of the East India Company, as well as the interests of the Public, will, I hope, excuse my trespassing upon the court's indulgence.

My object will be not to amplify, nor shall I narrow the grounds of the present question. It has happened to this, as to other subjects: a plain and simple question has been buried under a mass of irrelevant papers, which the committee has been obliged to bring forward to meet the arguments used on the other side.

One point we all agree upon, and the only one, the charter in 1793. It was not granted in a hurry, but after mature and deliberate consideration; and all circumstances were then duly weighed. It was, nevertheless, not entirely free from objections; but, upon the whole, thought to be the best plan of intercourse with India: this is the written law between us and the public, and also between us and private traders. We may therefore look to this as our defence.

But gentlemen on the other side admit the law, or at least the letter of

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of the law, to be againſt them, yet wiſh to look to the ſpirit; and thus hope to overſet this ſolemn compact. Two publications upon this ſubject have come forth; one by my honourable friend, the other by an honourable baronet, alſo a member of this court. I have derived much pleaſure from theſe publications. They are both of them written with great ability; but what pleaſed me moſt was, that, notwithſtanding the talents of the writers, no conviction is produced by them.

Here let us pauſe, and conſider what the attempt is. It is to ſet aſide the plain letter of the law, and to introduce a thing totally oppoſite. If this ſhall be ſanctioned, where is the faith of written obligations, where the value of charters, where will a plain man find any thing upon which he can place his confidence?

But now let us inquire where this ſpirit is to be found; is it in the letter of Mr. Dundas? Is it in the proceedings of the directors upon the renewal of the charter? No, ſir, all theſe points, and many others, were canvaſſed at the time; it was agreed that the ſhipping, for whatever trade ſhould occur, ſhould be furniſhed by the Company. Look at the proceedings of the day—where then is this ſpirit to be found? only in the breaſts and in the mouths of thoſe who are to be benefited by the change.

But though I cannot agree with the private traders, that their ſpirit ſhall be placed in the room of the plain letter of a plain law, I am ready to meet them upon any ground of fair and liberal diſcuſſion; I am ready to admit that caſes may occur, in which even the ſtrong obligation of ſuch a ſolemn compact as is now in queſtion ſhould be done away; I am willing to admit, that law ſhould yield to neceſſity. But has any ſuch caſe been made out?—What is the fact? We have already, under our charter, ſecured nearly three-fourths of the trade of India, and left one-fourth to all the world beſide. What can we expect more; what has the public a right to aſk for more? Every encouragement has been given to trade; India has been kept without expence to Great Britain; the ſtate has been benefited, and the Company alone is poor, whilſt individuals have grown rich.

But I am, and always ſhall be, ready to abandon "the *tip-toe* of monopoly," as it has been called by a great character. I am willing to ſuppoſe the private traders have proved (what they cannot prove) that a trade exiſts which ought, but cannot be brought to this country by the Company, or whilſt their excluſive rights exiſt. What follows, that theſe excluſive rights ſhall be given to another body of men? No, ſir, if taken from the Company, they go as a right to the public at large—to Britiſh as well as Indian traders.

Is there a man who now hears me, who will contend that this trade, if it can, ſhall not be brought by preference in Britiſh ſhips, manned with Britiſh ſailors? Shall they be excluded, becauſe the private traders have ſaid they can ſail on cheaper terms? Have they proved the fact? Can they prove it? Has not the contrary been proved? Let us look around us; after a nine years war we have now got peace. What aſpect does France preſent; ſhe has nearly doubled her territory, and if ſhe ſucceeds in peace as ſhe has done in war, what is to check her future preponderance? That only which has checked her

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her in her mad career, the navy of Great Britain, which saved this country from the contagion of her fraternal embrace; and how is this navy to be fed, but by the streams that have hitherto fed and administered to its wants—the mercantile service? In the hour of distress shall we look to the poor diseased and shivering lascar, trembling in every blast of wind, to fight our battles; or to the bold and intrepid British seaman, whose heart is as firm as that substance which buoys him up on his native element?—Shall we surrender the trade with one quarter of the world to such a system; or shall a fair and open competition be established, that shall give it to those who can sail upon the cheapest terms? Lamenting only, if lascars shall succeed, the loss in political strength to this country.

The points of contest lie in a narrow compass. We contend that our charter shall not be ravished from us, without proof that we have abused it, to the injury of the country at large, or that it stands in the way of their fundamental interests; and no doubt, under any such kind of resumption, parliament would pursue the line of conduct they had always adopted. He begged leave to observe, that when formerly the Company's right to the territory acquired in India was in question before a great character now deceased (the earl of Chatham), his answer was in his usual emphatical style: "The territory is the crown's," (meaning probably that he would allow no doubt about such a right;) but he added—"The Company shall have generous compensation;" and, no doubt, in the case of a violent assumption by parliament, of any rights assured by charter, they would accompany such an act of force with generous compensation. We contend that, as heretofore, the trade shall be carried on in ships under our direction, and chartered to us, or we say our charter is gone. Whether these ships be British or Indian, we are willing to leave to free and open competition; but we know under similar regulations British industry must prevail. We contend, however, that these ships, whether British or Indian, be navigated by British seamen,—that so in the hour of distress this country may know where to look for the props of its naval greatness. We ask, that if our charter be annulled, the right so taken be not given to a partial selection of persons, but to the public; and, finally, we contend, that our commerce, which has supported our territorial acquisitions, and without which India must have become a burthen to this country, be left to our own guidance, for without it we say we cannot exist.

Surely, sir, these are moderate and reasonable requests; we see in them not our own interests alone, but those of the state. They require only to be understood: we stand upon our charter till it be proved to be injurious to the welfare of the State; and when it is so proved, (if this can be done,) all we ask is a fair and open competition for British ships and British seamen, and that no licence be given to an Indian ship that is not equally extended to them.

Can, Sir, the modest, the moderate agitation of points like these, be considered as hostility to his Majesty's ministers: surely, sir, they ought and will feel obliged, by our exertions, to rescue the public from private interests, that cloak themselves under the garb of public convenience. To

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be silent upon such an occasion would be a crime. No doubt, a contest with his majesty's ministers is to be deprecated by every well-wisher to the Company: but, sir, the minister and the public are just; our cause also is just, and, in my humble apprehension, as our very existence is at stake, timidity should be thrown away. To command success is impossible, but we ought to study by our firmness and our moderation to deserve it. The question now in agitation is almost in fact the same in substance with what we have lately heard so much of in another great assembly, that free bottoms shall make free goods. If this be conceded to the private Indian trader, we say our charter is gone, as far as relates to an exclusive trade: the Indian trader will have the privileged bottoms, and he will kindly open them to all the world, to British as well as to Indian capital.

I shall now say a few words in answer to an honourable and learned gentleman. He sets out by saying, that the agreement made with the chancellor of his majesty's exchequer, should be carried into execution; we say so too. It is all we ask: but we contend that the real spirit of that agreement is altered by the amendment proposed; upon this point we are at issue. The learned gentleman has next contended, that we are completely in the wrong, and he is completely in the right. This may be so in his opinion; but upon this the public, and not he, must decide; it is not necessary to anticipate their decision.

The learned gentleman has stated, that the private merchants are unable to carry on their trade under the restrictions imposed by the Company, inasmuch as that they are prevented sending their ships to Europe, when and how they please, and the ships provided by the Company are not dispatched as suits their convenience: but these observations arise from the learned gentleman's want of knowledge upon these subjects. He was in the presence of many merchants, who would correct him if he was wrong, when he said, that under such restrictions the greater part of the trade of the world was carried on. Two instances occurred where a whole ship was freighted by one person; and it necessarily followed, when a part only of a ship was occupied by a merchant, he must depend upon the will of others for the time of sailing, and could not command these points himself: such remarks were deserving of no attention.

The learned gentleman has next asserted, that the Indian trade will open a boundless field to the merchants of this country. [*Here Mr. Impey leaned over, and said, but the merchants of this country.*] The honourable and learned gentleman then means the British Indian merchants, and that all others are to be shut out; this requires no observation. The learned gentleman has next contended, that the private traders only ask for an indulgence in those articles in which the Company do not trade? Is he ignorant, then, that the charter of the Company has already given them a trade in every article except piece goods? [*Here a proprietor said, Saltpetre also.*] Mr. Bosanquet replied, this article was not excepted; the act only excepted piece goods, and some articles outwards. The honourable and learned gentleman proposed what he could not perform. The trade the private merchants possessed, the directors did not wish to diminish; they only

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only objected to new and dangerous extenſions. The learned gentleman had ſtated the conduct of the court to be derogatory from the rights of the proprietors. What was the fact? They had not immediately acted upon the orders received from them. He was ſurpriſed to hear ſuch a reflection from ſuch a quarter: could a greater inſtance of moderation and conciliation have been produced? he begged to ſay, it was the decided wiſh of the court to conciliate. But Mr. Boſanquet begged to obſerve, that he never did, nor will he ever in future, bow to any ſet of men who might form a party in that court. He was the ſervant of the proprietors at large; he would look to their intereſts generally; and when ſuch a line of conduct would not ſecure him his ſeat behind the bar, he was content to make his beſt bow, and retire to make room for ſome other perſon. If a zealous defence of the rights and intereſts of the Company, and of the Public, was a crime, he was guilty in the inſtance quoted by the learned gentleman—the public muſt decide. A great clamour had been raiſed about the reſources of the foreſts in India, and the learned gentleman had touched upon this ſubject: it did not in fact relate to the preſent queſtion; but if it did, the court had conſented to leave this part of the buſineſs to his majeſty's miniſters; but he could not help ſaying, that, in his humble opinion, the meaſures purſuing by his majeſty's miniſters were wrong, and he was fortified in this opinion by the reports of the commiſſioners employed by the public on the ſubject of timber. To lay the iron hand of power upon the preſent growth of large timber, might anſwer a temporary purpoſe; but the only way to inſure a permanent ſupply was, to let timber reach the price which it ought to bear in proportion to other products, and by theſe and other means to encourage its growth; all other meaſures were, he preſumed, inadequate to the end propoſed.

He ſhould here thank the court for the attention they had ſhewn him, and ought to apologiſe for his intruſion upon their notice. The deciſion remained with them: on the one ſide they ſaw a ſelect body of individuals, chiefly contending for their own intereſts; and on the other, an unanimous court of directors, contending as well for the rights and privileges of the proprietors, as for the intereſts of the public at large, which were united in the point for which they now were in contention.

Mr. Bebb ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows:—"Mr. Chairman, it was my intention to have given a ſilent vote in favour of the temperate, ſenſible motion, which an honourable proprietor has ſubmitted to the court; but an aſſertion, which has been made by another honourable proprietor (Mr. Johnſtone), occaſions me to controvert what he has ſaid, that the court may not remain under an erroneous impreſſion. He has ſtated, that the opinions of all the old ſervants of the Company are in oppoſition to that of the directors. Sir, I have dedicated thirty years of my life to the ſervice of this honourable court, almoſt the whole of which time I have paſſed in India, and have been many years employed in the commercial department. The ſubject of Indian-built ſhipping has engaged much of my attention; but the queſtion upon the grounds demanded by the Indian merchants and agents, and ſupported by ſeveral proprietors near me, was never, whilſt I was in India, broadly

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broadly diſcuſſed by your ſervants. Seeing the preſſure upon this country from the high price of tonnage, your ſervants have been advocates for the admiſſion of Indian-built ſhipping; and, ſir, I now ſpeak my own opinion: every national advantage that can be derived, every benefit the royal and commercial navies of this country can obtain from Indian ſhipping, will be produced by following the plan for their admiſſion, propoſed in the reſolution of the court of directors of November laſt. Sir, I muſt expreſs my further opinion, that if the meaſures for which the Indian merchants and agents are contending, be adopted, they will produce the effects ſtated by the directors; the *ruin of the Britiſh empire in India*. This ſubject has been ſo fully diſcuſſed in the very able reports publiſhed by the directors, that it would be a waſte of the time of this honourable court, for me to attempt to recapitulate their arguments.

I take the preſent opportunity of noticing a part of the Obſervations publiſhed by the honourable proprietor (Mr. Henchman): upon theſe reports I have been quoted by name, and made to ſay, "The manufacturer prefers the employment of the private agent to that of the Company." I never held ſuch an opinion, nor are there any ſuch words in the letter alluded to. I have too much reſpect for the character of the honourable proprietor to ſuppoſe he deſignedly made an erroneous quotation; but I wiſh he had peruſed my letter with more attention before he quoted it.

One other matter in theſe Obſervations I muſt alſo notice: an advertiſement of the board of trade in Bengal is exhibited, in which the public are informed of the freight paid by the Company on their regular ſhipping, amounting to 52l. 15s. per ton, and this freight is invidiouſly contraſted with foreign freight, at 16l. per ton. The occaſion of this advertiſement was this: there were, at the time ſpoken of, in the river of Bengal, ſeveral Britiſh-built ſhips, ſent out by the directors for the purpoſe of bringing to London the goods of individuals, and the Company's own gruſſ goods. They were ſea-worthy inſurable ſhips, which coſt the Company, as near as I can recollect, from 24l. to 26l. per ton, whilſt individuals were charged the act of parliament price of 22l. 10s. per ton. But ſeveral perſons wiſhed to put their goods on board the Company's regular ſhips, in order to benefit by the low rate at which the regular ſhips are always inſured. It was ſignified to them they might do this, provided they would conſent to pay the ſame freight as theſe ſhips coſt the Company. For their guidance, the particulars of the freight were publiſhed. The items were ſpecifically given, where they were ſpecific; where they were contingent or uncertain, the faireſt computation that could be made was ſtated. Nothing was meant to miſlead. The permiſſion to lade private goods in the regular ſhips, inſtead of being oppreſſive to the trade of individuals, was an indulgence."

Mr. Henchman ſaid, he ſhould feel very uneaſy to find he had made an incorrect quotation from the correſpondence of any gentleman, and he ſhould very readily make an apology for his miſtake, if, upon examination, it ſhould prove to be ſo; and which, he could aſſure Mr. Bebb, was entirely unintentional. All, Mr. Henchman ſaid, that he could add at preſent was, that he copied the words, which

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which were to be found in his publication, from the manuscript papers which lay open for the perusal of the proprietors at the India-house, by the orders of the court of directors, and he concluded them to be correct.

Mr. R. THORNTON said, he was very happy he had given way to the intelligent proprietor who had last sat down, and whose opinions concerning the trade with India merited peculiar respect. He would now say but a few words, knowing that another gentleman was anxious to deliver his sentiments, who contended for the privilege of speaking at the beginning of the debate. Mr. Thornton could not help taking notice who were the persons earnest to encroach on the privileges of the East India Company: they were men, generally speaking, fostered and brought into affluence by that very power whom they were ready to pull down and annihilate. He contended, that the East India Company could not stand, and bear the burthen of large establishments, and expensive wars, if others were to snatch away their trade, who were subject to no such charges. The India Company had acted in all cases with liberality, had forwarded the views of government in carrying on the war, had rewarded its servants and others with the utmost generosity, and, at length quite exhausted, looked to commerce alone for its recovery from distress, and for the repairing of its finances. But this commerce was now to be attacked, and those exclusive privileges on which they had depended were to be taken away.

He observed, that the directors had done their duty, had made a stand, and had carried on a negotiation with the chancellor of the exchequer, who seemed to agree to preliminary articles, but was not ready to sign the definitive treaty. He said, that ultimate success would probably depend on the determination and firmness of the body of proprietors, who had to look to their own interests, and who, by countenancing and supporting the executive body, might still preserve those privileges handed down to them, and granted on the renewal of their charter. Mr. Thornton wished the public at large to participate, provided the trade was thrown open; but this did not seem to make a part of the new system recommended.

Mr. BABER rose to complain of the language held by the honourable director who had just sat down, with respect to those proprietors who had formerly been employed in the Company's service, and who had made their fortunes in India; that consideration had nothing to do with the independence of proprietors of East India stock in a general court, nor would he patiently or silently submit to hear so unhandsome a charge, as that of ingratitude, which the honourable director had so loosely and unwarrantably cast on proprietors, who stood in the situation that he did. He was willing to give credit to the honourable baronet, to the honourable director who had just sat down, and to the rest of the gentlemen behind the bar, that they sincerely believed, that granting the indulgencies contended for, would fatally injure the best interests of the Company; but he must insist, at the same time, that he was equally entitled to credit, when he declared that he sincerely believed the reverse of that proposition; and that, according to every principle of independence belonging to an individual in a free, deliberative assembly,

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ſembly, like a general court of proprietors, he knew full and ample a right to maintain an opinion on one ſide, as the honourable gentleman behind the bar had to maintain another.

Mr. HASTINGS then roſe and ſpoke as follows:—"Mr. Chairman, before I enter upon the ſubject which has been already ſo much debated this evening, I ſhall take the liberty of begging permiſſion briefly to explain the cauſe of my wiſhing to have been heard for a few minutes, on the firſt opening of the buſineſs this day. I deſired then to be heard to a point of privilege, which, in moſt aſſemblies, is allowed to have precedence before any other ſubject whatever: and for the beſt of reaſons; becauſe, if your privileges are infringed, you may ſoon have no opportunity of debating at all, for that may be taken away alſo. I ſhould then have ſtated, as I ſhall now, that the privileges of *this court* have been ſeriouſly infringed and diſreſpected; and by your own agents, the court of directors. The inſtance is this: In May laſt, when we had under our conſideration the very ſubject we are ſtill engaged upon, this court came to a reſolution approving of the report and proceedings of the directors, and inſtructing them to act without delay upon the principles therein contained. From that time to this, for ten months, the proprietors have never been called together, or informed in any way of what the court of directors had done in conſequence of thoſe inſtructions: at laſt we learn, by the papers now printed, that they found ſuch ſerious difficulties as to prevent their executing the orders they had received; that they had exerted themſelves to do ſo, but found ſuch objections in the ſuperior Board, that they had abandoned thoſe inſtructions, and entered into a new and different negotiation, which they now lay before this court. Sir, I mean to contend, that the directors, in this proceeding, have infringed the privileges of the court of proprietors; that they were under the expreſs orders of this court to carry into execution, without delay, certain reſolutions they had approved; and, in caſe they found that impracticable, they had only one courſe to take, which was, to come back to this court, to tell the proprietors ſo, and to receive ſuch further inſtructions as they might think proper to give them. It may be very proper here to conſider the nature, circumſtances, and importance of this ſubject. It concerns one of the largeſt branches of Britiſh commerce; and it had been ſo fully diſcuſſed and reported upon by the court of directors, that they ſaid long ago all further deliberation was needleſs; that they had aſcertained what was right to be done; and they entreated the general court to give them the inſtructions they received. Now, ſir, I muſt inſiſt, that it is a ſerious breach and contempt of the privileges of this court, for the directors, under ſuch circumſtances, to ſet aſide the orders of their conſtituents, without telling them that they found themſelves in ſuch a predicament that they could not fulfil them; and beſides that, entering upon a different negotiation, which gave up the eſſential points before inſiſted on, and at laſt agreeing with his majeſty's miniſter that a different ſyſtem ſhould be adopted. But ſuch a ſyſtem as the directors themſelves had repreſented to this court would inevitably bring ruin on the Company; I mean the admiſſion

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admission of the claims of the merchants, and took steps into the trade between England and the East Indies? My intention was, early in this day, if I had been permitted to speak, to have stated this case, and to have proposed a resolution, vindicating our own rights, by declaring that we are sensible of this want of respect on the part of the executive, to the constituent body: but, sir, if there prevails such an apathy in the court, I shall content myself with this notice of the matter; and with only remarking, that if this disposition continues, the proprietors will be no more than tools or instruments in the hands of the directors; called on when they please, to vote just what they desire; to be regarded just as much as they in their good pleasure may think fit. By the motion now proposed this court is about to tell the directors, as they were told before, that all they have done since May last meets their approbation, although it differs so materially from their former instructions; should that be carried, I think there will be less reason to expect they will pay any attention to it, since they have given so lately this unqualified instance of treating the authority of their constituents with contempt. An apology, at any rate an explanation, is due from the directors: but I shall not pursue the subject further; it rests with the court to dispose of it as they please: all I hope is, that they may not establish a dangerous precedent against themselves, by passing it over without notice.

I shall now, sir, proceed to make some remarks upon the correspondence that has passed between the court of directors and the board of commissioners; and also upon the paragraphs which were prepared for India by the directors, and the corrections which were made in them by the board of commissioners. These paragraphs were framed by the directors, for the purpose of instructing their governor-general to carry the eleven propositions relative to private trade into effect, which had received the sanction of the house of commons on the 25th of November last; and I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion, that, instead of being formed with a fair and honest intention to that end, they seem to me to be of a complexion that must have a direct contrary tendency, and have all the appearance of being meant to defeat, instead of promoting, the object of his majesty's ministers, which was a fair experiment between British and Indian ships. No wonder, then, that the board of commissioners disapproved and altered these paragraphs, and substituted others in their stead, which might answer the real end and purpose intended. Upon the correspondence I shall not say much; it has been well commented upon already: I shall only remark, that there is evidently throughout it a fixed determination to oppose the board of commissioners in every application they make for papers to guide them; and sometimes very extraordinary reasons assigned for such refusals. For instance, when lord Dartmouth requests to see the separate opinions of the directors, belonging to their first report, and which Mr. Dundas had seen, they reply: "The papers therein mentioned had only for object a free and full interchange of sentiments among the members of the special committee, preparatory to their laying their opinions upon the important matters referred to them before the court at large; *that they made no part of the report to*

the court of the 27th of January last; and had never been made use of to influence the decision of the court upon that subject. The papers, therefore, are considered by the members whose signatures they bear, as well as by the court at large, as private papers." Now, sir, to determine this point, it is only necessary to appeal to the report itself, which expressly refers every reader to them, "as containing much supplementary detail, and large illustrations of a variety of relative topics." But, sir, the truth may be, that one director having publicly admitted, that his separate opinion would prove his difference in sentiment, and, of course, that the directors were not unanimous: so the directors generally have persisted in refusing to produce these other separate opinions, lest they should prove that others among them also differed. Such construction I might have a right to put upon their refusal; and it must tend to increase the suspicions afloat, until such time as these papers are produced. There can be no such thing as private documents among public officers. I insist, therefore, that this court has a right to the papers in question.

In the middle of the letters now printed will be found one from the minister, who, being very reasonably alarmed at the directors advertising for hiring ships in the summer, says—"I am induced by a strong sense of public duty, to represent to you the inexpediency of entering into such contracts, until the very important subject, which has recently occasioned a correspondence between the commissioners and your court, has undergone the investigation and discussion which, it may be presumed, will take place in the ensuing session of parliament." In answer to which, the chairman, with the approbation of the court, explained to the minister, "that all the ships they were about to take up were for the Company's own use and cargoes." To which the minister replied, "That he had good reason to believe, that the additional shipping was not solely intended for the purposes which he described; but if it was agreed that it was only to be made use of in the manner described by the chairman, his objections were removed." After this clear understanding, that *they were to take up no ships for private trade at that time*, the directors persevere, and take up many ships; which *they now state to be ships taken up positively for private trade*, (vide No. 98, printed papers,) and not for the Company's use. Sir, I do say, that here is an appearance so unhandsome and so uncandid on the part of the directors, that it requires from them a very clear explanation indeed.

I shall not go into the letter which you, Mr. Chairman, addressed to Mr. Addington, evidently with the hope of alarming him respecting this inquiry. My learned friend (Mr. Impey) has done all that could be wished respecting that letter; and, to be sure, it is a most extraordinary circumstance, that you should in that letter deprecate an inquiry into the Company's affairs, as extremely dangerous; and yet, in your present report, go very deep into that inquiry yourself. If this was the only inconsistency discernable in these papers, I should attribute it to accident; but, sir, I find so many others, that they are to be attributed to some other cause.

I now, sir, come to the paragraphs which the court of directors had

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had prepared to accompany the eleven propoſitions to India reſpecting private trade; and if I do not ſhew that they bear ſtrong evidence of a ſettled intention to throw obſtacles in the way of the Indian ſhips, inſtead of giving facilities to them, I do not deſire credit with this court for any thing I may ſay here this day. No wonder, ſir, that paragraphs of ſuch a tenure ſhould be objected to by the board of commiſſioners; but there is much wonder, that the directors ſhould ever have framed them. Some heſitation, I think, has been expreſſed in admitting, that the directors have had the intercourſe which is imputed to them with the treaſury; but, ſir, there needs no reſerve on the occaſion; for my honourable friend (Mr. G. Johnſtone) was right in charging them with having been intriguing in that quarter. I know it to be a fact; we all know that the directors ſoon found that they could not perſuade the board of commiſſioners to give into their views; and therefore they went directly to Mr. Vanſittart: they ſaw both the ſecretary and the miniſter; they carried on the negotiation there inſtead of with their proper ſuperiors, the board of commiſſioners. That they did this, I aſſert on my own knowledge. I alſo ſaw Mr. Vanſittart, on the part of the agents, and he told me the directors had been with him, and he with them. Therefore there can exiſt no doubt that the directors transferred their applications from the board of commiſſioners to the treaſury. And, ſir, were you not there obliged to promiſe thoſe conceſſions, which it is now the object of theſe curious orders to defeat? It may be fairly charged, that ſuch is the deſign; for nothing elſe could induce the framing them of the tenure they are. To ſhew the ſpirit throughout theſe orders, I ſhall firſt notice a part of the introduction, where the directors account for the paragraphs being delayed: they ſay, "That when an honourable member of the houſe of commons moved there, that the papers ſhould be laid before the houſe, and his motion was acquieſced in, the tranſmiſſion of the orders we had prepared was, *in conſequence*, ſuſpended." Now, ſir, the very printed papers which I hold in my hand prove the contrary; for ſir William Pulteney moved for theſe papers the beginning of June 1801; but inſtead of ſuſpending their orders in conſequence, the directors ſtill went on contending with lord Dartmouth for the tranſmiſſion of them, and never ceaſed till, at the end of two months, they found his lordſhip was not to be moved, but pointedly told them, "That *he* dared not ſhew a marked contempt for what might be the opinion of the legiſlature; that *he* dared not riſk the adoption of meaſures which may counteract the regulations of parliament." Such reſpectful attention to a branch of the legiſlature muſt meet with approbation every where but behind that bar. My point, however, I think, is now made clear, that you did not ſuſpend your orders *in conſequence* of the houſe of commons entertaining ſir William Pulteney's motion for papers, but in conſequence of lord Dartmouth's ſpirited oppoſition to your repeated attempts to gain his conſent to them.

Soon after, in theſe paragraphs, the directors ſay—"Our oppoſition to the introduction of Indian ſhips here did not ariſe from a deſire to exclude them from mixing in the commercial ſhipping of this coun-

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try." Yet in your former report, and in your ſpeeches, you had been ſtrongly arguing againſt them; becauſe they would interfere with the ſhip-builders, artificers, and tradeſmen of all ſorts; and becauſe they would throw Engliſh ſeamen out of employ. When you almoſt recommended to the ſhip-builders and ſailors to riſe up againſt the propoſition to allow Indian ſhips to come here, can it be ſaid you had no deſire to exclude them from mixing in the commercial ſhipping of this country? I am afraid this aſſertion muſt appear as ill founded as many others.

I next find in theſe paragraphs—"That many publications have been induſtriouſly diſſeminated in this country againſt the matter and reaſoning of theſe reports: and in theſe publications there are *not a few groſs errors* in point of fact. Sir, I cannot refrain from ſaying, that this is mere aſſertion; and I call upon the author of this paragraph to ſhew, to point out theſe groſs errors, which are ſo glaring and ſo numerous: and I hope you will not have credit for the fact, until you prove, by inſtances, that your aſſertion is well grounded: which is not yet done in any part of the papers you have printed. If, however, it ſhould now, or at any future day, be ſhewn that I have fallen into errors of any deſcription, (which I am far from thinking is not the caſe,) I ſhall, I declare, be ready to confeſs them.

The next point in theſe paragraphs I ſhall notice is that where, after deſcribing the private trade as you think it ought to be, it is ſaid —"This remittance trade, thus deſcribed, forms the point at which we wiſh to ſtop." Why then have you not done ſo long ago? No; you have admitted the trade to go on much beyond this point year after year; and if you had not ſeen ſome other cauſe, you would not have objected even now. Sir, it is fair to charge, that conſtruing the act of parliament as the directors have done, (viz. that all the private trade ſhould be confined to the returns for Britiſh exports, and the acquiſitions of individuals in India, after deducting what might be taken up by bills drawn by the governments abroad on the court of directors,) they ought long ſince in duty to have ſtopt the private trade altogether; for there have been no Britiſh manufactures exported on their ſhips; and the bills drawn from India annually have exceeded all the ſavings that the higheſt calculation ever admitted it were practicable for the ſervants of the Company and others to make. If ſo, the directors ſhould have brought this queſtion to iſſue much earlier; there exiſts no legal capital, in their opinion, to carry it on; all that is done muſt, therefore, be unwarrantable. Yet it was too delicate and too intereſting a queſtion for them to ſtir: they were afraid to meet what appears to have been their duty—and ſo they are ſtill; for they are even now propoſing a plan for continuing this trade, though, it muſt be confeſſed, not with much apparent ſincerity for its ſucceſs; at leaſt as I view it.

I next come to the paragraph which directs how the teak ſhips are to be contracted for, which it was agreed ſhould be built in India; and it ſtates, that the terms and conditions are to be agreeable to a printed ſchedule tranſmitted with the orders—[*Here Mr. Henthman ſtopped to obſerve, that he ſhould want ſeveral papers in the courſe of what he had to ſay, and handed up*

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up a list of them, begging that a clerk might get them at hand. As Mr. Henchman now wanted the ſchedule, which was the firſt, ſome demur ſeemed to ariſe within the bar, whether he ſhould have it.]

Mr. Henchman on this ſaid, Mr. Chairman I am at a loſs to account for any heſitation on this point, becauſe the ſchedule ought to have been printed with the third report; however, I am not diſtreſſed for want of it; I have read the ſchedule—it is printed, and in the hands of every ſhip-owner: I ſhall, therefore, quote what is neceſſary to my argument from memory: you will, I truſt, ſet me right if I ſhould make any miſtake. Sir, that ſchedule requires, that the captain and officers of any Indian ſhips contracted for, ſhall be bred up in your regular ſervice. Now, you know no ſuch men are to be found in India, and therefore that clauſe would prevent any ſhips from being contracted for at all; but if they could be met with, you know, and have formerly admitted, that it would be moſt unreaſonable to expect that owners ſhould commit ſuch large properties to the management of ſtrangers: ſo that, at all events, it would act very much to the impediment of theſe contracts. Your orders alſo direct, that no more than 14l. per ton ſhall be allowed for the freight; being the rate at which you have contracted here—and when lord Dartmouth inquires of you, in his letter of the 23d of February laſt, "Whether there are no contingencies, ſuch as an allowance on the building, home demurrage, or other circumſtances, which will make the rate exceed 24l. per ton?" the court of directors anſwered, "They foreſee no circumſtances which can increaſe the rate of freight of 14l. per ton; but if any ſhould occur, the increaſe will equally apply to Indian as to Britiſh ſhips." Then, ſir, you do not admit the 3l. per ton in the building; or the 9d. per day per ton home demurrage, in the ſchedule, is to be allowed to theſe Indian ſhips. Are not theſe contingencies that will increaſe the rate of freight? And taking them into the calculation, you have not contracted to build any ſhips at 14l. per ton. The value of theſe two items would make an increaſe of at leaſt 1l. 10s. per ton. Yet, ſir, you would exclude the Indian ſhips, unleſs the owners will contract ſimply for 14l. which is lower than any contracts you have made for building in England: and you tell lord Dartmouth, you foreſee no circumſtances which can increaſe the rate of freight. Is this giving facilities, or an equal participation to the Indian ſhips? So far from it, that it is denying them common juſtice; and I therefore muſt conſider this part of the orders as an intended impediment to the uſe of Indian ſhips on equal terms, until a ſatisfactory explanation is given.

I have now to notice that part of the paragraphs which ſays—"In order to afford a proviſional aid to the ſupply of a due proportion of Indian tonnage for private trade, and alſo to give encouragement to the diſpoſal of Indian ſhips in this country, we permit extra ſhips of that deſcription (about 500 tons) to be hired for one voyage home, under expreſs ſtipulation, that they are not to return to India, either directly or circuitouſly, on account of any Britiſh ſubject whatever." Now, ſir, I would aſk, what merchant will enter into ſuch an engagement? Would any man make himſelf liable, after the ſhip poſſibly has been ſold half a dozen

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times, and at last goes again to India, perhaps under foreign colours, and some Englishman bearing a share in her, to a penalty for such an event? It clearly is an article to which no prudent man will subscribe. But this is not all; the directors surely never meant such ships should come to England at all; I think they have acknowledged as much. The proprietors need only refer to the 74th page of the third report, in which the directors expressly state, "there are few services, except that of the East India Company, in which they (ships of four or five hundred tons) can be employed; *nor is there a chance for their being sold*, unless there shall be a demand for the commerce of France or Holland." It is impossible, sir, that this can by any ingenuity be explained away: it stands in positive opposition to your professions; but must be taken as a direct proof, that you never intended any such ships should come to this country for sale. I think I have the fairest ground for saying this, when you yourselves acknowledge, that there is no chance of that class of ships being sold, which is the only class you are willing to allow to come to this country for sale.

Next, sir, I must refer to your instructions about manning these Indian ships, when they may be contracted for: you say, in these intended orders, "the act of navigation allows one third of the crew to be aliens, and therefore lascars to this extent may be employed, but by no means in any greater proportion." This I may surely challenge as another impediment to the Indian ships being employed. You know that European seamen in great numbers are not to be found in India. Suppose twenty teak ships, or as many as are this year in the Thames, to be wanted, two-thirds of each crew may be forty men, and the whole number would be eight hundred. It is a thing impossible to find eight hundred British seamen in the East Indies: therefore no contracts can be made if this is insisted on.

After this follows an acknowledgment, that "it is our (the directors) intention to give an equal participation, on equal terms, to the Indian ships, in bringing home the private trade." This, however, is instantly done away by the particle BUT, which provides, that "the directors may hire at any time a ship or ships casually, (which is a mode we shall never be inclined to prefer,) but that is to give no pretension to the Indian ship-owners for furnishing one in that way, or on such terms." Here the equal participation is immediately destroyed: and can this be reckoned fair between the directors and private traders? Or, does it not rather prove the necessity of there being some declared umpire between two such parties? Who can this be but the board of commissioners? to whom this power was evidently intended to be given by the spirit, and indeed I may say, by the letter of the act of 1793.

Next, sir, with respect to the loading of these Indian ships. The directors would order, "if the ships sent from Europe, and engaged in India, cannot both be laden at parallel periods, those from Europe, which cannot be diverted to any employment in India, (as the country ships may,) must be laden first." Is this another instance of the *impartiality* of the directors, and of the *equal* participation which they intend to deal out to the merchants in India? Or did not this article,

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article, in common candour, require the aid of ſuperior authority to correct the manifeſt injuſtice it exhibits?

I will not detain the court longer by detailing other inſtances of the ſame ſpirit, ſo clearly manifeſted from the beginning to the end of theſe paragraphs. I will content myſelf with adding, that I read nothing in the corrected copy of the paragraphs returned by the commiſſioners, but a deſire to do away theſe evident obſtacles, thrown intentionally, as I conceive, in the way of Indian ſhipping; and to make the paragraphs, what they ought to be, the means of "opening a fair competition between Indian and Britiſh ſhips, for bringing home the private trade."

It is a very neceſſary obſervation to make in this place, that the court of directors have, on receiving theſe corrected paragraphs, only come to a general reſolution, that, "taken altogether, they demonſtrate a decided and unequivocal intention of invading and deſtroying the commercial rights and privileges of the Eaſt India Company." They have not ſhewn to what parts they particularly object: many parts remain as they themſelves originally formed them; others are only calculated to make the facilities to Indian ſhips the ſame as to Britiſh; and where there are any that are to deſtroy the rights and privileges of the Company, I am at a loſs to diſcover. I call, however, upon any and every gentleman behind the bar to point out thoſe paragraphs which can be charged with being big with any ſuch conſequences.

Mr. Chairman, there is an opinion given by your learned counſel, among theſe printed papers, to which it is very neceſſary I ſhould not omit to refer upon the preſent occaſion. We all with good reaſon pay high reſpect to his advice: and you, ſir, and the court of directors have, I make no doubt, been guided, in the conſtruction of the act of the 39th Geo. III. cap. 89, by the learned counſel's detailed opinion, given on the 2d of October laſt, at your deſire. The part of that opinion to which I at preſent beg to draw the attention of the court, is that reſpecting the taking up of ſhips for the Company's ſervice for *eight* voyages, when the act of the 39th Geo. III. expreſsly ſays, "the Company ſhall employ no ſhips in their regular ſervice, unleſs contracted for to ſerve in trade and warfare, or in any other ſervice, for *ſix* voyages." The learned counſel, after aſſigning his reaſons, ſays, "I think, therefore, that the Company may contract for eight voyages, which is *only extending the principle* further than the law requires." The opinion ſtands No. 26 in theſe printed papers; every proprietor, therefore, has an opportunity of referring to it; and the uſe I intend to make of the extract I have quoted from it is this:—*Extending the principle of the act*, I think I may venture to ſtate, is taking the ſpirit of the act inſtead of abiding by the letter of it. The act of the 39th ſays poſitively, that the directors muſt contract for their ſhips for *ſix* voyages. There is no latitude given, as there might have been by the words *or more*; and I am ready, on the authority of the learned gentleman, to believe that they were unneceſſary; though there might have been ſome plauſible reaſons aſſigned, at the time the act was paſſing, againſt taking up ſhips for more than ſix voyages, if ſuch an authority had been known to be contain-

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ed in the act as it is now worded. However, sir, I repeat, that *extending the principle*, (by making a positive injunction to take up ships for six voyages, include a liberty to take them up for eight, or for eighteen, for any number may as reasonably be taken as eight,) is in other words, adopting the spirit of the act, instead of abiding by the letter of it. If I am wrong in this, I shall be much obliged to any one who will set me right. But, sir, if the spirit of one act can be adopted instead of the letter, I would submit, whether the spirit of another act may not also be adopted instead of the letter; and therefore I mean to claim it for the act of the 33d Geo. III. as it has been claimed in this instance in respect to the act of the 39th of Geo. III. The act of the 33d expressly grants a controlling power to the board of commissioners over the private traders to and from India, in several different sections; and speaking of that act, it has been said by a gentleman of that profession, that "nothing can be more manifest than the distinction established by the statute between the two sorts of commerce (the Company's and the private), and the authority which it vests in the commissioners to decide all controversies which shall arise out of the private trade;"—and again, that "no doubt can be entertained of the reason of the law, and the intention of the legislature." * If this opinion be well founded, and the spirit of the act of the 33d Geo. III. be clearly of this description, I ask, for information, why the principle of this act may not be extended, as well as the principle of the act of the 39th? All that is wanted is an umpire between the court of directors and the private merchants—it is not fit that either should be the judge in his own cause—the legislature could never intend any such thing; what they did intend is perfectly clear, and the clamour about chartered rights, and the infringement of them, on the present occasion, is nothing but a popular outcry, raised, in default of argument, to prejudice the minds of the public, in a case where no rights of the Company are attacked, but the rights of the private merchants are seriously endangered; and the evident intention of the legislature is attempted to be over-ruled. In short, sir, if the principle of an act of parliament can be extended, or, in other words, the spirit can be adopted instead of the letter, I ask again, can it not as reasonably be claimed in respect to the act of the 33d, as in respect to the act of the 39th of Geo. III.?

Before I proceed to the third report, I would here just enquire, with what consistency do the directors come to this court complaining against the government of the country, as having "a decided and unequivocal intention of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the Company?" If you, sir, are correct in stating the question at issue to be purely commercial, I may very reasonably ask, by what authority, and upon what grounds, the court of directors engaged, by their secret resolution of the 25th of November last, to submit the paragraphs intended for India to the approbation of the board of commissioners? This part of your unauthorized compact with Mr. Addington, however, was not of long continuance: as soon

* Vide Mr. Henchman's Observations, 2d edit. for the whole of this opinion, p. 197.

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soon as the directors discovered that the board of commissioners would not approve just such orders as they wished to transmit to India, because they were not calculated to carry into fair effect the eleven propositions offered to the minister as the basis of an experiment, the concession was withdrawn. By this mode of conduct, the directors first insist, the question is commercial, and subject to no control: secondly, they take upon themselves to decide, that it shall be submitted to the control or approbation of the commissioners: and lastly, as soon as they discover that this mode of proceeding will not answer the end they expected, they protest against their own concession, and say, for the second time, that the question is purely commercial; and that the commissioners, in attempting to exercise a control, (which the directors had taken upon themselves to agree to,) shewed a decided and unequivocal intention of destroying the rights of the Company. Are men high in office in the state to be treated in this capricious manner? Will they allow the directors of the East India Company to say and unsay just as they please? or, will they not rather be dissatisfied with such conduct; and if there is so much doubt upon the subject, remove the doubt by a reference to that tribunal, which alone is able to put an end to these angry controversies? Such is the predicament into which the directors have brought the proprietors; and now they expect them to approve all they have done, involving a gross breach of the privileges of this court. I trust there may be found spirit enough among us to disappoint any such expectation, by negativing the present motion.

I shall proceed to the third report of the court of directors, which has been printed separately, and is intended to support what was never heard of before, an IMPERIAL EMPIRE, by averting the dreadful consequences which the directors see in the employment of East India shipping. But, sir, before I enter upon the report, I must beg to do an act of justice to an old friend of mine, Mr. C. Grant, who is confessedly the author of the first and second reports from your committee. That gentleman's talents I well know, and they are to be traced in those reports; his language, his style, and his ingenuity are evident: and, sir, with a full recollection of their contents, it would be unjust indeed, that in commenting upon this third report, it should for a moment be supposed by any one that I was commenting upon a work of Mr. Grant's. No, sir; I do most sincerely acquit him of having had any, the least share, in this composition; there is not a single sentence that bears the stamp of his pen; it is the work of some other hand; and Mr. Grant need not be envious of the laurels the author will gain by the support this third report will give to the long contested question.

Perhaps, sir, some idea may be formed of what is to be expected in the course of the argument from the terms of the introductory paragraph. We are told, that "in their former report the court of directors endeavoured, *but without success*, to explain the dangerous consequences that are likely to follow from such a system," (meaning the system of Indian shipping;) and then immediately afterwards, that "the object of the same committee at present is, to endeavour to give the subject a different form, and to refer to their former report for elucidations

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cidations *which they cannot improve.*" It is very true, sir, the author has not improved upon the former reports; but it is rather an extraordinary way of convincing, by referring to former reports, which have been unsuccessful, and which the committee confess they cannot improve; and I was puzzled still more, when I turned to the last page of this third report, for there I am told, that in these *(unsuccessful)* reports it was *demonstrated*, that the plans of the private traders must terminate in the destruction of the British Empire in India. Now, sir, how a demonstration could be unsuccessful, I shall expect to hear explained from your side the bar; for it is generally understood to be proof so strong and invincible, that the mind must yield to it. This, however, is not all the singularity of the present case: for we are next told, that this question is so extraordinary in its nature and circumstances, that "what would be decorous, prudent and desireable on almost every other occasion, would be culpable and even criminal at present." How, Mr. Chairman, could the court be brought into this strange and wonderful dilemma; and what path are we to pursue, when that which would be decorous, prudent and desirable on other occasions, is to be so injurious on this? I did hope, sir, that I should have met with some comfort, however, when I proceeded further; because I found in the same page, that "not only the truth, but the whole truth, should be submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's ministers," (mark, not the board of commissioners,) "the proprietors, and the public;" and I read again, in a latter part of this report, that "it is indispensable for your committee, and for the court (of directors), to divest themselves of their private feelings, in order to do justice to the Company and to the Public!" From all this the proprietors must perceive, that they have not had the whole truth yet laid before them, (perhaps the separate opinions, so often asked for, contain some part of it;) nor do I, after a careful perusal of the present report, discover what this wonderful information consists of. I really see nothing new, except it is the attack upon Mr. Dundas, of which I shall take further notice by and by. But, sir, I should have thought these gentlemen would at all times have done justice to the Company, and that upon this question they would have submitted to the general court the whole truth long ago. It has been rather extraordinary treatment, though I believe not unprecedented here, to require the proprietors to give a decisive opinion, without having the whole case submitted to them.

Proceeding further into this report, I agree with the committee of directors, that "on a question which, in its progress, produces such very important and serious consequences, mere opinions, drawn from inferences and speculative calculations, ought not to be admitted." Sir, I think we ought most readily to acquiesce in this way of thinking; and in consequence, I expected to find the report replete with evidence that could not be contested: but instead of any such proofs, perhaps of all others this is the publication most generally supported by inferences and bold assertions. In one place the committee confess they have no regular returns; but they contend that such accounts as they have shall stand till their insufficiency be shewn; and

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and "that in the mean time the unauthenticated representations of the persons who are interested in depriving the Company of their trade, be not taken as a basis upon which any argument whatever can be built." And even afterwards the directors add, "they trust that their adversaries shall be compelled to prove, that the trade they propose to carry on is, in its nature, likely to be permanent." It appears immediately, however, to be rather hard service they would impose upon their adversaries, for they instantly add, "*this, however, is impossible,*" and assign the reasons why.

This report, in an early part, declares, that the Company are always willing to remove obstacles to exports from this country. All that I shall say in answer to this is, that there is no proof but of the contrary. In this report the directors shew, that 800 tons of British goods were exported on the Company's ships in the year 1798, but that the exports of private merchants on the Company's ships have long since dwindled into nothing; yet when Indian ships have come to the port of London, they have carried away six or seven hundred thousand pounds worth of British goods in a season. These are facts, and therefore there must have been some obstacles and objections to the Company's ships, which the directors have not removed. Indeed it is well known there were many, and they have been often enumerated.

I perceive, sir, that you still persist in the idea, that ships are the end, and goods only the means; but I do not discover any proofs to establish this opinion, and the question has already been fully discussed. I find, however, the directors themselves allow in this report, that "in a very short time the traders in goods, and the owners of ships, will become in India, as they are in other parts of the world, different persons." If so, what becomes of all the long arguments we have heard about the means and the end, and the bad consequences of the ship-owner and the merchant being one and the same party?

I shall now proceed to the question of capital, upon which your committee say, "they shall prove that the larger part of the capital employed in "this trade is British, and not Indian." After some search, I found the promised proof, and it is this: they state the amount exported from Bengal, by private merchants, at 788,000l. and the amount imported by them to the same place at 308,000l. leaving a balance of 483,000l. The Indian capital, therefore, say the directors, does not exceed 308,000l. Sir, this is a most extraordinary sort of proof. The merchant draws bills of exchange on his correspondent in London for the 483,000l. it is admitted; but he must get the money for which he draws, from some resident in India, and therefore surely it is, *bona fide*, what has been called India capital. If you mean to deprive the Indian merchant of his credit, I understand you: but I cannot consent that it is British capital he trades on, because his correspondent in London accepts his bills upon goods consigned to him. But there is an easy remedy for this, say the committee: "Check the trade of Indian merchants; such a check will not operate to the prejudice either of India, the Company, or the Public." Here is the present opinion of the directors, briefly and openly given: Return to all your former coercive measures; renew all you penal laws;

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laws; there is your remedy. Now, sir, have we any proof, instead of this mere assertion, that it will be a remedy? No; but we have abundance of experience in proof, that these checks will revive and support foreign and clandestine trade; insomuch that the directors were very loud against them, and desired, only a short time since, that they might be removed.

The comparison that is made in this report between British, Indian, and Foreign ships, and between British and Indian owners, is not the least extraordinary part of it. It is not my wish to enter into this comparison between any two descriptions of merchants; it is not for me to take the liberty of pointing out the one as extortioners, and crying up the other for their public spirit and generosity. Nor will the old owners be very thankful for this panegyric, when they recollect that the very same directors, only a few years since, charged them with similar extortion, and said the Company only employed their ships because they could not get any others. It suits the present purpose to use this language; but the justice of it is very questionable. As to generosity in counting-houses, I believe that is not the place to look for it; every merchant makes the best bargain he can, according to what he has to dispose of; these gentlemen have done no more, and I am perfectly satisfied that they possess as much generosity and liberality in society as any other men.

But, sir, the instance brought forward in the present report, carries with it its own refutation. The Governor-general found himself, above a twelvemonth ago, under a casual necessity to engage all the ships he could meet with for an extra and dangerous service; the Bengal merchants were called on to derange all their commercial engagements, and to let their ships to the government: they did so; but they required a high price, which the Governor-general gave. "The *Gabriel*, one of these ships," say the directors, "is engaged at 1600l. per month, for nine months, or 13,500l.; whilst the *Rockingham*, one of the Company's ships, performs the same service for 600l. per month, or for nine months, 5,450l. making a difference and a loss to the Company of 8,050l.: the Public and the Company, says the third report, ought to be rescued from such avarice and extortion." But, sir, is this a fair state of the case? Was the *Rockingham* engaged for this single and dangerous service? You know she was not; but that she is, after serving six voyages as a regular ship, engaged to perform a voyage in the Company's service upon their dismantled plan; that she happened to be in India at the time, of course was called upon to go upon this service, as within the covenants of her contract. The directors, therefore, take the rate agreed to under very different circumstances, to make a comparison with the *Gabriel*; and besides this, they omit to state, that at present they have a law-suit with the owners of another ship, the *Martha*, on this very question. And, sir, I have good reason for thinking, that the owners of the *Rockingham* will dispute this very point with the directors, and not rest satisfied with 600l. per month, as here allowed them. A few months will shew whether I am right or wrong, and even then, if they are compelled to submit, it will be only in consequence of a previous existing contract, by which they are obliged to serve

ſerve in trade and in warfare on certain conditions. It is therefore impoſſible to draw a fair compariſon between the two. But, ſir, the directors might, if the object had not been to diſparage the Indian owners, have ſtated, that when Lord Welleſley lately talked of ſending three or four regular ſhips to China for want of cargoes, *that arch offender*, Mr. Fairley, offered to furniſh the Governor-general with goods to the value of 18 or 20 lacs, in order to prevent it: and it is very probable theſe ſhips are now on their voyage home, ſupplied with cargoes by one of thoſe very men who are abuſed as extortioners; and, inſtead of aiding, to be taking every opportunity to injure and diſtreſs the Company. Next, ſir, with regard to the compariſon between Indian and European ſhips, as to dearneſs; foreign Europe ſhips are ſaid to be the cheapeſt, and teak ſhips the deareſt; this I totally deny upon the information I have had. Perhaps many people will agree with me, when they are acquainted that teak ſhips will go eight or ten voyages to India and back, without any repair at all; whilſt an oak ſhip is never able to go above three voyages without a thorough repair, at an expenſe of many thouſand pounds.

In an early part of this report, great fault is found with an honourable friend of mine, (Mr. D. Scott,) not only becauſe he has differed with the reſt of the directors on this ſubject, but a letter of his, of ſo old a date as 1787, is brought forward, to ſhew what unfounded and ill digeſted propoſitions he at times recommended. This letter contained a plan of increaſing the exports of Britiſh manufactures yearly to a great amount. He aſſerted, that the Company had not for years ſent out above one quarter of their tonnage in goods. Now, ſir, it is curious to ſee the method, which, the report ſtates, was followed to aſcertain whether this aſſertion was correct or not. "To ſuch a propoſal *one ſingle fact was oppoſed* by the court of directors, namely, that at the time Mr. Scott made the propoſals, *returns were received of the draught of water of each ſhip, as the only means to enable the court to aſcertain*, whether the ſhips were not too full to perform the voyage from Europe to many parts of India with ſecurity; and on ſeveral occaſions, ſhips were not ſuffered to proceed until ſome part of the cargo was taken out, in conſequence of the ſhips being overloaded. *Such a deciſive proof* of the want of any baſis on which a project of ſo much importance could reſt, gave the Company a ſhort reſpite until the years 1792-93, when it appeared in another form, &c. &c." Mr. Chairman, I really doubt my own ſenſes, to underſtand ſo ſimple a caſe as this, when the court of directors ſhall ſeriouſly aſſert, *that the only means to aſcertain whether their ſhips were overloaded (with Company's cargo) was to take their draught of water, and this is called a deciſive proof.* Pray, ſir, was it not poſſible that other perſons beſides the Company might have goods on board thoſe ſhips? Such things have happened;—there have been times when ſhips outward-bound have been half laden with clandeſtine trade; and on that occaſion there was a more obvious and deciſive teſt, which might have been referred to—I mean the invoice of each ſhip's cargo belonging to the Company, and the account of the tonnage it occupied. However, inſtead of throwing a reflection on the offer of Mr. Scott,

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it is entitled to much praiſe; for on a reference to the amount of Britiſh goods exported by the Company, it did not much exceed half a million in 1787, and it has continued to increaſe gradually ever ſince, inſomuch that this laſt ſeaſon it amounts to two millions. This has been the effect of that letter; and whoever was the author of a propoſition producing ſuch a conſequence, has done great ſervice to the Public.

In purſuing this report, I find the directors aſſert, that "the foreign trade muſt revive, and will increaſe;" but they ſoon afterwards ſay, "there appears to be an apprehenſion about the foreign trade which no practical foreign merchant can underſtand. It is but fair to aſk for a ſingle inſtance wherein it has ſucceeded?" And they then deſcribe how every foreign company has been ruined, as well as numbers of private merchants, and the remainder of them are ſtated to be inſignificant. In ſhort, ſay the directors, "there was a *wreck of general and individual enterprize.*" Theſe ſurely are not proofs that the foreign trade *muſt revive and will increaſe*. I do not, however, go this length with the directors; I know there will be a foreign trade, as well as that there was a foreign trade, of good credit; but how extenſive that trade will be, depends more upon the ſettlement of the preſent queſtion than upon any other circumſtance whatever. All I contend for is, that the Britiſh government ſhould interpoſe, and bring as much of this trade as poſſible to the river Thames, and in particular that which is carried on with Britiſh capital.

Theſe private traders are, in various parts of the preſent report, ſtated to intercept the Company's funds, and to foreſtall the Company's market. How are theſe points maintained? In my opinion, not more ſatisfactorily than any of the preceding. Let us firſt examine into the funds; what have the Company raiſed during this war by bills on the directors, and by bonds given in India? I ſhall not be contradicted, when I ſtate it at ten or twelve millions ſterling. But I need not go ſo far back; I have evidence enough in my favour in this report; it is there ſtated, that very late loans in India amount to 2,200,000l.; and that 1,200,000l. of this large ſum is borrowed at Madras at one time, in the autumn of laſt year. Now, ſir, inſtead of intercepting the funds, here is a clear proof that the government of Madras were able, a few months ago, to negociate a larger loan than they ever negociated before, ſince the exiſtence of the Company. How does this happen? why, it happens from the trade, credit, and circulation of theſe very men whom the directors wiſh to deſtroy. In the former war (diſtinguiſhed as the American war), there was no ſuch claſs of men; what was the ſtate of the Company's credit then? they had incumbrances of only half the amount of the preſent debt, yet their means were exhauſted, and their paper at Bombay was 65 per cent. diſcount —at Madras it was 50, and at Bengal 30 or 35 per cent. below par. What is it now? Such paper as bears an intereſt of 6 per cent. is at a diſcount of 22 per cent. Paper of 8 per cent. is at a diſcount of 7 or 8 per cent. Paper of 12 per cent. is at par. The Company's credit is therefore much better at this time than it was at the former; and there is no doubt it will continue to be ſo, as long

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as encouragement shall be given to the general trade of their settlements. Next, sir, as to forestalling the Company's markets; it is a circumstance deserving attention, that in the early part of the report these merchants are reproached with not exporting British manufactures; and the proof is, that in 800 tons of merchandize exported by one house, there was only one ton of woollens. Here is a glaring proof that they do *not* interfere or forestall the Company's markets; for woollens are one of the grand staples the Company deal in. But the merchants are accused of sailing without convoy, and doing every thing they could to get to an early market. It is true, they used, as all private merchants must, the best diligence they could; they often sailed with any convoy to the westward, instead of the East India convoy, but very seldom I am told, sailed absolutely without any convoy at all. There are, however, other circumstances to be brought into this account; the articles they generally deal in are different from the Company's trade: woollens, copper, naval stores, the Company may engross; and for the sale of these articles in India, the Company have settled periods by auction, which they would not alter, whether the ships of individuals arrived before or after them. This regards the outward trade. With respect to the imports from India, it is well known that the Company's goods are always sold first, so that the goods of private merchants cannot get to auction till after them; and this is more particularly evident, as they are all under lock and key in the Company's warehouses.

We are told in one part of the report, that the exclusive trade is to be the salvation of the court; I wish, sir, it could be shewn to be equal to any such effect; the profits of the China trade may possibly be equal to the annual dividends; but we are here speaking of the Indian trade. That there are no profits upon the exports is admitted, and I have many doubts as to the returns from India. I have a right to entertain these doubts, from your own reports and accounts given at different periods; but I will mention one circumstance that possibly may make every man who hears me doubt also. In the calculations made by the directors, no interest of money is charged on the capital employed, yet a great part of the Company's Indian investment is made with money borrowed at Indian interest; and the course of the business is this: it is borrowed early in the year to be advanced to the native manufacturers; the goods are delivered in the course of the year; they are shipped the beginning of the next year; at the end of it they are sold in England; and in the beginning of the third year British manufactures are shipped in return, which may be sold in the course of that season: so that it must be thirty or thirty-six months before the money is realized to pay off the bond that was given for the first loan to make the investment. To this we may add 5 per cent. confessed to be lost in the exports, so that it may fairly be said 35 per cent. is on this account to be added to the Company's expenses in making up the account. I will not stop to notice many other charges not calculated on by the directors; this alone is sufficient to raise very serious doubts, whether the Company gain any thing by their Indian investments: but say, the directors, "the surplus has not appeared to

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large as it ought to have done, from the Company's adherence to the old forms of making up the accounts." Now, Mr. Chairman, I contend the very contrary of this, and aſſert, that if they did not adhere to theſe old forms, the ſurplus would appear ſtill leſs, inſtead of more; for the practice of the India-houſe is, and has long been, to value the rupee at two ſhillings, whereas they have bills upon them at rates of exchange much higher, which, of courſe, muſt reduce inſtead of augmenting their ſurplus profits.

In this part of the report, it is aſked with ſome confidence, "Will the Indian agents and traders ſubmit to a limitation of their profit, in the ſame manner as the Company? Will they pay what they get over and above 10 per cent. into the public treaſury, for the benefit of the State?" It may ſafely be anſwered, the Indian Company do no ſuch thing. (Look to the act of 1793, ſect. 111.) When the Company had a trade only to carry on, and no territory, the government knew them to be equal to but a very moderate contribution; and it was only when the Company appeared to have a ſurplus revenue of above a million, that they ſtipulated with them for 500,000l. per annum for the benefit of the Public, which the circumſtances of the times have and will prevent them from paying during the whole of their preſent charter. It may, therefore, reaſonably be aſked—What great benefit the Public receive, except from the increaſe of the India trade generally?

On the ſubject of laſcars, and the appeals which are here made to humanity concerning them — the caſes are overſtrained, and are few. Many ſhips have come with their crews of laſcars, as healthy as ſhips with Europeans, or we ſhould have had more examples. But, Mr. Chairman, the fair way of deciding where the inhumanity reſts, is by giving a comparative account of the number of laſcars and Engliſh ſeamen loſt in this trade altogether. I ſincerely believe it would be found, that as many Britiſh ſailors die on the Ganges as laſcars do on the Thames; or, why are your regular ſhips ſo often obliged to take black ſeamen to aſſiſt in your homeward bound voyages?

It is not a matter of any ſurpriſe to me, but it is deſerving of attention, that the directors take ſo little notice of the cotton trade, and the large ſupply of tonnage it would require. It is a trade ſo precarious, that the directors know they cannot attempt to furniſh Britiſh tonnage for it; yet they would rather leave it to the Americans than to private merchants in India. Ten or twelve thouſand tons of teak ſhipping have come here with this article in one ſeaſon; but a bad harveſt may prevent any coming, when the directors have ſent ſhipping to bring it. Theſe ſhips may only be juſt returned, when the next harveſt ſhall have increaſed the ſtock in ſuch a degree, that the merchants would wiſh to export it to England in as large a quantity as ever. Nothing but ſhipping on the ſpot can ſuit ſuch a trade, in oppoſition to the vigilance and enterpriſe of America, who has at this time 800 veſſels engaged in the trade with India and China, and who had lately ſeveral ſhips on the Malabar coaſt, wanting cargoes of cotton, as they declared, to ſupply the Engliſh manufacturers on this iſland.

I now come, I confeſs, to a part of this report, and it is the only part,

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very flattering and gratifying to myself; it is that where the directors express a hope that the same thing will be done which I recommended to them to do last May; I mean, to consult the late governors-general of India. They would insinuate, indeed, that the question then proposed to be put to these high characters was, "Whether the exclusive trade shall remain in the hands of the Company, or be transferred to a few Indian traders?" But fortunately the motion stands on record, and bears the clearest evidence of the contrary. At that time, Mr. Chairman, such a reference, the directors said, would have been "*unconstitutional* in itself." I hope it will be explained how that is possible. "It would have degraded the dignity of the proprietors, and would have proved humiliating to the directors." All these objections are now got over, and I am happy to find it is so; I am as ready as ever to abide that test, confident that they are the proper parties to advise with on such an important subject.

In this part of the report, there is a paragraph which I hardly know how to describe, perhaps it may be intended for the profound—it is short, and I will read it. Speaking of the private merchants and their destructive propositions, the report (page 100) proceeds:

"But they (the merchants) are not aware, that, whilst they contend to destroy the part of an ancient, firm, extensive fabric, over which they have no legal right or claim whatever, the ancient, real proprietors, finding themselves deprived of that broad shield, which has hitherto protected and preserved inviolate, under the British constitution, all corporate bodies, may spurn at the ruin, which will remain."

Mr. Chairman, I really do not understand—

[*Here Mr. Besanquet (a director), got up hastily, and was about to interrupt Mr. Henchman; when, Mr. Henchman turning to him, said*—"*Sir, if you are the author of this part of the report, and wish to explain it, I will readily take my seat while you do so.*"—*Mr. Besanquet made no answer, but sat down. Mr. Henchman went on*—]

Other reasons, besides the want of time, prevent me from following this report through every part, and from comparing it with other opinions which the directors have given: there are, however, contrarieties so very apparent, that they must strike every reader. The private merchants are too often accused of wishing to ruin the Company, and to exclude every body from the trade but themselves. It is sometimes said, that they cannot make the trade to answer; that two short years will expose their errors, and shew that their plans are not practicable; yet in that short space of time these adventurers are to acquire fortunes, and the Company's charter will be destroyed. All this is to happen, although we have already the experience of a few years, and no single instance is produced to shew that they have deviated from the rules laid down for them; that any persons have got to India that ought not, through their means; or that any thing has occurred to make colonization more apparent. If any complaint can be made against these traders, whilst using teak ships, I beg it may be brought forward; and, that we may have proof, instead of assertion, according to the doctrine laid down early in this report itself.

[*Mr. Henchman having now, for upwards of half an hour, experienced great interruption from a con-*

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a continued noise in the court, and a call for the question, it was absolutely impossible for him to proceed. The Chairman interposed without effect. Mr. Henchman, however, persevered; and when the clamour and noise was very loud, he stopped entirely, and waited until it subsided. Mr. Twining interposed sometimes with effect, but oftener without it. Sir Francis Baring, during the confusion, exclaimed, "that if there were time enough, he would pledge himself to refute every argument advanced by the honourable proprietar, who had risen to speak at a late hour of the day, and was continuing to speak, till it was so late that no one could answer him; and then he would fill the newspapers with what he had said." Mr. Henchman bore all this interruption with remarkable patience, attending to nothing but the question, and proceeding from time to time, as silence could be obtained.]

Mr. Henchman said, he was sorry for the lateness of the day, but it was not his fault; the subject was so copious, that it was not to be gone through in an hour. He said he was perfectly ready to adjourn, and meet again at twelve to-morrow, if gentlemen preferred it.

The CHAIRMAN said, No, no. We had better have it all out now. The proprietors would not be pleased at having such another long day to-morrow.

Mr. HENCHMAN continued. I now, sir, come to a part of the report, which I am exceedingly sorry to find treated in the manner it is: I mean the attack upon the late minister for India, Mr. Dundas—

[*The clamour and noise in the court was now renewed; some called out, that was not the question; that Mr. Henchman was disorderly; that the question was private trade! and one directly said, that for the last ten minutes Mr. Henchman had been speaking from the question.*]

Mr. Henchman replied, I trust I am in order; I mean to be so; and I am speaking to nothing but the contents of the third report. [*Clamour renewed, and question loudly called for.*] I am sorry I cannot yet come to a conclusion; I may be an hour longer, and these interruptions will make it still later. I appeal to the chair; if the chair shall declare that I am not to be admitted to speak to certain parts of the report, I shall submit. I beg the chair to declare whether I am in order or not.

[*The Chairman at last was heard, and declared Mr. Henchman was perfectly in order, and ought to be allowed to proceed.*]

Mr. Henchman continued. Sir, I thank you for your candour, and I repeat, that I am exceedingly sorry to find in the report, this wanton, unmerited, and disrespectful attack upon Mr. Dundas; and I more particularly regret to find, among the gentlemen who sign it, the name of an honourable baronet and friend of mine (Sir H. Inglis), who so lately, and so creditably, filled the seat you occupy. Sir, that very gentleman, about a twelvemonth since, brought forward certain resolutions of a very different complexion, respecting the same right honourable character. I beg, Mr. Chairman, that the papers relative to the pension granted to Mr. Dundas, may now be read. [*Here considerable interruption occurred, and much disinclination appeared within the bar to the production of the papers.*] I think I have a right to the papers; they are

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are in poſſeſſion of the court of proprietors; they are on their own records: but as the objection ſeems to be ſtill maintained, I will do without them; though I beg the refuſal may be marked: I have the reſolution in my memory, and I will repeat it. In Feb. 1801, upon Mr. Dundas's reſignation of the office of preſident of the board of commiſſioners, the directors came to a reſolution highly flattering to Mr. Dundas; paſſing high encomiums on his adminiſtration; and begging that he would accept a penſion of 2000l. per annum, as ſome acknowledgement of the great ſervices he had rendered to the Company, during the time he had filled the poſt of preſident of the board of commiſſioners; and, not content with this liberal offer, they requeſted further, that he would condeſcend to accept of the uſe of a houſe during his life, at the expenſe of 500l. per ann. more to the Company. I remember well with how much zeal my honourable friend recommended to the court of proprietors to confirm this propoſition which the directors had made to Mr. Dundas: and I do not recollect, at that time, that any one director offered a ſingle objection, or ſaid that he diſſented from it. The right honourable gentleman has been out of office from that time to the preſent day; he can therefore have done nothing ſince, to induce the directors to alter their opinion of him, except it be, having manifeſted, that he entertains the ſame ſentiments which he did before he went out of office, reſpecting the employment of teak ſhips in private trade: and which ſentiments particularly appear in his letter of the 2d of April 1800. Sir, theſe ſentiments are now ſo offenſive to the directors, that in diſcuſſing the ſubject, they cannot forego an opportunity, however indiſcreet, to introduce irrelevant matter, to take away from the weight of an opinion to which both ſides of the bar have been long uſed to pay ſo great a ſhare of reſpect. A review is therefore to be taken of the general ſtate of the Company's affairs, although you, Mr. Chairman, ſo earneſtly deprecated all ſuch inquiry, as extremely dangerous, in your famous letter of the 7th of November laſt, addreſſed to Mr. Addington; and which has been ſo fully commented on by my learned friend (Mr. Impey) this day. How can the preſent diſſertation be juſtified, if what you ſaid in that letter was reaſonable? However, the fact is, that in this report we find the late preſident, whoſe adminiſtration was ſo much extolled laſt year, and ſo amply rewarded, is now charged with being the author, or acceſſory of almoſt every thing that has brought the preſent imminent diſtreſs upon the affairs of the Company, and that has reduced their affairs to ſuch a ſtate, according to your opinion, that it would be dangerous to look into them. He has increaſed our eſtabliſhments to a ruinous extent; he has allowed our political reſources to be abſorbed; he has given aſſiſtance to deprive the Company of the reſources they actually poſſeſſed, under pretence of contributing towards the proſperity of the Indian empire. And a compariſon is gone into between the period of diſtreſs in which he began his adminiſtration, and the ſtate in which he has left the Company's affairs, on retiring from office; and after this compariſon is drawn, it is ſaid, "Theſe diſcuſſions and compariſons are painful in the extreme; but when the Company find that attempts are made,

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and *supported by such powerful interest*, to deprive them of the only means to restore their affairs, *under unfounded pretences*, it is indispensable for your committee, and for the court, to divest themselves of their private feelings, in order to do justice to the Company and the Public."

Sir, this paragraph from the report speaks too plainly for itself; I do not wish to give it an interpretation; it is too clear who is meant by this powerful interest, that is acting this extraordinary part under unfounded pretences. But I must ask, if all this objection lay against Mr. Dundas, where was the justice towards the Company in unanimously recommending for him the pension of 2000l. per annum? And where was the duty towards the Company in keeping all these opinions secret? for I believe I may venture to state, that hardly an instance occurs, for many years past, of the directors communicating to the proprietors, that the late president had suggested any one thing which threatened injury to the Company's affairs. It may also reasonably be asked, whether many of the arrangements alluded to, were not the acts of the directors themselves, and only passed in review before Mr. Dundas from his presiding in the board of control? I will not at present take up more time in inquiring who is responsible; I will only repeat, that the introduction of this matter in the present report appears to have arisen from a motive that I am sorry should influence a public body; and that it is probable, if it had not been for that influence, the directors would not even now "have divested themselves of their private feelings to do justice to the Company." But, sir, this examination having been gone into by the committee of directors, and the state of the Company represented as deplorable, comparatively with what it was in 1783—it becomes necessary to look at their circumstances at that period, and at present. Abroad, in 1783-4, the Company was indebted ten or twelve millions sterling, at present they owe twenty millions sterling. But, sir, in these twenty millions, there may be five millions with which the Company charge the government of Great Britain, for military and other services, including the expedition to Egypt, undertaken on their account. If so, sir, it is doubtful whether your debts abroad at this time exceed what they were in 1783-4, more than three or four millions. But, Mr. Chairman, I have no objection to looking at the comparison between the two periods, with all the assumed difference between a debt of ten millions in 1783-4, and twenty millions at the present day, which is stated to occasion such infinite distress. If we look to the distress abroad in 1783-4, it will be seen that the Company's credit was quite exhausted; their bonds and other securities were at the enormous discount of 65 per cent. at Bombay; of 50 per cent. at Madras; and of 30 or 35 per cent. at Bengal. Bills of exchange were never regularly paid; the civil and military were greatly in arrears; and the army at last in a state of absolute mutiny for their pay. In 1801, the army is paid up; the civil servants are paid in paper without murmuring; the discount on bonds and securities is very low; not exceeding 7 or 8 per cent. except on paper that bears the lowest interest, that is 6 per cent. and upon that only 22 per cent.; and so far from the Company's credit being exhausted,

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haufted, the governments in India have, within theſe few months, borrowed more money than uſual; in particular at Madras, they have negociated one loan for 1,200,000l. a thing unheard of till now. This is not a ſtate for deſpair; it may require a ſyſtem of reform and economy both abroad and at home; and peace, which is now accompliſhed, affords the faireſt opportunity of entering upon both. As to the ſituation of the Company in Great Britain, it has been repeatedly ſtated from behind the bar as very proſperous, and I hope we are not in any error on that ſubject. The ſales have been very large; the treaſury has been very full; bills of exchange have been paid in advance; you have not been obliged to go to parliament in *forma pauperis*, or in any form, unleſs it may be to deſire they will diſcharge the long bill you have againſt the government. Your credit is ſo perfectly good, you could circulate a million more bonds; you could purchaſe to any amount of exports on credit. The bank will lend you; you have 1,200,000l. of annuities you can ſell; in ſhort, you have aſſets at command, if government will but be juſt towards you, of at leaſt eight millions ſterling. You may, therefore, I hope, go on without calling for any additional capital: and, I believe, you owe in England at this time one million and a half leſs than you did in 1783-4, at which time the Company's credit and ability was ſo very low, that you were obliged to go to parliament to ſolicit that you might have a longer time allowed for the diſcharge of 900,000l. arrear of duties; and that you might be protected againſt the holders of bills from India, and be authoriſed to defer payment of them for two or three years after they became due.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if there is any truth in this ſtate of the Company's affairs at home and abroad, taking into the conſideration whatever the preſent debt may exceed the former, I do not think there is reaſon ſufficient to conclude, that things are now ſo infinitely more alarming and deſperate than they were in 1783-4. All this is open to the obſervation of every man who will take the trouble of examining ſuch accounts and documents as are publiſhed: but, as it is poſſible we do not yet "know the whole truth," I do not pretend to offer any deciſive opinion on the real ſtate of the Company's affairs. Perhaps we may be allowed, one day or other, to go into a complete examination of them; and I differ, I confeſs, Mr. Chairman, ſo far from you on the ſubject, that the ſooner that is done, in my opinion, the better.

But, ſir, condemn no man, and eſpecially a man like the late miniſter for India, whom you have ſo uniformly praiſed, without a very different review and examination of your affairs, than what is given in this report: common juſtice would require it for any man; reſpect for paſt and acknowledged ſervices requires it for the ex-miniſter.

There are many other parts of this report which challenge obſervation.

[*Here was a violent call for the queſtion, and Mr. Henchman could not proceed for ſome time. At laſt ſilence was obtained.*]

Mr. Chairman I have ſtill much to ſay, particularly about ſhipping, and in anſwer to the aſſertions which are made to convince that Indian ſhips are the deareſt; but I ſhall not trouble the court further on that ſubject at preſent than to obſerve, that I ſtill retain the opinion I have long entertained of teak

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ships being upon the whole the cheapeſt. That they are the beſt ſuited for the trade, the directors themſelves confeſs in their former report, wherein they ſay, "Indian ſhips would have a clear advantage over others, becauſe the equipment would be adjuſted with certainty to the number and times of the cargoes procurable." But, ſir, there is a matter which the directors carefully keep out of ſight, that I muſt bring into view; and that is, their memorial to the lords of the treaſury in 1797, containing ſentiments and principles diametrically oppoſite to what they contend for at preſent. It is reaſonable to aſk, why the court of directors have not in any one place attempted to ſhew how their opinions declared in 1797, are to be reconciled with their opinions in 1801? even after they had been ſo often reminded of the contradictions, this third report is as cautiouſly ſilent upon that point as the two preceding. My learned friend (Mr. Impey) has handled this point with his uſual ability, and I aſk with him, what anſwer can be given to this memorial? how can it be reconciled with the later conduct of the court of directors?

Neither do the court of directors point out any of thoſe *groſs errors* they ſay exiſt in opinions that have been publiſhed in oppoſition to their reports, although they expreſs conſiderable anxiety, that nothing but proofs ſhould be paid any attention to by this court. I wiſh, ſir, they had abided by their own rule; and it may not be aſſuming too much to conclude, that they would have done ſo oftener, if they had been poſſeſſed of any proofs ſatisfactory to themſelves.

The laſt part of the report that I ſhall this evening take notice of, is the repeated aſſertion, that the ſurplus trade of India cannot be brought to the river Thames; and that a ſhort time would ſhew the erroneous principles and plans of the merchants. If ſo, why not allow an experiment to be made on equal terms? If the merchants will ſo ſoon be loſers and bankrupts by the trade, why all this anxiety to prevent them from making a trial, that, by the declarations of the directors, muſt ſo ſhortly afford proof, that they (the directors) are right, and their opponents wrong? The violent oppoſition that is made to any ſuch experiment, affords a very ſtrong preſumption, that the directors are not ſo confident in the event as they are in the aſſertion. However, ſir, be the error on which ſide it may, (and I have great and moſt reſpectable encouragement ſtill to think it does not lay with thoſe whoſe cauſe I eſpouſe), I do truſt the court will diſcern, that no good conſequences can reſult from their confirming, as is propoſed, the intemperate reſolution of the court of directors of the 26th of laſt month. Is it reaſonable, is it reſpectful, is it true, that the government of the country has "demonſtrated a decided and unequivocal intention of invading and deſtroying the commercial rights and privileges of the Eaſt India Company?" What can the Eaſt India Company gain by making this violent declaration of war with the adminiſtration? and where have the directors ſhewn this to be the fact? they have not pointed out in what part of the corrected orders this intention is manifeſted; and the motion before you will only lead to the continuation of that predicament in which the directors have been for many months, in conſequence of a reſolution equally imprudent, paſſed by this court on the 28th of May; or it muſt lead to a conſequence which all have pro-

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profeſſed a deſire to avoid, that is, the ſubject going into parliament, where, for my own part, if this amendment is rejected, and the original motion is approved, I think it impoſſible to prevent its going; and it is indeed time we had done with it, if intemperance is ſo far to prevail, that his majeſty's miniſters are treated with marked diſreſpect, and if common decorum and civility can no longer be preſerved in the courſe of our debate, even towards the perſon and character of the reſpectable nobleman who now preſides at the board of commiſſioners. Too much heat, animoſity, and influence of private intereſts, is got amongſt us; it is time, therefore, that the diſcuſſion ſhould come to an end in this place, and be referred to another, where it will be entered upon coolly and diſpaſſionately: where the examination will proceed upon public principles, and where clamour and uproar is not admitted; where thoſe who are to decide will not be under the influence of favours received or expected; but will, after a candid and thorough inveſtigation of the merits, come to that deciſion which ſhall be juſt towards the India Company, and moſt beneficial to the general intereſts of the kingdom at large.

Sir FRANCIS BARING roſe immediately after Mr. Henchman ſat down, and was proceeding to ſpeak, when Mr. Impey and Mr. Johnſtone roſe to object, as ſir Francis had ſpoken already. After ſome little conteſt, the Chairman ſaid he had called to ſir Francis upon ſeeing him riſe, and that he was undoubtedly entitled to explain.

Sir Francis then ſaid he roſe to explain, and took notice of ſeveral parts of Mr. Henchman's arguments. He, in particular, ſpoke to the number of ſhips ſtated to be in Bengal river, which, he ſaid, ought to be recollected came from three points, Great Britain, America, and China. Sir Francis alſo obſerved on two or three other matters; but Mr. Henchman roſe twice to aſſure him, that he had clearly miſunderſtood him, repeating what his words on thoſe ſubjects had been. Sir Francis readily yielded, and after one or two other remarks, ſat down.

Sir HUGH INGLIS roſe to reply to a queſtion put to him by an honourable friend of his (Mr. Henchman), relative to the ſtrong ſentiments he had profeſſed about a twelvemonth ago, in reſpect to Mr. Dundas, on that right honourable gentleman's reſignation of the office of preſident of the board of commiſſioners for India affairs, in February 1801. His honourable friend had aſked him, whether he had changed the ſentiments with which he accompanied his motion to deſire Mr. Dundas to accept a penſion of 2000l. per annum, as an acknowledgement of the great ſervices he had rendered the Company during the time that he had filled the poſt of preſident of the board of commiſſioners, with high encomiums on his adminiſtration of Indian affairs? ſir Hugh aſſured his honourable friend, that he had not changed all his ſentiments on Mr. Dundas's eminent ſervices to the Company; he ſtill thought as highly of thoſe ſervices as he ever did; but when that right hon. gentleman ſent them his pamphlet, which he wrote upon his reſignation, and which was ſoon after printed, he forced the directors to act on their defence, and to hold forth the facts ſtated in the third report which implicated Mr. Dundas. Sir Hugh ſaid, as he was upon his legs, he would ſpeak to two or three other points. He then anſwered what

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had been ſaid about the opinions of the Company's ſervants in India, as to the bringing home the private trade in Indian built ſhips; and cited the ſpeech of Mr. Bebb, who had given his opinion upon that point, much in concurrence with that held by the court of directors; and that honourable proprietor, ſir Hugh, ſaid, was an authority of no ſmall weight, conſidering the many years he had ſat at the board of trade in India, in a manner ſo honourable to himſelf and ſo beneficial to the intereſts of the Company. Sir Hugh alſo ſaid, he was a little ſurpriſed at the arguments advanced that day by his honourable friend, the learned gentleman, and other proprietors, in cenſure of the conduct of the court of directors; recollecting the objections theſe gentlemen made to the vote of the 28th of May 1801, he owned he did not expect what had been ſaid to-day would have come from that quarter.

Mr. TWINING requeſted, in compliance with the indulgence uſually ſhewn to the mover of any queſtion, that he might be permitted to ſay a few words: and he aſſured the court, that at ſo late an hour, they ſhould be but few. It appeared, he ſaid, that the honourable proprietor (Mr. Henchman), who had taken ſuch an active part upon the preſent occaſion, was well acquainted with the proceedings of the court of directors, and equally well acquainted with every thing that had paſſed at the other end of the town. The opinion entertained by the honourable proprietor, in conſequence of all this knowledge, was, that every thing which had been done by the court of directors was wrong, and that every thing which had been done by the board of control was right.

The directors had been particularly blamed by the honourable proprietor, for their conduct reſpecting the motion which Mr. Twining made laſt year; and, if their conduct had been improper, there was not, perhaps, any perſon who had a greater right to cenſure them than himſelf, who made that motion. For their conduct relative to it, they were, undoubtedly, accountable to the proprietors; as they were for every part of their conduct. But ſo far were they, upon the preſent occaſion, from deſerving blame, that ever ſince the period in queſtion, they had been anxiouſly endeavouring to give effect to the ſpirit of that motion.

In drawing up the preſent motion, Mr. Twining ſaid he had been extremely deſirous of ſo framing it, that it might be approved by the proprietors in general. But, to his great ſurpriſe, that part of it which he thought moſt ſecure from oppoſition, had been oppoſed the moſt; he meant that part of the motion which approved the conduct of the court of directors. Mr. Twining obſerved, that from his age, and from the number of years he had attended general courts, he might be called an old proprietor; but never had he witneſſed, upon any occaſion, ſuch conduct towards the directors as he had witneſſed that day; nor, in his opinion, had there ever been an occaſion on which ſuch conduct was ſo little juſtifiable. It was well known, that gentlemen in the direction were not uſually in the habit of thinking alike upon thoſe ſubjects of importance which were offered to their conſideration. But whatever differences of opinion might in general ſubſiſt, they had all, in the the preſent inſtance, given way to a de-

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a desire and a determination to support those interests and those rights of the Company, which were endangered by the plans of the private traders and their advocates.

Another honourable proprietor had accused Mr. Twining of want of zeal upon some occasion which related to the present question. Mr. Twining said, if that proprietor had known how ill he was when he came into that court, how unfit he was to remain in it so many hours, and how ill he was even at that moment, the honourable proprietor, whatever other charges he might have brought against him, would not have accused him of a want of zeal.

Mr. LAW observed, that in reading over the papers lately published, it had occurred to him, that the subject of this day's deliberation divided itself into two parts; that the first might be confined to the consideration of the abstract rights of the Company, and that the second would embrace the different plans of arrangement which offered for the trade of the private merchants; that the former question ought to be discussed and settled before they could proceed to the other point, inasmuch as it is necessary to know what they can properly call their own, before they could to any effect determine what might be conceded to others. In looking back to the several infringements which had from time to time been made on the rights and property of the Company, since the establishment of the new system, he should date their commencement from the year 1784, when the court had given way against their own expressed opinion, and the clear directions of an act of parliament, in the case of the creditors of the nabob of Arcot. They had since been obliged to submit to several encroachments on their military establishment, and to a refusal of permission to recruit their army in various other instances. He lamented that any difference should arise with the present president of the board of commissioners, of whose honour and integrity he had the highest opinion; but yet it was absolutely expedient that the rights of the Company should be freed from doubts and invasion; at the same time he recommended, that this work should be proceeded on with a temper and moderation in the executive body equal to its firmness. He spoke against the novel claims of the private traders, as extremely dangerous, if not altogether incompatible with the existence of the Company. The industry and ability exhibited by the directors in their several reports, he commended, and thanked them for; and notwithstanding the censure of the Chairman's letter of November last to the minister, by the gentlemen on the other side, and in various publications, it met with his approbation. Though he should rather have wished for a resolution more defined in its object than that presented by Mr. Twining, yet as he came there to discharge his duty to the Company, and to support their rights and privileges, the motion, as it now stood, should have his decided support.

Those gentlemen present who had not held 1000l. stock a twelvemonth, were desired to withdraw, and the court divided.

Ayes (for the original motion)	134
Noes	32
Majority	102

The amendment was negatived; and the court then adjourned.

SUP-

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SUPPLEMENT

TO

THE STATE PAPERS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

AFFAIRS OF THE CARNATIC.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

DECEMBER 1, 1802.

The EARL of MOIRA called to the recollection of their lordſhips what he had ſtated towards the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion relative to the tranſactions which had taken place reſpecting the nabob of Arcot, and the notice he had given of his intention to come forward early in the preſent ſeſſion on that occaſion. In purſuance of the latter he now roſe; and though the events which had ſince taken place rendered the object for which he had principally intended to come forward unattainable, yet he thought a conſideration of the ſubject might ſtill prove of public utility. In this view, he then gave notice, that on Friday next he ſhould bring forward a motion for the production of ſome papers relative to the ſubject, particularly a copy of the orders tranſmitted to India, by the court of directors, ſince 1797, relative to the ſucceſſion to the muſnud of the Carnatic. With reſpect to thoſe noble lords who ſo worthily filled the higheſt official ſituations in India, and for whom he had great perſonal reſpect, he had obſerved, that he by no means conſidered them as reſpondents in the preſent queſtion; in his opinion they acted merely as inſtruments. Alluding to the abſence of ſome noble lords, who ſeemed to take an intereſt in the propoſed diſcuſſion, the noble earl ſeemed to ſay, he did not think it, in the preſent inſtance, ſo very material; and with reſpect to what he ſhould have to advance on Friday, it was ſo much narrowed, ſo plain, and reducible into ſo ſmall a compaſs, that he deemed it ſuperfluous even to move to have the houſe ſummoned on the occaſion. However, it was competent to any other noble lord that thought proper to move for that proceeding.

This not taking place, and no farther buſineſs being before the houſe, an adjournment, on the motion of lord Walſingham, took place till Friday.

DECEMBER 3.

The Earl of MOIRA, in purſuance of his notice on a former evening, now roſe to bring forward his motion relative to the recent important tranſactions in the Carnatic. He repeated, that ſince he had originally given notice of his intention, circumſtances had occurred in that quarter which precluded the attainment of the object originally in view. The opportunities

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of perſonal reſtitution were paſſed by—the unfortunate prince, who was principally to be affected by what he otherwiſe ſhould have had to propoſe, was now beyond the reach of preſent calamity, and of all future anxiety—All care reſpecting him was at an end—

After life's fitful fever, he ſleeps well;
Treaſon has done its worſt; nor ſteel, nor poiſon,
Malice domeſtic, foreign levy, nothing
Could touch him further!

Fate had ſo ordered it, that no claim with a view to relieve him from injury to his perſonal rights, could now be made a queſtion of with any ſort of advantage. He begged leave again to repeat what he had declared when he gave notice of his intention to make the motion with which he meant to conclude, that he had not the leaſt intention to impute blame to the two noble lords who preſided at Calcutta and Madras. He was aware that the tranſactions which had taken place in the Carnatic, and which had challenged the attention of all Europe, originated with the court of directors, and were part of a ſyſtem determined upon, before either of the noble lords to whom he had juſt alluded went to India. They therefore had no ſhare in the buſineſs to which he meant to call the attention of their lordſhips; although he had obſerved, in a recent diſpatch from the Governor-general to the ſecret committee of directors, that the Governor-general congratulates the directors on the ſucceſs of their enterpriſe in the Carnatic, meaning the affair of the depoſition of the nominal heir of the late nabob, and the ſeating of another prince on the muſnud. In order, however, to juſtify himſelf for preſuming to bring the ſubject under their lordſhips' attention, he ſaid it was neceſſary for him to remind them, that many years ſince it was felt that the intereſts of the Eaſt India Company were ſo intimately involved with thoſe of this country, that parliament found it neceſſary to interfere and paſs occaſional bills of regulation on ſeveral important points that affected the concerns of the Company; but at length, in conſequence of the great acquiſition of territory, and the inveſtment of ſovereign power by the Company, parliament had diſcovered, that an adventitious and occaſional interference of the legiſlature was not adequate to a due correction of the growing evils that aroſe in conſequence of the extended authority of the Eaſt India Company. The evil moſt dangerous to the public, and likely to be productive of moſt important miſchiefs, was univerſally agreed to be, the acquiſition of territory, with a view to aggrandizement, and the gratification of falſe ambition. In order, therefore, to check and correct this evil, the board of control was inſtituted, with a view to reſtrain the court of directors from purſuing ſuch an unwiſe object. Since the inſtitution of that board, the inſtructions relative to the Carnatic, to which he had alluded, had been ſent out; and therefore, however wiſe he might think the giving to that board the power of the directors, he did not wiſh to make the board of control ſharers in the vices of the directors. It became, on theſe conſiderations, the duty of their lordſhips, to have the papers that he meant to move for before them, in order to ſee whether the principal cauſe for inſtituting the board of control had not been, in the inſtance of the Carnatic, wholly departed from; and whether the court

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court of directors had not been permitted to achieve an acquisition of territory, contrary to the declared wish and intention of the legislature. His lordship took occasion to refer to the main cause of complaint against the French Republic, viz. that it was the practice of that power to invade and oppress all the feeble states about her. This had been a constant theme of reprobation in parliament; and now, in consequence of the conduct of the East India Company in respect to the Carnatic, the opprobrium was retorted upon us; and it was pleaded to the whole continent, that we had suffered that to be done in India, which we had been so loud in complaint about in Europe. Was it wise, he asked, in us to shake the public opinion as to the necessary equity of nations, and to take the lead in violating that principle which was wisely and humanely calculated to shackle the hands of the powerful, and protect the weak from the encroachments of power and ambition? His lordship therefore moved, "That there be laid before this house, copies of all the instructions sent out, on the part of the honourable the East India Company, from the 1st of January 1797, to the 1st of January 1801, from the court of directors, to the Governor-general; also to the governor of Madras, relative to the assumption of the government, &c. of the Carnatic."

Lord HOBART said, he would trouble their lordships only with a very few words. As the noble lord had prefaced his motion with a full explanation of his object, and a declaration that he meant not to impute any blame to the noble lords who presided in Calcutta and Madras, he saw no reason to object to it. He would therefore merely say, that whenever the transactions of the Carnatic alluded to, should be fully investigated, he was persuaded that it would be found that the measure in question was founded in a due sense of policy, and an ample attention to the interests of the Company and the Country.

Lord GRENVILLE said, that, from the manner in which the noble lord had opened his motion, there appeared to him no necessity to object to it; he would therefore only declare his thorough conviction, that the noble lord who had just sat down was perfectly warranted in his opinion—that when the measures in question came to be properly understood, they would be found to have originated in what the noble lord rightly termed a due sense of policy, and a just regard to the national interests.

The question was put, and the documents ordered to be laid before the house accordingly.—After which they adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

DECEMBER 16, 1802.

Mr. SHERIDAN rose, in pursuance of a notice he had given yesterday, to move for certain papers relating to the affairs of the Carnatic. He did not intend to ask for any information beyond what would strictly apply to his object, and should leave the quantum at the discretion of persons in office. If he thought it before a matter for parliamentary investigation, he was not induced to suppose it less pressing on the justice, dignity, and honour of the house, from the unexpected and critical death of the person supposed to have been treated with injustice. The impossibility of now redressing him did

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did not take the matter altogether out of the reach of parliament, and he ſhould therefore confine himſelf at preſent to the mere ſtatement of his motion, which ſhould be for an addreſs to his majeſty, praying that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give orders that there be laid before the houſe, copies of all the correſpondence ſince the 26th of March 1800, between the Governor-general and the governor and council of Madras, relative to the depoſition of the late nabob of Arcot, the minutes of the proceedings of council on the ſame, the inſtructions from the miniſters at home reſpecting that event, a copy of the will of the late nabob's father, faithfully tranſlated from the Perſian records, the correſpondence between the late nabob and the Engliſh goverment, &c. &c.

Mr. WALLACE ſaid, that as the correſpondence was not very numerous, he ſaw no great objection to the motion. Convinced that any inquiry into the affairs of the Carnatic would redound highly to the honour and credit of the noble marquis and the noble lord engaged in thoſe tranſactions, he was willing to leave the matter to the juſtice, honour and wiſdom of the houſe.

Sir T. METCALFE expreſſed his conviction that it would reflect equal honour on the directors of the Eaſt India Company, who had no diſpoſition to withhold any thing the houſe might think proper to call for.

Mr. WALLACE explained, that he meant not to recommend any inquiry, and only alluded to what he thought would be the reſult, ſhould the houſe determine that it ſhould be inſtituted.

Mr. Sheridan's motion was then put and agreed to.

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CHARACTERS.

Some Account of the LIFE *and* ADVENTURES *of* JELALEDDIN, *Sultaun of Khoarazm; one of the most distinguished Characters in Asiatic History, chiefly collected from* D'HERBELOT, LE CROIX, *and* ABULGUZI KHAN.

JELALEDDIN was the eldeſt ſon of Sultaun Mahommed Shah, prince of Khoarazm. After the death of that monarch the young prince retired to the province of Gazna, a property which had been aſſigned to him by his father. On his firſt ſetting out, he fell into an ambuſcade, deſigned for him by the Tartars; but he extricated himſelf from this with great dexterity and valour, and arrived ſafely at Gazna, where he was met by Seifeddin Arak, at the head of forty thouſand horſe, and by Jemin ul Mulk, prince of Herat, who likewiſe brought him a very conſiderable reinforcement.

Jelaleddin thus armed did not fear attacking the Moguls, who ever ſince the defeat of Mahommed his father, had conſtantly haraſſed him until his arrival at Gazna. He gave them battle ſix or ſeven times ſucceſſively, and always was conqueror; but unhappily for him there aroſe diſſentions amongſt the general officers of his army. Jemin ul Mulk having ſtruck Seifeddin with his whip, Seifeddin complained to the ſultaun, who was afraid to do him juſtice while he had ſuch powerful enemies on his hands. Seifeddin, irritated by this refuſal, left the army the ſame night, and went to the mountain of Sarak, where he encamped.

Jelaleddin's army being thus weakened by the deſertion of this general, was no longer able to ſtand againſt the Tartars; he reſolved to go to Hinduſtan, and had marched his army to the borders of the Indus, and was juſt going to paſs that river, when he ſaw that the Moguls were purſuing him, and were very near up with him; for Genghiz Khan having heard of the retreat of the ſultaun, left the province of Tabariſtan, where he was encamped with the chief part of his army, and came up with him, marching with great rapidity by way of Cabul.

The Mogul extended his troops, according to the account of an hiſtorian, above and below the river Indus, making an arc of his army, the river forming the cord of the arc, thus ſhutting up ſo completely the army of the ſultaun, that he ſeemed to have cut off all hope of eſcape.

The ſultaun perceiving at break of day the immenſe number of troops who beſieged him on all ſides, did not, however, loſe courage: but, on the contrary, his deſperate ſituation ſeemed to have given him freſh vigour; he haraſſed the enemy on all ſides, and performed ſuch extraordinary feats of valour, that he ſurpaſſed all the heroes that had been ſeen ſince the days

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days of Asfendiar and Roſtam: ſo much ſo, ſays Abulgazi, that if theſe two great heroes had lived in the time of this ſultaun, it might have been ſaid with truth, that they would have gloried in being enrolled in his ſtandard.

A Perſian poet deſcribing this action, ſays of him; "When his lance was raiſed, the braveſt was obliged to lower theirs; when the weight of his arm fell, there remained an everlaſting mark; he broke the helmets on the heads of the warriors, as another would break things the moſt fragile; he tore to pieces coats of mail, with the ſame facility with which another would tear the cloth which covers them.

All this valour, however, could not have ſaved him from periſhing; for he had, as may be ſaid, as many ſoldiers to combat, as there were grains of ſand on the ſhore of the Indus; and the combat could not even have laſted as long as it did, had not Genghiz Khan, who wiſhed to take the ſultaun priſoner, ordered his ſoldiers not to touch his perſon. Jelaleddin was going to make one laſt effort with ſeventy horſe, which were all that remained of his army; and juſt as he was throwing himſelf into the thickeſt of the battle, he was ſtopped by Agaz Mulk, his nephew, who taking hold of the bridle of his horſe, repeated the following verſes.

Do not engage yourſelf raſhly amongſt theſe who ſurpaſs you ſo much in number:

For you will be accuſed of folly, like unto one who ſtrikes the edge of a razor with his fiſt.

At theſe words the ſultaun turned his horſe, and, having gained an eminence of difficult acceſs, he took leave of his children, and plunged into the Indus, with the braveſt of his ſoldiers who would not abandon him. He ſwam boldly acroſs this wide river, in the ſight of Genghiz Khan, and all his army, who ſhot a number of arrows at him without once wounding him. The Tartars were going to follow him acroſs the water, but Genghiz Khan prevented them.

When the ſultaun had paſſed the great current of the river, he was obliged to go a conſiderable way further to find a part of the ſhore which he could aſcend, the banks of this river being almoſt every where very high: at laſt he landed ſafely, and ſpread his clothes and the trappings of his horſe in the ſun to dry: he then had time to obſerve that the Tartars were pillaging his camp, and particularly the harem, (which is the place where the women are kept,) and that Genghiz Khan was biting his fingers with vexation that the ſultaun had eſcaped him.

This conqueror, however, did not the leſs admire the great courage of the ſultaun; but turning to his children he ſpoke theſe words: "there is a ſon worthy of his father! happy is he who has ſuch children!" A poet ſays of him: "one has never yet ſeen a man of his ſtamp in the world, and one has never yet heard of one like him in paſt ages. He was as formidable as a lion in the field, and he was not leſs terrible than a crocodile in the water."

This memorable action of Jelaleddin's happened in the year of the Hejirah 618; (A. D. 1221.) There were but ſeven of his people ſaved with him; all the reſt were either drowned or killed by the arrows of the Tartars in that famous paſſage. He, however, with only theſe ſeven men began collecting troops together, and at the end of two years made head with a powerful army, with

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which he invaded Hindustán, and subjugated the greatest part of the provinces of Lahore and Moultan. This fact is confirmed by Ferishta. When he heard that Genghiz Khan had repassed the Gihon with his Moguls, and that he had taken the road to Tartary, he repassed the Indus, and re-entered Persia the year of the Hejirah 621, by the southern provinces of Karzan, and of Makran.

As soon as he returned to Persia, all governors of the provinces of Fars and Persian Irac came to salute him, and do him fresh homage. The people received him with loud acclamations, and went all about singing the following verses:—

We see by this flambeau a certain presage of happiness which returns to our land; a new light, which restores to the world, plunged in the darkness of profound night, the wonted splendour it had lost.

Kemaleddin Ismael, an excellent poet, composed a very fine ode, to celebrate Jelaleddin's return, the public joy, and his own in particular: the following verses appear to me most remarkable:—

All the earth is restored to its former condition, the cities are rebuilt, the plains are cultivated, as soon as the pavilions of the sultaun are pitched, and that even their shade falls upon them.

It is this great Emperor Jelaleddin, the glory and the support of the state, and of religion, whom God has chosen to govern the universe; because he respects more the maxims of the Koran, than those of the Cross, and that he has not permitted the sound of the bells of the Christians to echo in our mosques.

It is his arm which has fortified that of the law, and has executed what the divine decree had ordained concerning the destruction of the Barbarians and of the Infidels.

We may learn, says D'Herbelot, by these verses, that many of the Tartars were Christians, and that God had made use of them as a scourge to punish the pride of the Mahommedans, and revenge the injuries the christian religion had sustained; and this appears still more by the miserable termination of the life of Jelaleddin.

The year of the Hejirah 625, the sultaun delivered from the fear of the Tartars, undertook the conquest of Gurgistan or Georgia. The king of that country was well prepared to give him battle, and marched to meet him with an army greatly superior to his. Jelaleddin ascended an eminence, in order to reconnoitre the camp of the enemy, and perceived that the advanced guard were Khorosanians, the people of the open country which extends from the Indus to the northern shore of the Caspian sea.

These people had revolted during the reign of the sultaun Mahommed, and were forgiven at the intercession of his son prince Jelaleddin: they had not forgotten this favour, and the sultaun, wishing to profit by their gratitude in this conjuncture, sent them some bread and salt, to remind them of the alliance he had formed with them. This succeeded so well, that the Khorosanians, ashamed of fighting against their benefactor, abandoned the Georgians, and went over to him.

It may be here remarked, that the ceremony of presenting bread and salt is common in the East, and is a testimony of friendship and hospitality. The Arabs have a custom peculiar to themselves, which is that of giving drink to those who have any suspicion of them, thereby to assure them of the sincerity of their friendship.

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When the Khorosanians came over to the sultaun, he sent an express to the Georgians, signifying that he did not wish to avail himself of the defection of the Khorosanians, and that he granted them a truce of a day, in order to negociate a reconciliation. In this interval, some of the bravest in both camps appeared at the head of the troops, and defied each other to single combat.

The sultaun, wishing to partake of this military glory without being known, disguised his person as much as possible, and then taking the habit of a simple cavalier, and going by another road, he arrived amongst the other chiefs belonging to his camp, without being recognized. As soon as Jelaleddin appeared, a Georgian well mounted advanced towards him; but the sultaun, with the first stroke of his lance, threw him from his horse: and three more blows were sufficient to do the same thing to the three sons who succeeded their father in the combat.

After this, a man of unusual height, and of wonderful strength, presented himself; he might have been taken for a giant, and gave the sultaun repeated and severe blows; these he either sustained or parried with marvellous force and address; but his horse, which was extremely spirited, was very near tumbling with him.

This accident determined him to dismount, and he boldly waited on foot for the assault of his enemy;—at the same moment that the Georgian came on, meditating another blow, the sultaun hit him with his lance in the middle of the forehead, and threw him dead at his feet.

At the sight of this last action, the troops of both armies, who were silently looking on at the combat, gave loud shouts of wonder and applause, every one acknowledged; that this valiant champion had an arm *feel-afkhan*, that is to say, an arm able to overthrow an elephant: but the sultaun was not content with the empty praise given to his valour; he wished to avail himself of the panic into which he had thrown the enemy's troops: he commanded his men to charge, and gained so complete and decisive a victory over them, that he became master of the whole country.

The sultaun having entered Teflis, the capital city of Georgia, heard that Borák, governor of the province of Kerman, who was formerly commander of his guard, had shewn symptoms of disobedience; he had been accustomed, during the war with the Tartars, to act independently, and the sultaun feared this disobedience would break out into open rebellion; he therefore resolved to set off immediately and take him by surprise; this he did, taking only three hundred horse; he arrived at Kerman in seventeen days, before Borák knew he had left Teflis.

This extraordinary diligence of the sultaun so surprised Borák, as to unfit him for making any defence; so that he was obliged, says our historian, to deliver his head up to his master, who chased from it all those fumes of pride and presumption which had filled it. Kemaleddin Ismael, speaking of this expedition to the sultaun, said, "What other king but you, of all the kings in the world, ever fed his horses at Teflis, and then gave them to drink of the waters which run into the Oman.

"Why would Borák, who knew that your valour had carried you from Hindustan to Georgia, make you return from the north, to conquer him in the south!"

The

The year of the Hejirah 624, the army of the ſultaun, and that of the Tartars, met near Iſpahan; but retired without any engagement, as if by mutual conſent: the Tartars retired to Khoroſan; and Gait-ed-din, brother to the ſultaun, took flight, abandoning his equipage, and the baggage of all the army. The inhabitants of Iſpahan ſeeing this confuſion, run to pillage; but the Cazy Rocnoddin prevented them, promiſing them, at the ſame time, that if the ſultaun did not appear in a very ſhort time, which he named, he would leave them at liberty to do as they pleaſed. The ſultaun arrived at the time named by the Cazy, having come with incredible diſpatch, and thus ſaved his baggage.

The year of the Hejirah 627, Jelaleddin took Khalat, a town of Armenia, by ſurpriſe; but the ſultauns, Mulk-al-Aſhrof, Alla-eddin, and Kaikobad, attacked the ſultaun, who came out of Khalat with forty thouſand men, and gave them battle. He was, however, unſucceſsful. The two armies having kept their ſtations the whole night, the battle was renewed in the morning; but the ſultaun loſt the whole of his army, and was obliged to fly to Iſpahan.

In 628, the ſultaun hearing that Giarmagun, who had ſucceeded, in the year 624, to Genghiz Khan his father, had paſſed the Gihon with a powerful army of Moguls, and was coming into Perſia, ſent to the Kalif, and to Mulk-al-Aſhrof and Kaikobad, for aſſiſtance: but all theſe princes refuſed to give him the leaſt help. He therefore went into Meſopotamia, where he gave himſelf up to debauchery. There he was ſurpriſed by the Moguls, and obliged to fly, accompanied by only two or three of his ſervants: it is ſaid in this flight he was deſpoiled and killed by a Curd, who found him aſleep.

Such are the principal particulars related of this celebrated hero.

An ACCOUNT *of the* RANAH *of* GOHUD.

GOHUD was about fifty years ago a ſmall village in the purgunnah of Kiltouky, and chuclah of Gualior, which compoſes the ſouthern diviſion of the Agra ſoubaſhip. The ranah's anceſtors were zemindars of this village and ſome others; but of no note, till within the laſt thirty or forty years: they were Jauts of the Bumrowly tribe; and khan, now become a little more reſpectable, was only a nick-name, which took its riſe from one of the family who had the misfortune to be blind of one eye, which is ſignified in the Hindu language by the word *kaunnah*: there are two accounts of the affixing this appellation, both which are equally ridiculous, but ſerve as proofs that the title of ranah is not an ancient honour in the Gohud family.

One of the ranah's anceſtors, blind of one eye, had the fidelity and courage to reſcue his maſter, a principal rajah, from the claws of a lion, which attacked him when hunting; the rajah, among other praiſes for ſuch a ſervice, obſerved, that though a kaunnah, he was worthy to be ranah.

The other account is, that the kaunnah was ploughing his field, when one of the emperors, then

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reſident at Gualior, on a hunting party, in the heat of the chaſe outrode his attendants, and left them behind at a conſiderable diſtance; the game taking away acroſs the kaunnah's ground, the emperor followed, but was ſtopped by him, and abuſed by him for injuring his property: the emperor, amuſed at the novelty of ſuch boldneſs, ſtopped to talk with him; but the rough Jaut continued his abuſe, till the prince's attendants came into ſight, and even then was diſreſpectful; for which they would have puniſhed him, but were ordered to deſiſt by the emperor, who praiſed him for his boldneſs in defending his property, obſerving, that though a kaunnah, he was worthy to be a ranah:—ſuch are the accounts of the origin of this title, in the family of the Gohud zemindars.

Beem Sing, paternal uncle to the preſent ranah, for ſome crime againſt the ſtate, was deprived of his lands by the imperial aumil, the rajah of Bhind; after which he entered, with his followers, into the ſervice of Bajeerow, the Mahratta, and behaved ſo gallantly as to attract the notice of that chief, who employed him, as beſt acquainted with the country, in plundering the frontiers of his old enemy, the rajah of Bhind.

On this ſervice he gave ſo much ſatisfaction to the Bajeerow, that, as a reward, he reſtored him to his zemindary, to which he alſo added ſome villages. Beem Sing's firſt care was to ſtrengthen the Gohuds, and he accordingly fortified it as it now ſtands: for ſome years he continued a faithful vaſſal to the Mahrattas, but his acquiſition of the fort of Gualior, in oppoſition to their attempts to gain it, loſt him their friendſhip, and occaſioned an enmity, which ſtill ſubſiſts between them and his ſucceſſors.

In the reign of Ahmed Shah, when the weakneſs of the empire became univerſal, and each chief aſſumed independence, the lands round the fort of Gualior, from the revenues of which the garriſon was ſupported, were ſeized upon by the Mahrattas, and different zemindars. The kelladar Kiſhwar Alli Khan, diſtreſſed for money to pay his troops, and receiving no aſſiſtance from the court, notwithſtanding his frequently repeated demands, found it vain to ſtarve behind walls which in the end he muſt be obliged to quit. The Mahrattas offered him a large ſum, and an ample jaghire, to give up the fort; but theſe he refuſed, from a ſmall remaining principle of loyalty.

He thought, if the Mahrattas got poſſeſſion, that they had power to keep it againſt any army the emperor might ſend to retake it; but that if he ſurrendered it to the Gohud zemindar, and the empire ſhould, at a future period, be ſomewhat ſettled, he might at any time be forced to reſtore it by the royal force.

This idea, with an offer from Beem Sing to ſettle a firm in perpetuity upon his family, occaſioned his giving up Gualior to him, in preference to the Mahrattas, who, enraged at this important fortreſs being ſnatched from their hands by a creature of their own raiſing, vowed ſevere vengeance againſt him: Buttul Row led an army againſt it, and the Ranah Beem Sing was ſlain in a ſally which he made upon the enemy's camp. Biljoo Sing, his brother, and father to the preſent ranah, ſucceeded to the zemindary, and fixed his

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his reſidence at Gualior, but imprudently left his family at Gohud, which occaſioned the loſs of this important fortreſs.

The Mahrattas, finding they could effect nothing againſt Gualior, thought the ſureſt way of obtaining it would be to beſiege Gohud; and it was accordingly ſurrounded by a large army, but defended with great gallantry for ſix months; at the end of which period, ſeveral practicable breaches being made, the Mahrattas ſent a meſſage to Biljoo Sing, that if he did not immediately ſurrender Gualior, Gohud ſhould be ſtormed, and all the inhabitants put to the ſword, not excepting *his wife* and *family:* with theſe threats was alſo ſent an offer of peace, and a promiſe, if Gualior was given up, to protect him in his zemindary, to which ſhould be added one hundred villages. Biljoo Sing, alarmed for his family, accepted the terms, evacuated Gualior, of which the Mahrattas took poſſeſſion, but religiouſly performed the promiſe they had made. Ranah Biljoo Sing remained in quiet poſſeſſion of Gohud, and its dependencies, and dying about four years after the loſs of Gualior, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Portal Sing, who lived only one year afterwards, and was ſucceeded by his brother, Chutter Sing, now on the raje.

The deciſive action of Panniput having ſo much weakened the Mahrattas, as to prevent their ſupplying their poſſeſſions, on this ſide of India, properly with troops, many of the tributaries ſhook off their allegiance; and among theſe the ranah Chutter Sing was the moſt forward and ſucceſsful: he drove their *tannas* from places in the Nerwar and Bhind territories, great part of which he ſeized from thoſe rajahs, and affixed to his own. The Mahrattas ſent various chiefs againſt him, ſome of whom he defeated, bribed others to quit the country without coming to action; and, in ſhort, he became ſo formidable that the Poonah miniſtry judged it adviſeable to ſend againſt him a large army, which might at once cruſh the power he had aſſumed, and ſettle other parts of their dominions.

Rogonaut Row, in 1766, entered his country with an army of eighty thouſand horſe; and the ranah, unable to appear in the field, took ſhelter in Gohud, which was ſurrounded ſoon after by this vaſt army. The ranah made a very gallant defence for near ſeven months; but all the proviſions in the place being exhauſted at the end of that period, he was on the point of begging to capitulate, when, contrary to expectation, Rogonaut Row himſelf offered, for a ſum of three lacks of rupees, to raiſe the ſiege, and leave him unmoleſted in his zemindary. The cauſe of this extraordinary clemency was intelligence the chief had received from Poonah, that his enemies had uſurped his authority at that place, and were plotting his deſtruction, ſo that he thought it neceſſary to return immediately to the Deccan with his army.

The ranah received this gracious and unhoped for offer with joy, paid the money, and viſited Rogonaut Row, who received him graciouſly, exchanged turbans with him, (a mark of friendſhip,) and adopted him as his ſon; after which he marched from Gohud, and proceeded to the Deccan. Chutter Sing, releaſed from his long blockade, and elated with the credit he had acquired by reſiſting

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ſo principal a chief as Rogonaut Row, with ſo capital an army, immediately on the enemy's quitting the country, put himſelf at the head of his troops, and laid ſiege to ſeveral of the ſmaller forts in which tannas guard had been left; thoſe ſoon fell into his hands, the enemy being ſo much alarmed at the ſudden retreat of their chief, that they made but very little reſiſtance.

In 1771, when the emperor marched from Allahabad to Delhi, Chutter Sing ſent his majeſty a nuzzer of a lack of rupees; and it is ſaid obtained the royal ſunnuds from his conqueſt, and an altumgah, or free gift, of his zemindary: ſoon after, by the interpoſition of Nujeeph Khan, he was honoured with patents of nobility, and the title of Maha Rajah Ranah, Servee Sewa, Loke Inder Chutter Sing, bahauder, Dillier Jung. Nujeeph Khan was at this time planning his deſign to root out the Jauts, and wiſhed for the preſent to make the ranah his friend, in hopes that he would aſſiſt his ambitious views.

On the other hand, the Jauts endeavoured to gain him over, and repreſented that his ruin muſt follow theirs: Chutter Sing promiſed Nujeeph Khan to ſtand neuter, but privately aſſiſted the Jauts with troops: Nujeeph Khan hence became the ranah's ſecret enemy, but his hands were too full for him to find leiſure to act againſt him.

In 1773, luckily for the ranah, the vizier drove the Mahrattas from the chucklah of Ettawa, and all their poſſeſſions north of the Jumnah: his ſucceſs led him to entertain the idea of puſhing his conqueſts as far as the Nurbuddah; in proſecuting which, he thought the ranah might be ſerviceable; he invited him to an interview at Ettawa, where he diſtinguiſhed him by much favour and additional honours, among which was permiſſion to uſe the fiſh in his colours, and to ride in the fringed palankeen. In ſhort, Sujah ul Dowlah omitted nothing to bind him to his intereſt, and condeſcended to adopt him for his ſon, gave him muſquets for two battalions of ſepoys, and promiſed to ſecure him in his poſſeſſions.

In return for all theſe favours, the ranah gave the nabob a nuzzer of one lack and twenty thouſand rupees; alſo a promiſe to aſſiſt him with his whole force, in extending his conqueſts beyond the Nurbuddah: a plan of operations being ſettled, they parted, mutually pleaſed with each other; and Sujah ul Dowlah ſoon after ſent Naun Khan to attack the Mahrattas on the ſouth of the Jumna; and the ranah was deſired to act in concert, but he only ſent a ſmall party of his troops, under pretence that his own territories were in danger. Naun Khan had no military abilities, and though at firſt he ſeized many places, yet he was defeated by the firſt troops ſent againſt him; he patched up a diſgraceful peace, and retreated in confuſion acroſs the Jumna.

This happened in June 1774, and, in the following year, Sujah ul Dowlah died, which put an end to further projects, the inroads of the Ghooſains being more on their own accounts than their maſters. From this period, the ranah, engaged in war with the Mahrattas, muſt ſoon have fallen, had not Col. Leſlie's detachment drawn off his enemies, to attend to his manœuvres. He thought this a fit period to attempt the recovery of Guaſior, and accordingly marched from Gohud with his

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his army, and encamped about a coſs from the place, which he endeavoured to cut off from receiving ſupplies; but the kelladar, a gallant young man, made repeated ſallies on his camp, in which he was generally very ſucceſsful; ſo that during five months the ranah was able to effect nothing: he did indeed one night ſurpriſe the town, but was obliged to retreat a few hours after he had entered it. Prior to this ſiege he had concluded a treaty with Nujeeph Khan, who agreed, for an annual ſubſidy of five lacks of rupees, to put him in poſſeſſion of Gualior, but only ſent five hundred horſe to his aſſiſtance; and they, after two months, not receiving the ſtated pay, quitted his camp and returned to Agra.

During this period the ranah's brother, Mirjood Sing, entered into conſpiracy againſt him; but the ranah, having timely intelligence, returned ſuddenly to Gohud, and, by confining the heads of the conſpiracy, and impriſoning his brother, put an end to the plot. At the end of five months the ranah patched up a treaty with the Mahrattas, and quitted his deſign againſt Gualior; and this was the laſt effort he was able to make againſt his enemies.

In the latter end of 1778, an army of Mahrattas, conſiſting of about twelve thouſand horſe, and two thouſand nuggars, or fakiers, under the chiefs Hindoo, and Row Appa, foujedars of Belſah, Ambajee, and Kumbut Row, marched againſt him; the ranah, whoſe troops, from being long in arrears, were grown mutinous and diſaffected, ſenſible of his inability to cope with the enemy, viewed with terror his approaching ruin; but his good fortune once more aſſiſted him, in pointing out a path, by following which his affairs were retrieved, and acquired a ſplendour unknown to him before.

Meer Muzhir Alli, a ſervant of the ranah, by his correſpondence at Calcutta, obtained intelligence of the governor's wiſh to unite the forces of the different rajahs with thoſe of the Engliſh againſt the Mahrattas in the preſent war; he made known this information to his maſter, adviſed him to aſk an alliance with the Engliſh and offered himſelf to go as ambaſſador and negociate a treaty at Calcutta: the ranah gave him the neceſſary credentials, as his envoy, with power to conclude a treaty on the beſt terms he could obtain from government.

Meer Muzhir Alli, on his arrival at Calcutta, found the diſpoſition of Mr. Haſtings favourable to his hopes, and he loſt no time in forwarding the buſineſs; he magnified the power and abilities of the ranah, repreſenting the long war he had ſupported againſt the Mahrattas in the moſt favourable light, for his conduct and courage, and exaggerated on his influence with the ranah of Odipore, the rajahs of Jodepoor, Jeypoor, and all the princes whom Mr. Haſtings wiſhed to unite in carrying on the war.

A CHARACTER *of the* SIEKS. *From the Obſervations of Colonel* POLIER *and Mr.* FORSTER.

THE Sieks are in general ſtrong and well made; accuſtomed from their infancy to the moſt laborious life, and hardeſt fare, they make marches and undergo fatigues that really appear aſtoniſhing. In their excur-

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excurſions they carry no tents or baggage, except perhaps a ſmall tent for the principal officer: the reſt ſhelter themſelves under blankets, which ſerve them alſo in the cold weather to wrap themſelves in, and which, on a march, cover their ſaddles. They have commonly two, ſome of them three horſes each, of the middle ſize, ſtrong, active, and mild tempered. The provinces of Lahore and Moultan, noted for a breed of the beſt horſes in Hinduſtan, afford them an ample ſupply; and indeed they take the greateſt care to increaſe it by all means in their power. Though they make merry on the demiſe of any of their brethren, they mourn for the death of a horſe: thus ſhewing their love of an animal ſo neceſſary to them in their profeſſional capacity. The food of the Sieks is of the coarſeſt kind, and ſuch as the pooreſt people in Hinduſtan uſe from neceſſity. Bread baked in aſhes, and ſoaked in a maſh made of different ſorts of pulſe, is the beſt diſh, and ſuch as they never indulge in but when at full leiſure; otherwiſe vetches and tares, haſtily parched, is all they care for. They abhor ſmoaking tobacco, for what reaſon I cannot diſcover; but intoxicate themſelves freely with ſpirits of their own country manufacture: a cup of the laſt they never fail taking after a fatigue at night. Their dreſs is extremely ſcanty; a pair of long blue drawers, and a kind of checquered plaid, a part of which is faſtened round the waiſt, and the other thrown over the ſhoulder, with a mean turban, form their clothing and equipage. The chiefs are diſtinguiſhed by wearing ſome heavy gold bracelets on their wriſts, and ſometimes a chain of the ſame metal bound round their turbans, and by being mounted on better horſes: otherwiſe, no diſtinction appears amongſt them.—The chiefs are numerous, ſome of whom have the command of ten or twelve thouſand cavalry; but this power is confined to a ſmall number, the inferior officers maintaining from one to two thouſand, and many not more than twenty or thirty horſes, a certain quota of which is furniſhed by the chief, the greater part being the individual property of the horſemen.

From the ſpirit of independence ſo invariably infuſed amongſt them, their mutual jealouſy, and rapacious roving temper, the Sieks at this day are ſeldom ſeen co-operating in national concert; but actuated by the influence of an individual ambition or private diſtruſt, they purſue ſuch plans only as coincide with theſe motives. An example of their forces being engaged in oppoſite intereſts, has been noticed in the caſe of Mhah Sing, who ſuccoured the rajah of Jumbo, againſt the Siek party who had invaded his country. Before the chiefs of the mountaineers country, at the head of the Panjab, were reduced to a tributary ſtate, ſevere depredations were committed on them by the Sieks, who plundered and deſtroyed their habitations, carried off the cattle, and, if ſtrong and well formed, the male children, who were made converts to the faith of Nanock. But ſince the payment of a fixed tribute has been ſtipulated, which does not amount to more than five per cent. on the revenue, the mountaineers are little moleſted, except when the Sieks have been called in to adjuſt their domeſtic quarrels.

The extenſive and fertile territories of the Sieks, and their attachment and application, in the midſt of warfare, to the occupations of

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of agriculture, muſt evidently produce a large revenue. The diſtricts dependant on Lahore, in the reign of Aurungzebe, produced, according to Mr. Bernier, a revenue of two hundred forty-ſix lacks and ninety-five thouſand rupees; and we are naturally led to ſuppoſe, from the induſtrious ſkill of the Sieks in the various branches of cultivation, that no great decreaſe of that amount can have taken place ſince the Panjab has fallen into their poſſeſſion.

An extenſive and valuable commerce is alſo maintained in their country, which has been extended to diſtant quarters of India, particularly to the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, where many Siek merchants of opulence at this time reſide. The Omichund, who took ſo active, though unfortunate, a ſhare in the revolution which the Engliſh effected in Bengal, was a Siek, as is his adopted ſon, who is now an inhabitant of Calcutta. Merchants of every nation or ſect, who may introduce a traffic into their territories, or are eſtabliſhed under their government, experience a full protection, and enjoy commercial privileges in common with their own ſubjects. At the ſame time it muſt be noticed, that ſuch immunities are granted only to thoſe who remain amongſt them, or import wares for the immediate ſupply of the Siek markets. But the foreign traders, or even travellers, who attempt to paſs through the Panjab, are often plundered and uſually ill-treated: in the event of no moleſtation being offered to people of this deſcription, the eſcape is ever ſpoken of with a degree of joyful ſurpriſe, and a thankſgiving is offered to Providence for the ſingular eſcape. This conduct, inimical to the progreſs of civilization, and an impediment to the influx of wealth, proceeds from an extreme jealouſy of ſtrangers, added to a rapacity of temper, which make them averſe to the encouragement of any ſcheme in whoſe ſucceſs they do not immediately participate.

The Sieks are not rigorous in their ſtipulations with the Mahommedan proſelytes, who, if they abſtain from beef's fleſh, (which is held in equal abhorrence by the Sieks as by the Hindus,) and perform the more oſtenſible duties, as burning their dead, and preſerving the hair of the head, an indulgent latitude is granted in all the other articles of the creed of Nanock. The Mahommedans who reſide in the Panjab are ſubject to occaſional oppreſſion, and often to the inſult of the lower claſſes of the people; among whom it is not an uncommon practice to defile the places of worſhip, by throwing in the carcaſſes of hogs and other things held impure by the Muſſulman law. The Mahommedans are alſo prohibited from announcing their ſtated time of prayer, which, conformably to their uſage, is proclaimed in a loud tone of voice. A Siek who in the chaſe ſhall have ſlain a wild hog, is frequently known to compel the firſt Mahommedan he meets to carry to his home the body of the animal; and, on being initiated into the rites of their religion, the Sieks will ſometimes require a Mahommedan convert to bind on his arm the tuſk of a boar, that by this act of national impurity he may the more avowedly teſtify a renunciation and contempt of his former faith. Theſe facts will ſufficiently mark the haughty and inſulting demeanor, which, with few deviations, forms a prominent feature in the character of the military Sieks: but we may alſo aſcribe a certain

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certain portion of their ſevere and contumelious treatment of the Mahommedans, to a remembrance of recent injuries.

The diſcordant intereſts which agitate the Sick nation, and the conſtitutional genius of the people, muſt incapacitate them, during the exiſtence of theſe cauſes, from becoming a formidable, defenſive power; nor are they inveſted with that ſpecies of executive ſtrength which is neceſſary to advance and eſtabliſh a diſtant conqueſt. In the defence and recovery of their country, the Sieks diſplayed a courage of the moſt obſtinate kind, and manifeſted a perſeverance, under the preſſure of calamities, which bear an ample teſtimony of native reſource, when the common danger had rouſed them to action, and gave but one impulſe to their ſpirit. Should any future cauſe call forth the combined efforts of the Sieks to maintain the exiſtence of empire and religion, we may ſee ſome ambitious chief, led on by his genius and ſucceſs, and, abſorbing the power of his aſſociates, diſplay from the ruins of their commonwealth the ſtandard of monarchy. The page of hiſtory is filled with the like effects, ſpringing from the like cauſes. Under ſuch a form of government, I have little heſitation in ſaying, that the Sieks would be ſoon advanced to the firſt rank amongſt the native princes of Hinduſtan, and would become a terror to the ſurrounding ſtates.

An ACCOUNT *of the* JAUTS.

FROM the Chumbul, about twenty coſs ſouth of Agra, eaſt to the Jumna, weſt to the Jeypoor rajahſhip, and northward to the Delhi boundary, being about eighty coſs in length, and from twenty to twenty-five in breadth, lie the territories of Nujeeph Khan, lately wreſted by him from the Jauts, from whom theſe countries are called the Birge and Jautwaree.

The Jauts were of no note, as a people, until the reign of the emperor Ferrokſeer, but peaceable renters of ſmall zemindaries. During the reign of the emperor Aurungzebe, Churamana, a Jaut of the Sewennee tribe, put himſelf at the head of a body of banditti, and plundered ſuch travellers as paſſed near his zemindary: having by this means acquired money, and being generous to his followers, idle fellows of no principle flocked to be enliſted among them; ſo that he became a terror to the country round, which, from the emperor's abſence in the Deccan, was but rather looſely governed: whenever he was hard puſhed by the troops of the aumils, he took refuge in the Nerwar hills, flying from place to place, till the patience of his purſuers was tired out, or they were called away by other duty.

In Aurungzebe's laſt march towards the Deccan, Churamana had the audacity to plunder the baggage following the imperial army, by which he acquired much wealth: with part he bribed the ſubahdar of Agra to connivance, and with the reſt built the fortreſs of Bhirtpoore, as an aſylum for his family.

On the death of Aurungzebe, in the diſputes which happened concerning the ſucceſſion, Churamana, with his followers, hung on the rear

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rears of the contending armies, plundering from both. At length the nabob Jooul Fucear al Dowlah, prime minister to the emperor Jehander Shah, entertained him in his service; and he behaved with great gallantry in the engagement between that prince and his rival, Ferrokseer; who, however, proving victorious, Churamana lost his court-patron, but retired with much plunder to Bhirtpoore; round which, to a considerable distance, he had established his authority, which he enjoyed undisturbed to his death; the cabals of the omrahs at court affording no time to retrieve the internal œconomy of the empire, which was now beginning to totter on its base.

Churamana was succeeded by his son, Mahommed Sing, who at first added to his possessions, but was in the end obliged to become tributary to Jey Sing, the founder of the city of Jeypoore. Mohun Sing was succeeded by his brother, Bodun Sing, who first assumed the title of Rajah; and during the growing imbecility of Mahommed Shah's reign, spread his ravages to the very walls of Agra: he secured his country from the tribute imposed by the Jeypoore rajah, and left to his son and successor, Sooraje Mull, a very rich, extensive and flourishing country.

Sooraje Mull modelled his government into a proper form, and procured titles from the weak emperor Mahommed Shah, who now became a mere pageant, was forced to accept of the nominal submission of those rebels, who were praying on the very vitals of his authority, and only courted honours from him as a grace to their plunders. Now become an omrah of consequence, from the territories he possessed so near the capital, Sooraje Mull was much caressed by the various parties formed in it. He embraced that of Sufder Jung, the vizier, and joined him in his rebellion against Ahmed Shah, who had degraded him from the vizerut, for assassinating his favourite, the nabob bahauder.

Sufder Jung being defeated in his treasons, by the spirited conduct of the great, but wicked, Ghaze ud Deen, and the gallant Rohillah, Nujeeb ul Dowlah, retired to his own government at Oude, leaving his friends to make peace for themselves. Sooraje Mull, unable to keep the field, fled to his new fortress of Combeere; and Akebut Mahommed, the tutor and adviser of the young ghaze, ravaged his country with a powerful army, took Baleengur, a strong fort, and at length set down before Combeere, against which he was not able to effect any thing.

Ghaze ud Deen, upon this took the field himself, and brought with him an additional army of fifty thousand Mahrattas, under the command of Mathar Row and Rogonaut Row, whom he had taken into pay. Combeere was reduced to the greatest extremities, when the omrahs at Delhi, envious of the reputation of Ghaze ud Deen, and countenanced by the emperor, in whose cause he was engaged, conspired against him. Hearing of this, he broke up the siege, and hastened to Delhi with his whole army, which destroyed the plot intended against him.

Sooraje Mull now soon recovered what country had been taken; and, except the city of Agra, the fort of Gualior, and a few other places, seized most of the districts of the subahdary. In Ahmed Shah Abdallie's second invasion of Hindustan, his possessions were again over-run; but the numerous forts he

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he had conſtructed preſerved his power, and admitted only of predatory incurſions from the Durannee army, whoſe only aim was preſent plunder.

Soon after this, a vaſt army of Mahrattas, after plundering Malwa, Bunderbun, and Bhind, invaded Delhi ſubahſhip; and it was thought had intentions of entirely ſubverting the Mogul empire, and placing on the throne Biſnas Row, of the Bonſla family, whom they had brought from Sittarah for that purpoſe.

Sooraje Mull joined the Mahratta chiefs, and was treated by them with great diſtinction; but on Ahmed Abdallie's marching againſt them, and their fortifying themſelves at Paniput, he judged it more politic to take part with the Mahommedans, who, forgetting all their animoſities, had flocked in crowds to Abdallie's ſtandard, in order to oppoſe the common enemy. Sooraje Mull left the Mahratta camp, under pretence of going to ſecure them ſupplies of grain from his country; but no ſooner had he gotten out of reach, than he wrote a petition to the emperor Abdallie, expreſſing ſorrow for his paſt errors, and requeſting leave to waſh out the ſtains of his offences in the blood of the Mahrattas, under his ſtandard.

Ahmed Abdallie complied with the requeſt, and Sooraje Mull joined the allied army, which ſoon after defeated the Mahrattas ſo effectually, that few of them eſcaped from the field of battle; and, ſo deciſive was the blow, that for the ſucceeding ten years, the Mahrattas brought no army into the province of Agra, or Delhi, with a view of ſubduing it for themſelves.

Sooraje Mull was rewarded by Abdallie with a grant of the city and ſubahdary of Agra forced from the impatient Allumgeer Suni, who had been raiſed to the nominal poſſeſſion of the throne by Ghaze ud Deen, when he depoſed Ahmed Shah. On the Shah Abdallie's departure from Hinduſtan, Sooraje Mull raiſed a very conſiderable army, with a view to poſſeſs himſelf of Delhi, and deſpoil the army of Sujah ul Dowlah, who then acted as captain-general to the ruined empire: being too confident of ſucceſs, and deſpiſing his competitor, he forgot his uſual political caution, which occaſioned his ruin; having quitted his camp on a hunting-party, with only three hundred attendants, he was attacked by nearly the ſame number in the courſe of his diverſion, under Afzul Khan, detached for the purpoſe by Nujeeb ul Dowlah. Sooraje Mull was ſlain in the ſkirmiſh, and upon his death his army diſperſed.

His ſon, Jowalier Sing, ſucceeded him in the raje, and, ſoon after acceſſion, he, with Ghaze ud Deen and Mulhar Row, the Mahrattas, led an army againſt Delhi to revenge the death of his father: this city was reduced to the greateſt extremities, when Nujeeb ul Dowlah, by bribing Mathar Row, prevailed upon him to draw off his troops; after which Jowalier Sing thought proper to enter into a treaty.

Nujeeb ul Dowlah evacuated Delhi, and retired unmoleſted to his own jaghire; upon which Ghaze ud Deen Khan again took poſſeſſion of the city, and charge of the affairs of the ſhadow of a monarch, whom he ſhortly after aſſaſſinated for treating privately with the Durannee Shah.

Jowalier Sing next led his army againſt the territories of Jeypoore; the rajah of which, named Rootee Rajah, ſent againſt him one of his chiefs,

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chiefs, with an inferior force, but of choſen men. Jowalier Sing received a total defeat, and would have been taken priſoner but for the gallant behaviour of Sumroo. The deſerter and his troops, who on this occaſion ſhewed a valour becoming a much better cauſe, the Jeypoore Rajah looking only to the ſafety of his own territories, did not follow his victory; ſo that Jowalier Sing only ſuffered the diſgrace of a defeat, without loſing any part of his country; he was ſoon after aſſaſſinated by a Mogul to whom he had offered ſome injury.

Jowalier Sing was ſucceeded by his brother, Ruttun Sing, who did not rule long, being ſtabbed by a fakier, whom he had taken into his ſervice, to learn him the ſecret of the philoſopher's ſtone. The murder was committed in a lone room, into which no one was ever admitted but the rajah and his tutor; ſo that the aſſaſſin eſcaped unhurt, and the fact was not diſcovered until ſome hours afterwards.

Kiſſeree Sing, his ſon, an infant of one year, was placed upon the muſnud by the friends of his father; but the other chiefs diſliking minority, acknowledged the authority of Nawil Sing, third ſon of Sooraje Mull, who, however, took only the title of regent for his nephew.

Nujeeph Khan had by this time made ſome progreſs in the invaſion of the country; and Nawil Sing, though a very able prince, diſtracted as it was by inteſtine diviſions, was unable to ſtem the torrent of ill-fortune: after ſuffering ſeveral defeats in the field, he took ſhelter in the fort of Deeg, where he died of a dropſy, brought on by grief, while Nujeeph Khan was beſieging it in the year 1773 of our era.

Ranjeet Sing, his brother, was raiſed to the raje; but Daan Shah, a diſaffected chief of great power, uſurping his authority, he quitted Deeg, and retired with his followers to Combeere. The government being thus divided, Nujeeph Khan ſoon conquered the country, drove Daan Shah from Deeg, and then marched to Combeere; after the capture of which place, the Jaut raje was entirely ſubverted, and the rajah Ranjeet Sing reduced to the poſſeſſion of Bhirtpoor, and a ſmall diſtrict round it, of about ſeven lacks per annum.

Combeere was alſo given up, with a trifling tertitory, by Nujeeph Khan, to the widow of Jowalier Sing. The only Jaut chief now independent is the Rajah Ranah Chutter Sing, our ally.

CHARACTER *of the* MALAYS *in General.* *By* H. H. ELMORE, *Eſq.*

[This Account of the Malays merits Attention, as it is written by a Gentleman who had a conſtant Intercourſe with them for upwards of Sixteen Years.]

As the Malays have the character of a treacherous ſet of men, I would adviſe all people to be on their guard while in any of their ports; and when on ſhore never to be without a hanger in their hand. Every one of them go armed with a *creaſe*, (hanger), or a weapon ſomething like a chopper, and very ſharp. When you are prepared, they will not be ſo apt to inſult you, which the vulgar are ready enough to do.

It is in the power of any man

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to kill his own ſlave with impunity; and they are ſuch a daſtardly ſet, that they have not courage to reſent an affront perſonally, but will dreſs their ſlaves, and give them orders to kill any man they pitch upon, who, after being intoxicated with opium, is inſenſible of any danger he runs into, being equally at the riſque of his life, to return without executing his maſter's orders, or to be cut to pieces in the attempt.

Rice, fiſh, and fruit, are the common food of theſe people, who eat very little fleſh or animal food. They drink water, toddy, (a diſtillation from the palm-tree,) and coffee; and they chew beetle conſtantly. They eat but two meals a day, one in the morning, and the other about ſun-ſet; the latter of which is the principal. In the intermediate ſpace, they refreſh themſelves by chewing beetle, or ſmoaking tobacco mixed with opium. They ſit croſs-legged on the floor at their meals; and the better ſort have very low tables for their proviſions, which are ſet on them in China plates, or diſhes made of wood highly japanned; but they uſe neither knives or ſpoons. They have veſſels for the purpoſe of ſpitting in when they chew beetle, or ſmoak tobacco; and are particular in keeping their perſons and the inſide of their houſes clean. They have but little furniture, except the neceſſary utenſils for cooking their proviſions, and carpets to ſleep and ſit upon; but they are very oſtentatious of diſplaying a great number of pillows, the ends of which are richly embroidered, and the whole covered with the richeſt ſilks. Theſe people are ſo little addicted to litigious diſputes, that they have neither lawyers, attornies, nor bailiffs. If any diſputes or differences ariſe, the parties apply perſonally to the judge, (or *carrangue*), who determines the matter with expedition and equity.

In ſome matters, particularly of a criminal nature, they are permitted to do juſtice to themſelves. If a man deteſts another in the commiſſion of adultery, murder, or robbery, he has a right to execute juſtice himſelf, by deſtroying the culprit; the weapon in theſe caſes is invariably the creaſe or dagger.

The Malays are all ſtrict Mahommedans, which religion they are particularly tenacious of infringing. Many of them are great pretenders to magic, and carry charms about them, on a ſuppoſition of their ſecuring them from every danger.

The common people have no other covering than a ſmall piece of linen faſtened round the waiſt; but the better ſort wear a kind of waiſtcoat, made of ſilk or broad-cloath, over which they throw a looſe garment of ſilk that reaches to the knees; they alſo wear a pair of drawers, but wear neither ſhirt, ſhoes, or ſtockings; and when they go abroad, they always wear a creaſe or dagger, and a handkerchief tied in a peculiar way round the head.

The *ſalaam*, or lifting the hands to the head with the palms joined together, until the thumbs touch the forehead, and bending the body, is their mode of ſalutation. When they appear before their ſuperiors, they raiſe their hands above the forehead; and if before a prince, they proſtrate themſelves on the ground, with the forehead reſting on their hands, which are ſtill joined, and retire backwards on their knees.

The natives pay great homage to their princes and rajahs, and it is difficult for a ſtranger to get acceſs to them: the readieſt means to effect

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fect this is, by complimenting them with ſome valuable preſent; and the ſtranger will be treated with reſpect according to the preſent he makes, avarice being their ruling paſſion. The return is generally made in fruit, and a few fowls; but if the ſtranger, at the time of making the preſent, is a great diſtance from his ſhip, or living on ſhore near the palace, for the convenience of trade, he is ſent ſome rice, pillaw, and fiſh from the prince's table.

It is an univerſal cuſtom, both with men and women, to bathe in a river, at leaſt once a day; this makes them all expert ſwimmers, which not only promotes health, but prevents that contraction of filth which would be otherwiſe unavoidable in a hot climate.

They are ſo proud and revengeful, and ſo indolent, that they will neither endeavour to improve themſelves in arts, ſciences, or huſbandry, but ſuffer their manufactures to be neglected, and their lands to lie without cultivation.

CHARACTER *of the* INHABITANTS *of the* MALDIVY ISLANDS. *By a Gentleman who has visited those Islands.*

THE Maldivy iſlands are ſuppoſed to have been peopled from the iſland of Ceylon, though I do not find that the Maldivians reſemble the Cingaleſe; for they are black, and not ſo well ſhaped as the Maldivians, who are of an olive colour. Though the manners of the Maldivians be rude, they are nevertheleſs an ingenious people; ſagacious and expert in many manufactures, and ſkilled in aſtrology, which ſcience they probably acquired by the intercourſe which has immemorially ſubſiſted between them and the natives of Hinduſtan. They are diſcreet and prudent, clever in trade, and diſcerning in the affairs of life. They are brave and reſolute, dexterous at their weapons, and orderly in their manners.

Their women are beautiful, though of an olive colour; ſome, however, are as white as Europeans: their hair is black, which they admire, and they keep their children ſhaved from the eighth day of their birth, till they are nine or ten years old, leaving a ſmall edge of hair on the foreheads of the girls to diſtinguiſh them from the boys: they ſuppoſe that this makes the hair grow blacker. Indeed they conſider their hair as their greateſt ornament, and take great pains to make it grow thick and black: when it is not naturally thick, they add falſe to it, and to make it blacker, waſh it with a ſort of lie twice or thrice a-week; they then rub it with a very ſweet oil, and afterwards faſten it all back with a ſort of hoop, reſembling in ſhape a taylor's thimble; this hoop is either of gold or ſilver, and thoſe that can afford it have it in jewels. When the hair is thus bound back, to finiſh the head-dreſs, they twine round it ſweet ſmelling flowers. All this is done with great exactneſs, though without a comb, for they have none.

Both men and women waſh their bodies every day, and afterwards rub themſelves with the ſame oil uſed for the hair.

The men are not allowed to wear

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wear their hair long: this is a privilege granted only to gentlemen, the king's servants, and soldiers, who wear it as long as the women, and take equal pains in perfuming and dreſſing it; with this difference only, that the men bind their hair on one ſide, or on the top of the head, and not behind the head like the women. They ſhave themſelves, for they have no barbers by profeſſion: uſe, I ſuppoſe, renders their ſkins hard; for they wet their faces with cold water, and then ſhave with razors which have very little edge; nor do they ſet any value on our ſharp razors: they ſhave their beards cloſe; but the churchmen and thoſe who have been at the pilgrimage of Mecca and Medina Talnaby, wear long beards, ſhaving juſt round their lips, that what they eat or drink may not touch the hair: of this they have ſo great a horror, that I have ſeen them throw away a diſh they were eating, on finding a hair in it.

They carefully preſerve the parings of their nails, and clippings of their hair, and bury them in their church-yards.

The men go naked from the waiſt upwards, letting the hair grow on ſome parts of their bodies, and ſhaving others. The women are cloathed from the age of nine or ten; till then, they wear no garment, nothing but a coarſe calico cloth, reaching from their waiſt below the knees; this they wear from the time they begin to walk. The boys wear the ſame ſort of cloth from the age of ſeven, after they have been circumciſed.

The Maldivy iſlands lie in length from eight degrees of north latitude to four ſouth, being about 200 leagues in length, and 15 from Cape Comorin: theſe iſlands are divided into 17 cluſters of iſlands, called Atollons: theſe cluſters are moſt of them round, ſome oval; they are about 30 leagues in circumference, lying in a row from N. W. to S. E. ſeparated from each other by narrow channels, not navigable by ſhips of burden. Each of theſe cluſters of iſlands is ſurrounded by rocks, which form a wall all around, and admirably defend them from the ſea, which, when it runs high, riſes with great fury againſt theſe rocks.

There is a great intercourſe carried on amongſt theſe cluſters of iſlands, not only becauſe each of them affords ſomething peculiar to itſelf, but likewiſe from the cuſtom they have that each different trade is confined to a diſtinct cluſter of iſlands: as the weavers in one, the goldſmiths in another, the lock-ſmiths, mat-makers, potters, turners, joiners, each of which live on the ſeveral cluſters of iſlands. Theſe different traders go from iſland to iſland in boats with a ſmall deck; they are ſometimes a year abſent from their own iſland; they ſeldom land, but live entirely in their boats, carrying with them their male children from four or five years of age, to accuſtom them to this ſea life, and to teach them the trade, and the management of their boats.

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An ACCOUNT *of Various* HABITS *and* CUSTOMS *of the* JAPANESE PEOPLE. *By Dr.* THUNBERG.

In the multiplicity of the articles of food, Japan may, perhaps, be ſaid to ſurpaſs moſt other countries hitherto known to us. The Japaneſe not only make uſe of ſuch things for food and aliment, which are in themſelves wholeſome and nutritive, but take in almoſt the whole of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, not excepting the moſt poiſonous, which, by their mode of dreſſing and preparing them, may be rendered harmleſs, and even uſeful. The meat that is ſerved up in every diſh, is cut into ſmall pieces, thoroughly boiled and ſtewed, and mixed with agreeable ſauces. By this means all the viands are extremely well dreſſed; and the maſter of the houſe is not harraſſed at his table with the trouble of cutting up great pieces, or of diſtributing the proviſions round to the gueſts. At meal-time every one ſeats himſelf upon the ſoft floor-mats; facing each gueſt is placed a ſmall ſquare table, that ſerves for the purpoſe of holding the different diſhes, which already in the kitchen have been portioned out to each perſon, and are ſerved up in the neateſt veſſels, either of porcelain or japanned wood. Theſe cups are tolerably large baſons, and always furniſhed with a lid. The firſt courſe conſiſts generally of fiſh, with fiſh ſoup; the ſoup they drink out of the cup, but eat the ſolid part, which is chopped into ſmall pieces, with two lackered pegs, which they hold ſo dexterous between the fingers of the right hand, that they can with the greateſt nicety take up the ſmalleſt grain of rice with them; and theſe pegs ſerve them for the purpoſe both of fork and ſpoon. As ſoon as one courſe is finiſhed it is taken away, and another ſerved up in its room. The laſt courſe is brought to table in a cup of blue porcelain, and this likewiſe is furniſhed with a lid. The victuals are carried in by a ſervant, who kneels down as he places them upon the table, and takes them away after dinner. When ſeveral perſons eat in company together, they all ſalute each other with a low bow, before they begin to eat. The ladies do not eat with the men, but by themſelves; between each diſh, they drink a warm ſucki, or rice-beer, which is poured out of a tea-kettle into ſhallow tea-faucers, made of lackered wood; and during this they ſometimes eat a quarter of an egg, boiled hard, and very frequently they drink at the ſame time to ſomebody's health. In general they eat three times a-day, about eight o'clock in the morning, two o'clock at noon, and eight in the evening. There are ſome that obſerve no regular time for their meals, but eat whenever they are hungry; for which reaſon the victuals are obliged to be kept in readineſs the whole day. Rice, which is here exceedingly white and well taſted, ſupplies, with the Japaneſe, the place of bread; they eat it boiled with every kind of proviſions. Miſo ſoup, boiled with fiſh and onions, is eaten frequently by the common people three times a-day, or at each of their cuſtomary meals. Miſos are not unlike lentils, and are ſmall beans gathered from the *dolichos ſoja*. Fiſh is likewiſe a very common diſh with the Japaneſe, both boiled and fried in oil.

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Fowls, of which they have a great variety, both wild and tame, are eaten in great abundance; and the flesh of whales, though coarse, is in several places, at least among the poorer sort, a very common food; it has a red and disagreeable look, and was often exposed for sale in the streets of Nagasaki, when I passed by in order to go on board a ship.

In preparing their victuals, they make use of expressed oils of several different sorts. These oils are made chiefly from the seeds of *Sesamum*, of *Tsubaki*, (the *Camellia japonica*), *Kiri*, (the *Bignonia tomentosa*), *Abrasin*, (*Dryandra cardata*), *Azedarach*, and several others; sometimes from the *Rhus succedanea*, *Taxus baccata*, and *Ginko*. In their victuals they make a very plentiful use of mushrooms, and the fruit of the *Solanum melongena*, as well as the roots of the *Solanum esculentum*, (batatas), carrots, and several kinds of bulbous roots, and of beans. For the desert they have kakic figs, chesnuts, water nuts, and pears, which are possibly often exported hence to Batavia; besides lemons, Seville and China oranges, shaddocks, grapes, &c. Among their valuable fishes is what they call the tay (by the Dutch called *steen-braasem*,) which is frequently sold at a very high price, and purchased for holidays and festival occasions. The *perca sexlineata* (*Ara*) ranks among their finest fish; and their *Clupea Thrissa* is so fat, that it is equal to the best herrings that are caught in Europe. Salmon is only found near the Fakonse mountains, and is neither so large nor so well tasted as those of Europe: of oysters, and other shell fish, several different sorts are eaten, but always boiled or stewed; as likewise shrimps and crabs.

Tea and sacki-beer constitute the sole liquors of the Japanese, which fall infinitely short in number of those which the thirsty Europeans can exhibit. Wines and distilled liquors they never make use of, and can hardly be persuaded to taste them, when offered them by the Dutch.

Coffee is scarcely known, even by the taste, to a few of the interpreters; and brandy is not with them one of the necessaries of life. They have hitherto never suffered themselves to be corrupted by the Europeans that have visited them: rather than adopt any practice from others, which might be actually both useful and convenient, they have chosen to retain their ancient primitive mode of life, in its original purity; into which they would not even insensibly introduce any usage or custom, that in the course of time might become useless to them, or detrimental.

Sacki is the name of a kind of beer, which the Japanese prepare from rice; it is tolerably clear, and not a little resembles wine, but has a very singular taste, which cannot be reckoned extremely pleasant. This liquor, when it is fresh, is more inclined to a white colour; but after it has lain in small wooden casks, it becomes very brown.

This drink is vended in every tavern, in the same manner as wine is sold in all cellars in Europe; and it constitutes their cheer at entertainments, and looser hours, and is likewise used as wine by the more wealthy at their very meals.

It is never drank cold by the Japanese, but is warmed in a common tea-kettle, from whence it is poured into flat tea-cups, made of lackered

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lackered wood; and in this manner it is drank quite warm, which in a very ſhort time heats and inebriates them; but the whole intoxication vaniſhes in a few minutes, and is generally ſucceeded by a diſagreeable head-ach. To Batavia ſacki is exported as an article of commerce; but it is alſo drank there out of wine glaſſes before meals, to provoke an appetite, on which occaſions the white ſacki is generally preferred, which is leſs diſguſting to the taſte.

Tea is drank throughout the whole country, for the purpoſe of quenching thirſt; for which reaſon they keep in every houſe, and more eſpecially in every inn, a kettle upon the fire all day long, with boiling water and ground tea; from this the brown decoction is poured out for immediate uſe, and another kettle, filled with cold water, affords them the means of diluting and cooling it. In the houſes of people of diſtinction, viſitors are always preſented with green tea, with which the Dutch are entertained, whenever they wait upon any of the privy counſellors, or other perſons in office. This tea is freſh gathered, and ground to powder; boiling water being firſt poured into a can, they put in the tea in its pulveriſed ſtate, and ſtir it round with a ſtick, in the ſame manner as is uſually done with chocolate, and then pour it out into tea-cups; it muſt be drank immediately, otherwiſe the green powder ſettles at the bottom. No perſon of diſtinction undertakes a journey of any length, without carrying with him a lackered cheſt, which is borne by a man ſervant, and in which water is kept boiling all the way; ground tea, tea-cups, and every other neceſſary appendage, are ready prepared and at hand.

The tea-ſhrub grows wild in every part of the country; but I met with it moſt frequently growing on the very borders and margins of cultivated lands, or upon ſuch mountains or downs as did not very well anſwer the trouble of cultivation. This plant grows from the ſeed, in the courſe of ſix or ſeven years, to the height of a man; but already in the third year of its growth, it yields ſome produce of its leaves. Thoſe who are ſomewhat accuſtomed to this kind of harveſt, can gather, in the ſpace of one day, ten or twelve pounds weight of them. The older the leaves are, and the later in the year the gathering is made, the greater abundance, it is true, they yield; but then the tea is ſo much the worſe, as the ſmaller leaves, and thoſe which have but juſt ſhot forth, furniſh the fineſt and moſt valuable. The tea therefore is gathered annually at three different ſeaſons: the firſt harveſt commences (at the end of Songvats,) the beginning of March, or the end of February, at which ſeaſon the leaves begin to puſh forth, poſſeſs a viſcous quality, and are gathered ſolely for the uſe of the emperor, or for people of rank and opulence; whence it takes the name of imperial tea. A month after this the ſecond harveſt takes place, when the leaves are full grown, but are ſtill thin, tender, and well flavoured. Again a month, and the principal harveſt commences, when the greateſt quantity is gathered; the leaves having all puſhed forth completely, and become very thick and ſtout.—Young ſhrubs always yield better tea than old ones, and ſome places produce it in greater perfection, and more delicious than others.

The tea-leaves are afterwards,

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for the ſake of drying them, ſpread upon thin plates of iron, which are made hot. During this operation they muſt be continually ſtirred with both hands, as long as ever the fingers can ſupport the heat. They are next rolled to and fro upon mats, till they grow perfectly cool; and in caſe they are not ſufficiently dry, they are roaſted and rolled over again, once, or as many times as may be requiſite.

Smoaking tobacco was in former times not cuſtomary in this country, but it is probable that the Portugueze were the firſt who introduced this practice. The Japaneſe have no other name for tobacco than *tobaco*, which is ſmoaked indiſcriminately by both ſexes. The tobacco uſed for this purpoſe is planted in the country, and is the common *nicotiana tabacum*. They cut their tobacco into very fine ſhreds, almoſt as fine as human hair: the pipes which they uſe are very ſhort, ſeldom more than ſix inches in length, and are made of lackered bamboo, with a copper mouth-piece and bowl: this latter is ſo ſmall that it does not contain above a third part, or one half of a thimbleful of tobacco, which is twiſted up and crammed in with their fingers. Theſe pipes are ſoon ſmoaked out, in a very few whiffs only, upon which the aſhes are beaten out, and the pipe is filled again, which practice they repeat ſeveral times. The ſmoke is puffed out each time both through the noſtrils and the mouth. Perſons of diſtinction have always the following apparatus for ſmoaking: an oblong box, eighteen inches long, a foot broad, and three fingers high, lackered of a brown or black colour, is placed before each perſon; in this box are laid pipes and tobacco, and three cups are placed, which are uſed in ſmoaking: one of theſe round cups, which is generally made of thick and ſtout porcelain, or lackered wood, is lined with braſs on the inſide, and is filled with aſhes, in which a live coal is placed, for the purpoſe of lighting the pipe; the ſecond ſerves to receive the aſhes of the tobacco after the pipe is ſmoaked out, when this latter is ſtruck with force againſt the edge; and ſometimes it is ſpit upon, in order to quench the ſparks: the third ſupplies the place of a ſpitting pot, at the time of ſmoaking. At viſits, this apparatus is the firſt thing that is placed before the gueſts. One of theſe boxes is ſometimes furniſhed with a lid, which is tied faſt with a ribband, and is carried by a ſervant whenever they go to ſuch places where they do not expect to have tobacco preſented to them. The poorer claſs generally carry both their pipe and their tobacco with them, when they go out: the pipe is then put into a caſe, and worn on the right ſide in the girdle at the back of their loins; the tobacco pouch is hardly of the breadth of a hand, and ſomewhat ſhorter, furniſhed with a flap at the top, which is faſtened together with a little ivory hook; this pouch is likewiſe ſlung to the girdle by means of a ſilken cord, and a bead of cornelian, or a piece of agate; it is made for the moſt part of a particular kind of ſilk, with interwoven flowers of ſilver and gold.

Although gravity forms the general character of the Japaneſe nation, this ſerious diſpoſition, however, does not prevent them from having their pleaſures, their ſports, and feſtivities. Theſe are of two kinds, occaſional or periodical, and conſtitute part of their worſhip: the

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the latter in many reſpects may be compared to our plays. Their chief feſtivals are the Feaſt of Lanthorns, and what is called the *Matſuri*. The Lanthorn Feſtival, or Feaſt of Lamps, is celebrated towards the end of Auguſt, and is called by the natives Bong. It laſts three days, but the ſecond afternoon, with the following night, are kept with the greateſt feſtivity. It was originally inſtituted in memory and honour of the dead, who, they believe, return annually to their kindred and friends on the firſt afternoon of theſe games; every one viſiting his former houſe and family, where they remain till the ſecond night, when they are to be ſent away again. By way of welcoming them on their arrival, they plant ſtakes of bamboo near all the tombs, upon which they hang a great number of lanthorns with lights, and thoſe ſo cloſe to each other, that the whole mountain appears illuminated: theſe lanthorns are kept alight till nine or ten o'clock at night. On the ſecond evening, when the ſpirits of the defunct are, according to their tradition, to be ſent away again, they fabricate a ſmall veſſel of ſtraw, with lights and lanthorns in it, which they carry at midnight in proceſſion, with vocal and inſtrumental muſic, and loud cries, to the ſea ſhore, where it is launched into the water, and left to the winds and waves, till it either catches fire and is conſumed, or is ſwallowed up by the waves. Both of theſe illuminations, conſiſting of ſeveral thouſand fires, exhibit to the eye an uncommonly grand and beautiful ſpectacle.

The feaſt of *Matſuri* is celebrated upon ſome certain feſtival day, and in honour of ſome particular god. Thus for inſtance, in the town of Nagaſaki, where I was preſent at one of theſe feſtivals, it is celebrated in memory of *Suwa*, the tutelar deity of the town. It is celebrated on the ninth day of the ninth month, which is the day of this idol's nativity, with games, public dances, and dramatic repreſentations: the feſtival commences on the ſeventh day, when the temples are frequented, ſermons are preached, prayers are offered up, and public ſpectacles are exhibited; but the ninth day excels all in pomp and expenſive magnificence, which they vary every time in ſuch a manner, that the entertainments of the preſent year bear no reſemblance to thoſe of the laſt; neither are the ſame arrangements made. The expenſes are defrayed by the inhabitants of the town, in ſuch manner that certain ſtreets exhibit and pay the expenſes of certain pieces and parts of the entertainment. I, together with the reſt of the Dutch, had an invitation ſent me to be a ſpectator of this feſtival, in 1776, which was celebrated in a large open ſpot in the town of Nagaſaki. A capacious houſe, reſembling a large booth, raiſed upon poſts, and provided with a roof and benches, was erected on one ſide for the convenience of the ſpectators. Theſe conſiſted not only of the magiſtrates and eccleſiaſtics, but likewiſe of foreigners; and a guard was placed to keep off the crowd. Firſt of all appeared the prieſts, carrying the image of the idol *Suwa*, and took their places, habited in black and white. A company of ten or twelve perſons played upon inſtruments of muſic, and ſang the exploits of their gods and heroes; in the mean time that a party of virgins dancing, diſplayed the moſt enchanting elegance in their geſ-

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tures and deportment. The muſic conſiſted in a mere rattling noiſe, which might perhaps ſound more grateful in the idol's than in human ears. A large paraſol was next introduced, inſcribed with the name of the ſtreet, and emblazoned with its coat of arms, followed by a band of muſicians in maſks, with drums, flutes, bells, and vocal muſic. Theſe were ſucceeded by the device itſelf, which was different for every ſtreet; then followed a band of actors; and, laſtly, the inhabitants of the ſtreet, in ſolemn proceſſion, with an innumerable and promiſcuous crowd at their heels. This progreſſive march laſted nearly a whole hour, after which they marched back again in the ſame order, and a ſecond proceſſion ſucceeded in its place; this was followed by a third, and ſo on during the whole forenoon. The inhabitants of each ſtreet vied with each other in magnificence and invention, with reſpect to the celebration of this feſtival, and in diſplaying, for the moſt part, ſuch things as were characteriſtic of the various produce of the mines, mountains, foreſts, navigation, manufactures, and the like, of the province from which the ſtreet derived its name, and whence it had its inhabitants.

Plays I had an opportunity of ſeeing acted ſeveral times, both in Nagaſaki, and during my journey to the imperial court at Oſaka. The ſpectators ſit in houſes of different dimenſions, upon benches; facing them, upon an elevated but ſmall and narrow place, ſtands the theatre itſelf, upon which ſeldom more than one or two actors perform at a time. Theſe are always dreſſed in a very ſingular manner, according as their own taſte and fancy ſuggeſt; inſomuch, that a ſtranger would be apt to believe that they exhibited themſelves not to entertain, but to frighten the audience. Their geſtures, as well as their dreſs, are ſtrangely uncouth and extravagant, and conſiſt in artificial contortions of the body, which it muſt have coſt them much trouble to learn and perform. In general they repreſent ſome heroic exploit or love ſtory of their idols and heroes, which are frequently compoſed in verſe, and are ſometimes compoſed in muſic. A curtain may, it is true, be let fall between the actors and the ſpectators, and ſome neceſſary pieces be brought forward upon the theatre; but in other reſpects, theſe ſmall theatres have no machinery nor decorations, which can entitle them to be put in compariſon with thoſe of Europe. I did not obſerve that public ſpectacles contributed any more in this country than in other places, to reform the manners of the people; as the deſign of them appears to be the ſame here as in other parts of the world, and as they tend rather to amuſe the idle frivolity of mankind with jugglers tricks than to amend the heart; rather to fill the pockets of the actors, than to be any real benefit to the ſpectators.

When the Japaneſe wiſh at any time to entertain the Dutch, either in the town of Nagaſaki, or more particularly during their journey to the imperial court, they generally provide a band of female dancers, for the amuſement of their gueſts. Theſe are generally young damſels, very ſuperbly dreſſed, whom they fetch from the inns; ſometimes young boys are likewiſe mixed among them. Such a dance requires always a number of perſons, who turn and twine, and put themſelves into a variety of artificial poſtures,

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poſtures, in order to repreſent an amorous or heroic deed, without either ſpeaking or ſinging; their ſteps are however regulated by the muſic, which plays to them. The girls are in particular provided with a number of very fine and light night-gowns, made of ſilk, which they ſlip off one after the other, during the dance, from the upper part of their body, ſo as frequently to have them, to the number of a dozen together, ſuſpended from the girdle which encircles their loins. Their dances therefore correſpond, in ſome meaſure, with our country-dances, although, upon the whole, they widely differ even from theſe.

Their weddings and funerals may likewiſe claim a place among their feſtivals, although they do not celebrate them with the ſame pomp as do the Europeans, and other nations.

Marriages are ſolemnized upon a pleaſant eminence without the towns, in preſence of the relations and the prieſts, when the following ceremonies are obſerved. The bridegroom and the bride advance together to an altar erected for that purpoſe, each holding a torch in their hand; whilſt the prieſt is employed in reading a certain form of prayer, the bride, who occupies the right hand place, firſt lights her torch from a burning lamp, and then holds it out to the bridegroom, who lights his torch from hers; upon which the gueſts wiſh the new married couple joy.

In this country the men are not allowed a plurality of wives, as in China, but each man is confined to one, who has liberty to go out and ſhew herſelf in company, and is not ſhut up in a recluſe and ſeparate apartment, as is the cuſtom with their neighbours. Inſtances of divorce ſometimes occur among them, but theſe caſes are not very common. The more daughters a man has, and the handſomer they are, the richer he eſteems himſelf, it being here the eſtabliſhed cuſtom for ſuitors to make preſents to their father-in-law, before they obtain his daughter.

Fornication is very prevalent in this country; notwithſtanding which chaſtity is frequently held in ſuch high veneration, both with married and ſingle, that when they have been injured in this point, they ſometimes lay violent hands upon themſelves. In this country likewiſe the diſhonourable practice of keeping miſtreſſes obtains with ſome, but the children they bring into the world cannot inherit, and the miſtreſſes are conſidered as ſervants in the houſe. The Japaneſe either burn their dead to aſhes, or elſe bury them in the earth. The former method, as I was informed, was in ancient times much more cuſtomary than it is at preſent, though it is ſtill practiſed with perſons of diſtinction. This ceremony is not always performed upon a funeral pile in the open air, but takes place at times in a ſmall houſe of ſtone, calculated for that purpoſe, and furniſhed with a chimney.

The aſhes are carried away in a coſtly veſſel, and preſerved for ſome time in the houſe at home, after which they are buried in the earth. Both men and women follow the corpſe in norimons; together with the widow and children of the deceaſed, and a numerous train of prieſts, who ſing all the time. After one of the prieſts has ſung the eulogy of the deceaſed, he waves thrice over the corpſe a burning torch, and then throws it away; upon this it is picked up by

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the children or other relations, and the pile ſet on fire with it. Thoſe who are intered without being firſt burned, are incloſed in a wooden cheſt, after the cuſtomary manner, and let down into the grave. The children are very much attached to their parents even after their death. During the interment, and after the ſame, fragrant ſpices are caſt into the grave, and the fineſt flowers are planted upon their tombs. The ſurvivors continue to viſit the manſions of the dead for ſeveral years, and not unfrequently, during their whole lives, repeating their viſits at firſt every day, then every week, after that once a month, and at laſt once a year, excluſive of the Lanthorn feſtival, which is celebrated every year in honour of the defunct.

A CHARACTER *of the* CHINESE. *Tranſlated from the French of the* ABBE GROSIER.

THE Chineſe are, in general, a mild and affable people; polite even to exceſs; circumſpect in all their actions, and always attentive to weigh the conſequences of every thing they are about to attempt; more careful not to expoſe their prudence to danger, than to preſerve their reputation; ſuſpicious of ſtrangers, as they are ready to take advantage of them; too much prepoſſeſſed with a notion of their own importance, to be ſenſible of their defects; and entertaining too high ideas of their own knowledge, to ſeek for inſtruction from others. We muſt conſider this nation as an ancient monument, reſpectable by its duration; admirable in ſome of its parts, defective in others; and which, according to tradition, has exiſted four thouſand years.

This baſe, ſo ſolid, is ſupported by one ſingle pillar—that progreſſive ſubmiſſion, which riſes gradually from the boſom of a family, even to the throne. In other reſpects, the Chineſe have their paſſions and caprices, which even the law does not always attempt to repreſs. They are naturally litigious; and in China, as well as in other countries, a man may, if he chooſes, ruin himſelf by too often giving employment to the tribunals. They are fond of money, and what in France or England would be accounted uſury, is only a retribution, authoriſed in China. A Chineſe is vindictive, though not fond of purſuing violent means to ſatiate his revenge; theſe are prohibited, but he generally gains his end by craftineſs or ſtratagem, and conſequently with impunity. Great crimes are very uncommon among the Chineſe, vices much leſs ſo; and the law neither ſearches after nor puniſhes them, but when they offend againſt, and violate public decency.

The manners of the Tartars, who ſubdued China, differ conſiderably from thoſe of the conquered nation. They have borrowed its cuſtoms, but they ſtill retain their original character. A Tartar is obliging and liberal, an enemy to every ſpecies of diſſimulation, and more deſirous of enjoying his fortune than of increaſing it. In all affairs, even in thoſe of the cabinet, he diſcovers a penetration and acuteneſs, which greatly leſſen their difficulty; and in tranſactions of ſmaller moment, he diſplays that

expeditious

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expeditious activity, which may be juſtly called the ſoul of buſineſs. His ready and quick judgment accompliſhes its purpoſe better, and more in ſeaſon, than the profound and ſlow meditation of the Chineſe. In a word, the ſuperiority which the Tartars have over the Chineſe in point of arms, is not the only thing which diſtinguiſhes them; they can even diſpute the prize with them in other reſpects.

An ACCOUNT *of the* LIFE *of the celebrated and unfortunate* COUNT DE LALLY. *By the* VISCOUNT DE VAUX.

THE count de Lally was the ſon of a captain in the regiment of Dillon, who paſſed into France after the capitulation of Limerick, and a French lady of diſtinction. Soon after his birth, which was in 1699, he was entered, as was the cuſtom of the French army, a private ſoldier in his company. He made very conſiderable progreſs in thoſe ſciences which formed a principal part of the education of the French nobility. Being the ſon of an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, it was natural for him to make military acquaintance; and being, by his mother's ſide, allied to ſome of the firſt families of France, he had more favourable opportunities than the generality of his companions, to form connexions of the firſt claſs. Theſe advantages, ſuperadded to a fine perſon, advanced young Lally, at the age of nineteen years, to a company in the Iriſh brigade.

Though he was known to poſſeſs thoſe qualities that form the ſoldier, he was equally qualified to ſucceed in civil employments; for at a period when young men are ſeldom more than equal to the inferior departments of the ſtate, he was ſuddenly elevated to one of the moſt important ſituations that belong to political government. At the age of twenty-five, he was ſent by the court of France, to negociate ſome important affairs at the court of Ruſſia, where his addreſs and fidelity ſecured to him the confidence of the King his maſter, and won the eſteem of the Czarina. On his return to France, he was conſidered as one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed men at Verſailles, and was ſoon promoted to the rank of colonel of a regiment, in which ſituation he conducted himſelf with uncommon diſtinction wherever he was employed.

In the year 1745, when the young Pretender made a deſcent in Scotland, M. Lally came into England, under the pretext of claiming ſome lands which his father had poſſeſſed in Ireland, and to which he pretended to have a legal title: though, in fact, the real object of his errand was to ſerve the cauſe of the Pretender as a ſpy, to aſſiſt him with his counſels, and to excite mal-contents in the ſouthern parts of Great Britain, by promiſes of money and other inducements. It is even ſaid that he had ſome ſucceſs in theſe dangerous attempts, when his plans were diſcovered to the duke of Cumberland, who gave immediate orders for his arreſt: but M. Lally was, by the kind interpoſition of the Prince of Wales, preſerved from a priſon, and permitted to return to France, in direct oppoſition to the ſentiments of the duke.

Such, however, was the obſti-

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racy of M. de Lally, that he quitted England with great reluctance, though, as the expedition of the Pretender entirely failed, he had every reason to be thankful to Providence for his escape. From that time, till he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general and commander in chief in the East-Indies, his life does not offer any circumstance that merits particular attention. As to his history in that part of the world, to the period of his death, we shall refer our readers to the following papers.

Journal of Expeditions in India, under the command of Count de Lally.

In the month of August 1756, Count de Lally was appointed to the command of an expedition in India, to support which the court had destined six millions of livres, six battalions of troops, and three ships of war, which were to be joined by such as the company could prepare for the occasion.

The Chevalier des Soupirs, who was to command as Major-general under him, set sail from L'Orient, on the 30th of December following, with two millions of livres, and two battalions.

On the 20th of February 1757, the Count D'Aché set sail from Brest, with Count de Lally, having two millions of livres and two battalions on board his squadron; but an accident which happened to one of their ships in going out of the port, obliged him to return; and contrary winds detained him till the 2d of May.

The Count D'Aché was near a year on his passage, a circumstance which gave Admiral Stephens sufficient time to reach the coast of Coromandel, though he did not leave England till three months after the French squadron set sail from France. The Chevalier des Soupirs waited some time at Mauritius, and disembarked at Pondicherry eight months before Count de Lally arrived there. At this time the English could not bring a hundred men into the field, and he had two thousand. Madras was an open town; Fort St. David was in ruins, with a garrison of sixty invalids. Three weeks would have been sufficient to have taken both these places; but the Chevalier des Soupirs, who was entirely ignorant of the manner of carrying on war in that country, suffered himself to be influenced by M. de Leyrit, the company's governor of Pondicherry, who kept him all this time in a state of inactivity, and at the expense of all the money which he had brought from Europe.

Six months previous to his arrival in India, the English had driven the company from all its settlements in Bengal, which were the most valuable of their possessions.

On the 25th of April 1758, the Count D'Aché landed the Count de Lally at Pondicherry, with some of his principal officers, and several chests of money. On the following day, as he was preparing to cast anchor in the road of that place, he was surprised by the English squadron, and lost a vessel of 74 guns; but, availing himself of a favorable wind, he contrived to escape. Within a few hours after he had disembarked, Count de Lally invested Cuddalore, a place situated about five leagues from Pondicherry, and made himself master of it in three days; the garrison consisted of ten invalids. In a short time after, he besieged Fort St. David, and entered into that place

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place on the 2d of June, after ſeventeen days of open trenches. On the 10th of the ſame month, the count returned to Pondicherry, and, having determined to make an attack on Madras, he diſpatched a veſſel to Count D'Aché, who had retreated ſixty leagues to the windward, with orders to return. M. de Leyrit at this time ſignified to Count de Lally, that he was not in a condition to ſubſiſt his troops for more than fifteen days, and that there was no other reſource but to march them into the kingdom of Tanjore, which was about fifty leagues to the ſouth of Pondicherry, to claim a debt due from the Rajah of that country. Thus he was obliged to ſeek for ſubſiſtence in Tanjore, till the ſtormy ſeaſon approached, which would oblige the two ſquadrons to take refuge in ſome diſtant ports.

The Rajah of Tanjore having refuſed the debt demanded of him, Count de Lally marched towards his capital; and, in order to intimidate him, levelled five pieces of cannon againſt that place.

At this time he received an account that the Engliſh were marching, with a body of eight hundred men, againſt Pondicherry; and that the Chevalier des Soupirs, who had not an equal force, was preparing to abandon the ſurrounding country: he accordingly evacuated Tanjore, after having levied four hundred and forty thouſand livres in money, and lived during two months at the expenſe of the inhabitants.

On his approach to Pondicherry, the Engliſh retired towards Madras. He now renewed his entreaties to Count D'Aché not to quit the coaſt; and, in order to induce him to remain there, made him an offer of half his army, to recruit his ſquadron; but the latter, deaf to his entreaties and arguments, ſet ſail for Madagaſcar, on the 1ſt of September, which was the day after Count de Lally's return to Pondicherry.

He had ſent alſo for M. M. de Buſſy, and Moracin, with the troops that they commanded; the one in the Deccan, and the other at Maſulipatam. Theſe officers brought with them but one third of their forces, and on their arrival demanded a reinforcement of a thouſand men. But M. de Lally, having received information that the Engliſh had made a deſcent in the neighbourhood of Maſulipatam, ordered M. Moracin to return thither, which he refuſed; and that place was afterwards ſurpriſed by the Engliſh.

M. de Lally having remained at Arcot for five days, returned to Pondicherry, having refuſed the incredible offer of M. de Buſſy, to give him four hundred thouſand livres in three hours, if he would let him return with a body of troops into the Deccan. The army was at this time without pay, though M. de Buſſy had informed Count de Lally that he had 240,000 livres at the ſervice of the company, if he would be reſponſible for them, which he abſolutely refuſed, as he would have no commercial concern whatever with that body. M. de Lally, on his return to Pondicherry, renewed his deſign of attacking Madras, during the abſence of the Engliſh ſquadron; it was, however, oppoſed by M. de Leyrit, for want of funds to pay the army, and procure them ſubſiſtence: the other members of the council were of the ſame opinion; but four or five of them, with Count D'Eſtaing at their head, offered their plate, to the value of eighty

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eighty thousand livres, as a contribution towards the enterprise. M. de Bussy did not offer a single sol, and M. de Lally gave one hundred and forty thousand livres, which he had placed in the treasury.

In consequence of these aids, he arrived in the plain of Madras, on the 12th of December 1758; and, after a few skirmishes, encamped there the following day.

At a very early hour on the morning of the 14th, the black town was attacked by M. de Rillon, at the head of his regiment: and in a very few hours he made himself master of it, with little loss.

M. de Lequille, who commanded a squadron, had in the mean time arrived at the island of Mauritius, with four ships of war, and three millions of livres, destined for the service of Pondicherry; and he was about to quit that island, when unfortunately the Count D'Aché arrived there, and prevented him from proceeding. He also took upon himself to send to Pondicherry no more than one million of the money, by a small frigate, which anchored before that place on the 21st of December 1758.

On the arrival of this money, Count de Lally determined to besiege Madras in form. He paid both his Europeans and black troops a portion of what was due to them, and opened the trenches on the 6th of January 1759. He attacked the town with two thousand seven hundred Europeans, but the black troops were of little use in a siege. The garrison consisted of five thousand men, sixteen hundred of which were regular troops, four hundred servants of the English company, and three thousand sepoys. The English army that was in possession of the country, made four different attempts to raise the siege, but was as often repulsed with loss. Count de Lally had already made a breach, and was preparing an assault, when six English vessels, laden with all kinds of refreshments, and six hundred men of Colonel Draper's regiment, came to an anchor in the road, and determined Lally to retreat to Arcot.

Six weeks after the siege of Madras had been raised, the English received another reinforcement of six hundred men from Europe, and immediately took the field against the Chevalier des Soupiers, who abandoned to them the post of Conjeveram, and all the conquests that had been made on the left bank of the Poliar.

After an absence of thirteen months, the Count D'Aché at length arrived at Pondicherry, on the 17th of September 1759; having had a third engagement with the English fleet, in which, as usual, he had been worsted. On that very day he wrote to M. de Lally, with an offer of four hundred thousand livres in piastres, and about as much more in diamonds, the produce of an English vessel which he had taken, in part of payment of the two millions he had stopped the year before at Mauritius, one of which would have secured the conquest of Madras. He also notified, that he should set sail the following day for Madagascar. This unexpected message threw the whole colony into the greatest consternation. M. de Lally was so ill as not to be able to quit his house, but he sent a deputation of all his principal officers to engage him to suspend the execution of his design: nothing, however, that was said or done could avert his purpose. M. de

de Lally, therefore, assembled the council, who unanimously signed a protest against the sudden departure of Count D'Aché, rendering him alone responsible for the loss of Pondicherry, and threatening to appeal to the justice of the king against his conduct. This protest was unanimously signed in the hall of the council in Fort Lewis, in Pondicherry, the 17th of September 1759, as follows: Lally, Duval de Leyrit, Renaut Barthelemy, Chevalier des Soupirs, Nichel Lally, Bussy, Du Bois, Carciere, Verdieres, Duré, Gaddeville, Du Passage, Beausset, Reneaut, De la Selle, Guillart, Porcher, Père Dominque, capucin prestre de la nôtre dame des Anges, F. S. Lavacer, superieur general des Jesuites Francais dans les Indes, L. Rathon, superieur general des missions éstrangerés, Notier des, Lorme, Dutchatel, Andouant, Aimar, Combaut d'Autheuil, Goupil, J. C. Bon, De Wilst, Banal, Rauly, Termelier, Saint Paul, J. B. Launay, Deshayes, Fischer, Du Laurent, Audoyer du Petit Val, D'Arcy, Medin, Dioré, Bertrand, Legris, Miran, Bourville, F. Nicolas Du Plan, De Laval, Borce, D. L'Arché, Boyelleau, et Guellette.

M. D'Aché had already set sail, but the winds and currents having driven him to the north, the protest overtook him at sea; in consequence of which he returned to Pondicherry, where he remained seven days, and once more departed for Madagascar; promising, however, to return at a very early period of the following year; but from that time, which comprehends a space of sixteen months, nothing more was heard of him.

M. de Lally, who had now recovered his health and strength, daily expected the arrival of Bassulit Zinque, brother of Salabet Zinque, sovereign of the whole country, with a body of twelve thousand men. This prince was not more than thirty-five leagues from the French army, when he demanded an officer of distinction, and a detachment of European troops, to facilitate their junction; and M. de Bussy was accordingly sent on that service. The army was now assembled under the walls of Arcot, from whence the French battalion was detached, as it began to foment a second revolt, on account of the pay due to the soldiers, from the not being able to dispose of the diamonds.

The absence of M. de Bussy, which did not require more than ten or twelve days, continued for two and forty; and the English, availing themselves of the impracticability of the French to begin the campaign without cavalry, made themselves masters of Wandewash.

Being disappointed of the arrival of Bassulet Zinque, M. de Lally concluded as soon as possible, in concert with M. de Leyrit, a treaty with a Mahratta chief for a body of two thousand cavalry; which, joined to another of eighteen hundred blacks, belonging to M. de Bussy, and bearing his name, he encamped opposite the English, from whom he was separated only by the sandy bed of the Pollar, which was then entirely dry.—Having got possession of some magazines which were in the rear of the English, the latter were prevented from keeping the field for some days. The French, therefore, fell suddenly on Wandewash; but, on the appearance of the English to relieve it, M. de Lally found himself obliged to retreat to Pondicherry,

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Pondicherry, or to hazard a battle; and he determined on the latter: he accordingly attacked them, but was repulsed and beaten on the 22d of January 1760. The loss was nearly equal on both sides, and the only officer of rank who was taken prisoner was M. de Bussy. M. de Lally, who was now reduced to the necessity of defending, as long as possible, the passage to Pondicherry, encamped with his army about four leagues from that place, on the road which the English must take in their approaches to attack it.

Admiral Cornish appeared on the coast, with four ships of the line from Europe, in about a month after this battle: on the 28th of February he came to an anchor in the road of Madras; and, on the 17th of March, he appeared with his squadron before Pondicherry. In the mean time the English army gradually approached nearer to that place, while M. de Lally, in order at the same time to protect it from the attack of the fleet, and obstruct the march of the army, necessarily retired from one position to another, till at length he occupied an advantageous post on the march of the English, and about the distance of two leagues from the town.

While the English army was occupied in possessing itself of the small French posts to the north of Pondicherry, the squadron of Admiral Cornish attacked Karical on the south, which was defended by the same officer, in the company's service, who had given up Chandernagore, after a very short bombardment. He soon surrendered that place, which wanted nothing, and was the only European fortification which the French company possessed in India. In a short time after this operation the English took Valdore. At the same time M. de Lally maintained his post during three months, and thereby gained time sufficient to victual Pondicherry for half a year.

While M. de Lally held the English in check, he concluded a treaty with the chief of Mysore. The object of this treaty was to supply Pondicherry with provisions; but he did not fulfil the conditions of it, and accordingly gave up the fort of Thiagar, which was the stipulated price. In a few days after the departure of the Mysore people, M. de Lally determined to strike a great stroke, by attacking the English on the night of the 2d of September. This enterprize accordingly took place and failed. At length, after a siege of two months, and a very gallant defence by M. de Lally, Pondicherry surrendered to the English army, commanded by General Coote, on the 16th of January 1761. M. de Lally requested to be sent to Cuddalore, where he might have the advantage of being attended by French and English surgeons; but the governor of Madras insisted on his being removed from that place, and sent his own palankeen to convey him thither *.

The

* *Extract of a Letter, dated Fort St. George, Feb. 1, 1761.*

" M. de Lally is arrived here; and notwithstanding his melancholy condition, is as proud and haughty as ever. Genius, understanding, and military knowledge, observed by very ferocious manners, and a perfect contempt for any one beneath the rank of a general, characterise this extraordinary man. When he quitted the citadel of Pondicherry, the officers and soldiers treated him with the most marked disapprobation and insult; while his commissary, who attempted his justification, was instantly murdered; and the same fate would have awaited M. de Lally, if he had not retreated to the

The Engliſh batteries were not opened but a few weeks before the reduction, and though they were ſerved with great ſkill, and were employed with extraordinary effect, the want of every neceſſary of life within the town was the moſt important circumſtance in favour of the beſiegers. The inhabitants had for ſome time ſubſiſted on elephants, camels, and horſes. It is well known that a dog had been ſold for twenty-four rupees; and of this wretched proviſion they had not more than would have ſuſtained them for one day, when the place ſurrendered.

Extract from the Report of the Condemnation and Execution of the Count de Lally.

In conſequence of the very weighty concluſions which the procureur-general had given againſt Count de Lally, he was removed, during the night of Sunday the 4th of May, from the Baſtile to the Conciergerie, which communicates by ſeveral ſtaircaſes with the different apartments belonging to the court of parliament. Though it was but one o'clock in the morning when he arrived at the Conciergerie, he refuſed to go to bed; and about ſeven he appeared before his judges. They ordered him to be diveſted of his red ribband and croſs, to which he ſubmitted with the moſt perfect indifference, and he was then placed on the ſtool to undergo a courſe of interrogation. At this moment, claſping his hands and lifting up his eyes, he exclaimed, "Is this the reward for forty years faithful ſervice?" The interrogatory laſted ſix hours: at three in the afternoon it recommenced, and the marquis De Buſſy and count D'Aché were ſucceſſively confronted with him. They remained but a ſhort time in the court, and were re-conducted by officers of juſtice. The ſitting laſted till nine at night, when the count was taken back to the Baſtile, ſurrounded by guards, and ſeveral companies of the city watch.

The following day, at ſix in the morning, the judges began to give their opinions, and they were not concluded till four in the afternoon, when they pronounced an arret, which contained only a ſimple recital of the proceedings againſt him, and other perſons accuſed of abuſes and crimes in the Eaſt Indies, with their acquital or condemnation, but without ſpecifying the facts or reaſons on which they were reſpectively founded: the ſentence ſtated, that he had been accuſed and convicted of having betrayed the intereſts of the king and the India company; of abuſing his authority, and of exactions, &c. &c. from the ſubjects of his majeſty, as well as the foreigners reſident in Pondicherry; for the reparation of which, and other crimes, it was declared that he ſhould be deprived of all his titles, honours, and dignities, and have his head ſeparated from his body on a ſcaffold on the Place de Grève. His goods and property were alſo confiſcated to the king, &c. &c. and the arm of the executioner terminated the career of the Count de Lally.

the Engliſh camp. To have maintained, therefore, ſo long a ſiege amid the deteſtation of thoſe whom he commanded, is a decided proof of his firmneſs, activity, and bravery."

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An AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT *of the late* ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN, *during the Time he commanded in* COROMANDEL, *and of the Transactions of the* FLEET *and* ARMY *under his command.*

THE honourable Edward Boſcawen was the third ſon of Hugh Lord Viſcount Falmouth, by Charlotte Godfrey, eldeſt daughter and co-heireſs of Charles Godfrey, and of Arabella Churchill, ſiſter to John Duke of Marlborough. He was born on the 19th of Auguſt 1711. He entered into the navy at the age of twelve, and after paſſing through the ſubordinate ranks of the ſervice with great credit, was, in March 1737, appointed to the command of the *Leopard*, a fourth rate of 50 guns. In 1739, he accompanied admiral Vernon to the Weſt-Indies; and in the expeditions againſt Porto-bello and Carthagena, under the command of that officer, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf equally by his nautical ſkill and enterpriſing ſpirit.

On his return to England, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and was ſhortly after inveſted with a command, which ſhows the very high eſtimation in which both his integrity and abilities were held. He was appointed admiral and commandant of a ſquadron of ſix ſhips of the line, ordered for the Eaſt Indies, and along with this appointment, received a commiſſion from the king, as general and commander in chief of the land forces employed on that expedition; the only inſtance (except the earl of Peterborough) of any officer having received ſuch a command ſince the reign of Charles the ſecond. The impropriety of inveſting a naval officer with this double command, is ſo obvious, that it is unneceſſary for us to point out the multiplied inconveniences to the public ſervice, which in almoſt all caſes it cannot fail to produce, and which greatly counterbalance the advantages that are likely to reſult from it, however capable the perſon may be to whom it is given. In Boſcawen's caſe, it gave riſe to much public cenſure on the conduct of miniſters, as well as to many private jealouſies, if not animoſities; yet, though the expedition proved unſucceſsful, we have not learned that the troops employed on that ſervice ever expreſſed any diſlike, much leſs any diſcontent, at their being commanded by a naval officer; but this forbearance proceeded from their perſonal reſpect and eſteem for admiral Boſcawen, a circumſtance that reflects high praiſe on the private virtues that adorned his character.

As the earlier part of the tranſactions of this expedition to India has been related by an officer who accompanied it, and as he was an eye-witneſs of the following circumſtances, we ſhall give his account in his own words:—

On November the 4th, 1747, the ſquadron ſailed from St. Helen's, with a fair wind, which only ſerved for that day; but admiral Boſcawen, anxious to get out of the Channel, choſe rather to turn to windward with the fleet than to put back. Meeting with hard gales of wind, they were obliged to anchor in Torbay, where the fleet ſtaid

rived about eleven o'clock, on November 4th, but at four o'clock in the evening, the wind ſerving, ſailed again, and proceeded to the Land's End, when it turned again; but ſtruggling with the winds, came to an anchor in the road of Madeira, on December 18th. Hard gales of wind had ſeparated ſeveral ſhips, which, however, on the 17th joined the admiral, who uſed all poſſible means to get the fleet in a condition to ſail; this being completed on the 22d, they ſailed on the 23d. On March 29th, 1748, the fleet came to an anchor in Table Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope. On the 30th, the ground was pitched on to encamp, and men were ordered on ſhore to clear it; but the wind blowed ſo freſh, that the forces could not land till April 6th, when the whole encamped in good order and diſcipline, being three battalions, with artillery; on the right were 400 marines, making one battalion: ſix Engliſh independent companies, of 112 men each, were on the left; and ſix Scotch companies were in the centre. The men made a good appearance, and no pains were ſpared, as to diſcipline and refreſhment, in order to fit them for their better performance in action. The admiral, by his genteel behaviour, gained the love of the land officers; and never was greater harmony among all degrees of men than in this expedition, every one thinking they were happy in being under his command. The time they ſtayed at the Cape was of great ſervice to the land and ſea forces, who had freſh meat all the time: but their ſtay was longer than was intended, occaſioned by five India ſhips, with forces on board, ſtarting from the fleet, purpoſely to get firſt to the Cape, in order to ſell their private trade to better advantage; but they were diſappointed, as they did not arrive till April the 14th, and thoſe India ſhips that were with the admiral had ſupplied the Cape with all that was wanting."

On the 8th of May, admiral Boſcawen ſailed from the Cape, with the ſquadron under his command, together with ſix ſhips belonging to the Dutch Eaſt India Company, on board of which were 400 ſoldiers. After a fatiguing and tedious paſſage, occaſioned by a ſeries of contrary winds rather unuſual in thoſe ſeas at that ſeaſon, the whole fleet made the French iſland of Mauritius at day-break, on the 23d of June, except three of the Dutch ſhips, which had parted company, in the ſtormy weather they had encountered. This iſland admiral Boſcawen was ordered to attack on his way to the coaſt of Coromandel. As ſoon, therefore, as the fleet came oppoſite to the eaſt point of the iſland, he drew up the ſhips in line of battle ahead, and proceeded along the northern coaſt of the iſland. Before night they had advanced within two leagues of Fort Louis, at which diſtance he brought his fleet to an anchor in a bay that lay between the mouths of two ſmall rivers. The party which was ſent in a rowing boat in the duſk of the evening to reconnoitre the ſhore, had diſcovered only two places, where, from the lowneſs of the ſurf, it ſeemed practicable to make a deſcent, and theſe were defended by two faſcine batteries of ſix guns each, which fired on the ſhips as they paſſed: all the reſt of the ſhore was defended by rocks and breakers.

The next morning the French opened upon the Engliſh ſquadron two other faſcine batteries, raiſed at

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the entrance of the two rivers, between which it was at anchor. This fire was returned by one of the fifty gun ships, but little execution was done on either side. Boscawen now sent a sloop with the two principal engineers, and an artillery officer, to reconnoitre the coast the whole way up to the entrance of Port Louis: these officers reported, on their return, that they had been fired upon by no less than eight different batteries planted along the shore, as well as by the forts at the entrance of the harbour, across which lay moored a large ship of two decks; and there were, besides, twelve ships at anchor within the harbour, four of which were of considerable force, and ready for sea. When night approached, the barges of the six line of battle ships, with the most experienced officers of the fleet, were sent to sound. On their return, they reported that a reef of rocks, which extended along the shore, at the distance of 20 yards from it, rendered it impossible to effect a landing, except at the entrance of the rivers already mentioned. With respect to the harbour itself, they discovered that the channel leading into it, was only 100 fathoms wide, and that from that circumstance, as well as from the opposition of the south wind, which blew directly down it, the getting up to the mouth of the harbour, any part of the fleet, would be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. Upon receiving this intelligence, Boscawen called a council of war, composed of the principal land and sea officers, at which it was resolved, that as they were ignorant of the strength of the French, three armed boats should be sent to endeavour to land in the night, and to take by surprise even a single man, that some certain information respecting the actual situation and numbers of the enemy might thereby be obtained. This project, however, proved abortive; and the following morning the council of war assembled again, when they came to this decision, that although they thought themselves sufficiently powerful to reduce the island, yet the loss they would probably sustain in the attack, and the number of men which would be requisite to garrison the fortifications, would necessarily so much weaken their force, that it would certainly retard, and might, perhaps, entirely prevent them from undertaking the siege of Pondicherry, which Boscawen was instructed to consider as the principal object of his command. It was, therefore, resolved, to proceed to the coast of Coromandel without delay, so that the fleet might arrive there in time to act, before the change of the monsoon in October. Boscawen accordingly sailed from the Mauritius the next day, the 27th of June, when the Dutch ships parted with the fleet, and steered for Batavia, and the English pursued their course to the coast of Coromandel. On the 29th of July, he arrived at Fort St. David, where he found the squadron under admiral Griffin, who resigned the command of it to him, and soon after returned to England.

The junction of these fleets formed the greatest marine force belonging to any one European nation that had ever been seen in the Indian seas; it consisted of more than thirty ships, of which thirteen were of the line. The English at Fort St. David, and all the native powers attached to their cause, beheld

held this formidable armament with a joy proportioned to the ſucceſs which was naturally looked for from its operations.

Anxious to ſtrike a deciſive blow before the French had time to call in their ally, the rajah of Tanjore, to their aſſiſtance, Boſcawen determined to proceed to Pondicherry without a moment's delay. He accordingly landed the neceſſary ſtores, and the whole of his troops, who had been in perfect health throughout the voyage; a circumſtance attributed by the officer, from whoſe narrative we made an extract, to the great benefit derived from the air-pipes, by which the ſhips of the fleet were ventilated. After the troops were landed, three line of battle ſhips, and a ſloop of war, were diſpatched to Pondicherry, in order to blockade the place by ſea.

On the 8th of Auguſt, the army marched from Fort St. David, under the command of admiral Boſcawen. It was compoſed of twelve independent companies of 100 men each, 800 marines from the fleet, eighty artillery men, a battalion of the Eaſt India Company's, of 750 men, together with ſeventy artillery men, 120 Dutch Europeans, and 1000 ſeamen from the fleet, who had been trained to the manual exerciſe during their paſſage from England, the whole amounting to 3720 Europeans; beſides which, there were 2000 ſepoys, and 300 topaſſes, paid by the Company. The nabob Avar-a-dien Khan ſtill wavering, as he found the French or Engliſh gain the aſcendancy in the politics of the Carnatic, promiſed to ſend a body of 2000 horſe to co-operate with the Engliſh army; but he was cautious in not fulfilling his promiſe until he could judge of the probable termination of the campaign. His troops, therefore, did not join Boſcawen till towards the concluſion of the ſiege. The heavy cannon and ſtores were loaden on board the ſquadron, which proceeded before the army, and anchored two miles ſouth of Pondicherry.

The Company's agents at Fort St. David had been ſhamefully negligent in gaining the information neceſſary to direct Boſcawen in his operations; inſomuch that, when the army came in ſight of the ſmall fort of Ariancopang, ſituated near the confines of Pondicherry, there was not a ſingle perſon who could give a deſcription of the place. Boſcawen, however, thought it expedient not to leave it in his rear, and therefore determined to reduce it before he proceeded on his march. One of the Company's engineers was ordered to reconnoitre it, but either from fear or treachery, he did not approach ſufficiently cloſe to the place to enable him to make his obſervations with any tolerable degree of accuracy. He reported, though the fort was covered by an entrenchment, it was of very little ſtrength. A deſerter farther reported, that it was garriſoned only by 100 ſepoys, and Boſcawen on this information reſolved to ſtorm it. Accordingly a detachment of 700 men marched at day-break againſt the eaſt ſide of the fort, to attack what they ſuppoſed to be the entrenchment deſcribed by the engineer, which, on a nearer approach, they diſcovered to be a heap of ruins; they likewiſe perceived, to their great diſappointment, that the fort itſelf was a triangle, regularly fortified with three cavaliers, a deep dry ditch full of pitfalls, and a covered-way. Theſe works were ſufficient to protect the

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place from any ſudden aſſault, even had it been garriſoned as the deſerter had reported; but inſtead of that it was defended by 100 Europeans and 300 ſepoys, under the command of a captain Law, an active and experienced officer. The Engliſh troops had no ſooner approached the works than they were inſtantly aſſailed with a ſhower of muſket and grape-ſhot. They nevertheleſs perſiſted in their attack with much more bravery than ſkill; and although they had carried with them no ſcaling-ladders, and had conſequently no means of ſucceeding in their raſh attempt, they obſtinately kept their ground for a conſiderable time, and did not retreat until 150 of their number were either killed or wounded.

This diſaſter, ſo obviouſly the reſult of ignorance and temerity, greatly affected the ſpirits of the men, and ſeemed to damp the ardour of the enterprize. But Boſcawen was not to be diſconcerted by any misfortune of this ſort; which, however, could never have happened, had his experience in military operations been equal to his other qualifications for the command with which he was entruſted. Inflexible in his purpoſe, he determined to perſiſt in reducing Ariancopang, and, with a view to facilitate as well as expedite its reduction, he ordered the diſciplined ſailors, with eight pieces of battering cannon, to be landed from the ſhips. The French, on the other hand, aware of the advantage of gaining time at this ſeaſon of the year, prudently reſolved to defend the fort as long as poſſible. To give effect to this reſolution, they erected a battery of heavy cannon, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, which runs to the north, and cloſe by Ariancopang, that they might thereby enfilade and obſtruct the approaches of the beſiegers. The Engliſh at the ſame time erected a battery on the plain, on the ſouth ſide of the river, to oppoſe that of the enemy; but ſuch was the neglect, or ignorance of the engineers who were employed in throwing up this work, that, when at day-break they opened the battery, moſt of the guns were found to be intercepted from the ſight of the enemy's by a thick wood. The artillery officers, on the diſcovery of this egregious overſight, offered their ſervice to raiſe another battery, which they completed with ſufficient ſkill before the next morning; and for greater ſecurity, they threw up an entrenchment before it, in which a detachment of ſoldiers and ſailors was poſted. At day-break the Engliſh battery began to play on that of the enemy, and the fire was continued for ſome time on both ſides, but with little execution on either. The French, in the mean while, had poſted without the fort, under cover of the works, a body of ſixty European cavalry.

This cavalry, ſupported by infantry, advanced towards the entrenchment, and attacked with great impetuoſity that part of it where the ſailors were poſted, who, unaccuſtomed to this ſort of ſervice, were thrown into confuſion, which, diſconcerting the regular troops, they were compelled to abandon the entrenchment, and retreat to the battery, whither they were purſued by the French cavalry; whom, however, the heavy fire from the Engliſh artillery ſoon repulſed. The gallant major Lawrence, ſo juſtly diſtinguiſhed in Indian hiſtory, commanded this entrenchment; and rather than take flight with the troops, he and a few officers defended themſelves

in

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in the trench until they were disarmed by some of the enemy's dragoons, and forced to surrender.

The same day a quantity of gunpowder taking fire in the enemy's battery, it blew up, and near 100 men were either killed or disabled by the explosion. And this disaster struck so much terror amongst the French troops in the fort, that a few hours afterwards they set fire to the chambers with which they had undermined the fortifications, blew up the greatest part of the walls and cavaliers, and then retired with the utmost precipitation to Pondicherry. As soon as Bosscawen observed the explosion, he gave orders to take possession of the ruins. But unfortunately, instead of following up the advantage which this accident had given him, he remained five days longer at Ariancopang, deeming it expedient to repair and garrison that fort, before he made his approaches against Pondicherry; from an apprehension that, during the siege, a detachment of the enemy might again take possession of the former place, and from thence be enabled to intercept convoys, and otherwise harass the English army.

The town of Pondicherry was situated about seventy yards from the sea shore; its extent from north to south was about a mile, and from east to west about 1100 yards; on the three sides towards the land, it was fortified with a wall and rampart, flanked by eleven bastions; the north and south extremities nearest the sea were defended by two demi-bastions; and the whole of these works were encompassed by a ditch and an imperfect glacis. The eastern side was defended by several low batteries, capable of mounting upwards of 100 pieces of cannon, which commanded the road; and within the town was a citadel, though too small to make a long defence. The greatest part of the ground in the vicinity of the town was inclosed at the distance of a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes and other thorny plants peculiar to the country, intermixed with numbers of cocoa-nut and palm-trees, which together formed a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and which even infantry would find it very difficult to break through. This inclosure began at the north side, close by the sea, and continued for five miles and a half, describing a large segment of a circle, until it joined the river of Ariancopang to the south, at a mile and a half from the shore; and in this part the course of the river served to complete the line of defence. There were five roads leading from the town into the adjacent country, and at each of the openings in the hedge through which these roads were cut, there was a well-built redoubt mounted with cannon. Such was the situation of Pondicherry, and the manner in which it was fortified and defended, when Bosscawen commenced his operations against it.

On the 26th of August, the English army marched from Ariancopang, and took possession of the village of Ulagurry, situated about two miles from the south-west part of the town. From hence Bosscawen sent a detachment to take possession of the north-west redoubt of the bound-hedge, which the enemy abandoned without resistance, although it was capable of a defence that might have cost the English many lives, and perhaps much trouble as well as time. Shortly after the evacuation of this redoubt, the garrisons in the other redoubts in the bound-hedge were withdrawn.

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By the advice of the engineers, Boſcawen determined to make his approaches on the north-weſt ſide of the town; and in order to facilitate the comunication between the fleet and the camp, the ſhips were ſtationed to the north of the town.

On the night of the 30th of Auguſt, the beſiegers opened ground, at the diſtance of 1500 yards from the works; a circumſtance in itſelf ſufficient to prove the deplorable ignorance of the Engliſh engineers, on whoſe plan and by whoſe advice this ſiege was conducted; for, according to the art of war eſtabliſhed amongſt the military nations of modern Europe, it is the univerſal practice in ſieges, to make the firſt parallel, *at leaſt* within 800 yards of the covered-way. The next morning 150 men were detached from the trench firſt thrown up, and ordered to make a lodgment about 100 yards nearer the town, and being ſupplied with working tools, they were not long in throwing up a mound, which ſufficiently covered them from the fire of the enemy's cannon. Towards the afternoon of that day, 500 Europeans and 700 ſepoys made a ſortie from the town, attacking both the trenches at the ſame time, from which, however, they were repulſed with the loſs of 100 men, and ſeven officers.

The celebrated lord Clive, then an enſign, ſerved in the trenches on this occaſion, and by his gallant conduct gave the firſt prognoſtic of that high military ſpirit, which was the ſpring of his future actions, and the principal ſource of the deciſive intrepidity and elevation of mind, which were his characteriſtical endowments.

The approaches were continued, but from a total inexperience in ſuch operations they advanced very ſlowly. Two batteries of three guns each were raiſed within 1200 yards of the town, in the ſuppoſition that they would operate as a check on the enemy's ſorties; but parties ſtill ſallied every day in defiance of theſe batteries, and made ſucceſsful attacks on the detachments employed to eſcort the ſtores and cannon from the ſhips to the camp. Whilſt the army was thus engaged, a bomb-ketch was ordered to bombard the citadel night and day; but the enemy returned the fire of this veſſel with ſuch effect, that ſhe was compelled to deſiſt from bombarding during the day, and the firing which ſhe kept up at night proved of little annoyance.

After much hard labour and great fatigue, the trenches were advanced within 800 yards of the walls, when it was found impracticable to carry them on any nearer; having now diſcovered a large moraſs which preſented an inſuperable barrier to any farther approaches before this part of the town, more particularly as the French had preſerved a back water, with which they not only overflowed the moraſs, but alſo all the ground lying between the trenches and the foot of the glacis. The Engliſh were, therefore, obliged to raiſe their batteries, on the edge of the moraſs where their working parties were much expoſed to the enemy; who, by keeping up a conſtant and well directed fire, killed a great many men, and thereby fruſtrated their operations, and retarded the progreſs of the ſiege.

On the 25th of September, however, two batteries were completed, one of eight, the other of four pieces of cannon, of eighteen and twenty-four pounders; a bomb battery of five large mortars and fifteen royals, and another of fif-

teen

teen cohorns were likewiſe erected; and all of theſe batteries now began to play on the town. The French, on the other hand, opened ſeveral embraſures in the curtain, and at the ſame time commenced a heavy fire from thoſe batteries on the creſt of the glacis: inſomuch, that the fire of the beſieged was double that of the beſiegers. Boſcawen upon this reſolved to bring his whole naval force to batter the town, and conſequently ordered all the line of battle ſhips to be warped within 1000 yards of the walls, the ſhallowneſs of the water not permitting them to be brought nearer. The cannonade which was now opened upon the town was inceſſant and tremendous, but the French ſoon found that it was only terrible in appearance, and produced little real effect; owing to the diſtance of the ſhips from the town, and the heavy ſwell of the ſea, the ſhot never ſtruck ſucceſſively the ſame object; ſo that it neither made any breach in the works, nor did much damage to the town. The beſieged at firſt withdrew a conſiderable number of their artillery from the land ſide, in order to open their batteries againſt the ſhips; but perceiving the fortifications ſuſtained hardly any injury from the fire of the fleet, they remitted the vigour of their defence on that ſide, and renewed on the land ſide with increaſed activity and ardour.

The cannonading from the ſhips was kept up without intermiſſion until night, when Boſcawen, finding that a vaſt quantity of ammunition had been expended to no purpoſe, ordered them to weigh anchor in the night, and to move beyond the reach of the enemy's ſhot; but the execution of this order was prevented by the wind ſetting in from the ſea. Being, therefore, under the neceſſity of keeping their ſtations, they recommenced the cannonade at day-break, which the enemy returned with ſtill greater ſpirit and briſkneſs, than that with which they had ſo ſucceſsfully maintained the conflict on the preceding day; but at noon the wind changing, the ſhips moved from the ſhore, and the firing ceaſed on both ſides. The fire from the batteries continued three days longer, during which time that of the enemy was ſupported with augmented vigour, and nine pieces of cannon of the aſſailants were diſmounted.

The weather had now changed, the rainy ſeaſon had ſet in earlier than uſual, ſickneſs began to prevail in the Engliſh camp, and hardly any impreſſion had been made on the fortifications of Pondicherry. In conſideration of theſe circumſtances, Boſcawen thought it prudent to call a council of war, which was ſummoned on the 30th of September, and at which it was unanimouſly reſolved to raiſe the ſiege without delay; being juſtly apprehenſive that the rains which at their commencement generally overflow the country, might render the removal of the cannon and heavy ſtores impracticable, and likewiſe that the ſhips might be driven off the coaſt by the ſevere gales of wind, which at the ſetting-in of the monſoon invariably prevail.

In conformity with this deciſion the batteries were immediately deſtroyed, the battalion of ſailors, the cannon, and heavy ſtores reimbarked; and on the 6th of October, the troops began their march to Fort St. David, where they arrived the preceding evening, having demoliſhed the fort of Ariancópang in their way.

On a review of the army it was

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found, that during the ſiege there had periſhed in action and by ſickneſs 757 ſoldiers, forty-three artillery men, and 265 ſeamen, in all 1065 Europeans: of the ſepoys very few were killed, for they had only been employed to guard the ſkirts of the camp, and being altogether undiſciplined, generally took flight on the approach of danger. The French garriſon, commanded by M. Dupleix (a man juſtly diſtinguiſhed for his ſpirit and ſagacity), conſiſted of 1800 Europeans and 3000 ſepoys, of which 200 Europeans and about fifty ſepoys were killed.

The cauſes to which the failure of this ſiege is to be attributed, are ſo plainly diſcernible in the preceding account, that any enumeration of them would be unneceſſary. The total incapacity of the engineers, through which the lives of ſo many brave men were unprofitably loſt, was, if poſſible, ſtill more diſcreditable to government than to themſelves, ſince we do not find that they were ever brought to an account for their ſhameful miſconduct. Boſcawen's conſciouſneſs of his own diſqualifications as a ſoldier, might, conformably with his candid and amiable diſpoſition, have deterred him from calling for an inquiry on the conduct of theſe officers; but this apology amounts to a tacit cenſure of his raſhneſs, in accepting a command for which he was not qualified either by any knowledge of military ſcience, or any ſufficient experience of military operations; and for the want of which, neither his ſkill and judgment in nautical affairs, nor his zeal, enterpriſing ſpirit, and intrepidity, could at all compenſate. We make theſe obſervations with the impartial freedom of hiſtory, and we hope without offence.

Soon after the return of the army to Fort St. David, intelligence arrived from England of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities between the French and Engliſh in India conſequently took place. Some circumſtances, however, rendered neceſſary for Boſcawen to remain in India with the fleet a few months longer; a neceſſity which accidentally proved very unfortunate; for, on the 13th of April following, a violent hurricane aroſe, in which the *Namur*, of 74 guns (the admiral's flag ſhip), the *Pembroke*, and the *Apollo* hoſpital ſhip, together with the greateſt part of their crews, were unhappily loſt. When the gale commenced, the *Namur* was at anchor in the road of Fort St. David. The admiral was on ſhore, but the officer in command of the ſhip, immediately cut the cables and put to ſea, though the impetuoſity of the tempeſt and the uncommon height of the ſea were ſuch, as to offer little proſpect of being able to ſave the ſhip; and, after ſtruggling for ſome hours in an endeavour to get off the coaſt, ſhe foundered in nine fathom water; captain Marſhall, Mr. Gilchriſt the third lieutenant, the captain of marines, the ſurgeon, purſer, chaplain, boatſwain, and about forty ſeamen, being all that were ſaved out of ſix hundred.

The town of Madras being delivered up by the French, and taken poſſeſſion of by the Engliſh, and every other ſtipulation being fulfilled by the enemy according to the Treaty of Peace, Boſcawen ſailed from Fort St. David on the 19th of October 1749, and arrived at St. Helens on the 14th of April following.

On his return to England, he obtained a ſeat in parliament, and was appointed

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appointed one of the lords of the admiralty. During the war, which broke out in 1756, he was variously employed in the line of his profeſſion. In 1759 he was appointed to the command of the Mediterranean fleet; and on the 17th of Auguſt, in that year, gained a deciſive victory over a French fleet of ſuperior force, nearly one half of which he either captured or deſtroyed.

This was the laſt public ſervice of conſequence in which he was employed. Being in a bad ſtate of health, he retired in the autumn of 1760, to his country ſeat, at Hatchland's Park, Surry, where he died of a bilious fever on the 10th of Jan. 1761, in the 50th year of his age.

An AUTHENTIC MEMOIR *of the late Colonel* GILBERT IRONSIDE.

[*Written by a Friend of that Gentleman.*]

COLONEL GILBERT IRONSIDE, whoſe deceaſe is recorded in the Obituary of this Regiſter, was born in December 1757. He was the ſecond ſon of Edward Ironſide, banker and alderman of London, who filled the office of its chief magiſtrate in 1758, and died during his mayoralty.

Having completed a claſſical education at Wincheſter, under that able preceptor Doctor Warton, he determined to embrace the military profeſſion, and proceeded to India as enſign in an independent company, commanded by the honourable captain Delaval, in 1756, under the patronage of lord (then colonel) Clive, whoſe relation, George Clive, afterwards a banker in Fleet-ſtreet, had been a clerk in the houſe of Ironſide and Co. The father of lord Clive and alderman Ironſide were intimate friends. There he remained but a ſhort time, believing that as the banking houſe in which his family ſtill held a principal ſhare, was ſuppoſed to be in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate, he ſhould from that fund acquire independence, and returned to England by way of China. Finding, however, ſoon after his arrival, that his expectations were entirely fruſtrated, that his talents were his only poſſeſſion, and that he muſt rely entirely on his own exertions for his future ſucceſs in life, he reſolved to reſume the profeſſion he had ſet out in, and re-embarked for Bengal in 1759 as an enſign in the honourable Company's army on that eſtabliſhment. Here his abilities, his attainments, and his aſſiduity, immediately introduced him to thoſe able diſcerners of merit, lord Clive, Mr. Vanſittart, and Mr. Haſtings, by whom, and by ſucceſſive commanders in chief, he was conſtantly employed on the ſtaff in the firſt offices of confidence and importance. In the diſcharge of theſe various duties, acquiring the eſteem and approbation of his reſpective patrons, he remained till the year 1774.

The rank of colonel, which he attained that year, gave him the command of a brigade. In this ſituation a field was opened to him for diſplaying thoſe military talents he ſo eminently poſſeſſed, and ſo aſſiduouſly cultivated; and the ſtate of diſcipline in which he invariably kept the troops that were placed under his command, and the regularity and ſtrictneſs with which he invariably performed the duties

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of his own ſtation (inciting thus, by his own example, a ſimilar ſpirit and attention in thoſe who ſerved under him) will be his beſt, becauſe a juſt, eulogium. By the ſeceſſion of all his ſuperior officers he became, in 1786, the ſenior officer on the Bengal eſtabliſhment; but an alteration at that time taking place in the conſtitution of the Company's army, by depriving its commander in chief of the power and conſequence hitherto annexed to that ſtation; and finding alſo that his health was ſomewhat impaired by ſo long a reſidence in that climate, frequently inimical to European conſtitutions, he determined to proceed to Europe, and ſeek that relief which is ſometimes experienced from native air. Here he led entirely the life of a private gentleman; and having always adhered to an unuſual degree of temperance, enjoyed an almoſt uninterrupted courſe of health and cheerfulneſs till the laſt ſummer, when his conſtitution rapidly gave way; and a painful and lingering illneſs, which he ſuſtained with the greateſt firmneſs and reſignation, on the 7th of October laſt, put a period to his ſufferings. He was interred, by his expreſs deſire, in the moſt private manner, in the private chapel of Twyford.

The colonel, in 1765, married Letitia, the daughter of the reverend Robert Roberts, of Aldford, in Cheſhire, but had no family.

Though few perſons employed their pens more conſtantly than colonel Ironſide, it ſhould ſeem that he had done ſo chiefly for his own amuſement; the only publication known to be his, and that alſo was printed without his name, being a military work, entitled, "Rudiments of War," conſiſting generally of rules and regulations by the firſt authorities, arranged under diſtinct heads. He had prepared, ſeveral years ago, when in India, a very comprehenſive grammar of the Perſian language, which he was on the eve of ſending to England for publication, when the appearance of Sir William Jones's induced him to relinquiſh his intention. He alſo printed a few copies, two or three years ago, for diſtribution among his friends, of many of his own productions, chiefly ſhort and juvenile ones; and he has left a treatiſe on logic, a very copious and amuſing adverſaria, a treatiſe on tactics, and multifarious extracts from books, apparently, from the correctneſs of their arrangement, intended ultimately for publication.

Though colonel Ironſide never became a member of any literary or public ſociety, he did not fail to offer any means he poſſeſſed which he conceived could be conducive to public utility. While in India, he kept up a regular correſpondence with the late learned doctor Fothergill, who had been the intimate friend of his father; and occaſionally forwarded to him ſupplies of the ſeeds, and ſpecimens of the various timbers, the produce of that country, accompanied by deſcriptions of their culture, and the uſes they were applied to. He alſo ſent ſpecimens of ſome of the earths of Bengal to that eminent artiſt Mr. Wedgewood, in the hope that, through his ſkill, they might be beneficially introduced into the various manufactures executed under his direction. Mr. Wedgewood very politely acknowledged this attention, as well as the colonel's endeavours to benefit the manufactures of his country.

Nov. 10, 1802.

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An AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT *of the* LIFE *and* CHARACTER *of the late* ROBERT ORME, *Esq. F. A. S. Historiographer to the Honourable the East India Company.*

ROBERT ORME was the ſon of Mr. John Orme, a ſurgeon in the honourable Eaſt India Company's ſervice on the Bombay eſtabliſhment; a ſtation in which he ſerved for many years with conſiderable reputation. Being appointed to attend the factory at Anjenga, in the province of Travencore, he proceeded thither with his family; and at that place Robert Orme was born in the month of June 1728.

With a judicious attention to his health and education, his father ſent him to England at an early age; and in 1736 he was placed at Harrow ſchool, where he was equally diſtinguiſhed for the quickneſs of his capacity and the aſſiduity of his application. At that ſeminary he continued till 1742, when he was removed to an academy in London, for the purpoſe of being inſtructed in the theory of commercial buſineſs; with which, as he was deſigned for the civil ſervice of the India Company, it was deemed eſſential he ſhould be thoroughly acquainted. His progreſs in this branch of knowledge was proportioned to the talents he had previouſly diſplayed, in more lively and attractive ſtudies; and as he could not but have felt conſiderable regret on being obliged to relinquiſh thoſe ſtudies, his applying to others ſo little congenial, if not repulſive to a youthful mind, evinces uncommon vigour as well as diligence.

Having completed his courſe of ſtudy at the academy, he was appointed a writer in the Company's ſervice; and in 1744, or 5, proceeded to Calcutta, where he had an elder brother already ſettled. He continued in Bengal until 1752, when he went to Madras; and in the following year returned to England, in company with captain (afterwards lord) Clive, with whom he lived on terms of the cloſeſt intimacy.

With a mind ſo acute and obſerving, he could not have reſided for eight years in India, without acquiring conſiderable knowledge, not only of the manners, cuſtoms, and inſtitutions of its inhabitants, but of the political condition of its different ſtates. And poſſeſſing a good addreſs, and a pleaſing manner of communicating information, he was, ſoon after his arrival in London, much noticed by thoſe who deſired to obtain information on the affairs of India; and being by this means introduced to lord Holderneſs, then ſecretary of ſtate, he received the countenance and ſupport of that nobleman.

Such patronage naturally led to that preferment to which his abilities ſo well intitled him; and, in 1755, he was appointed fourth member in the council at Madras, whither he accordingly proceeded.

In the ſubſequent year he had an opportunity of ſhewing much of that political ſagacity and deciſion, which diſtinguiſhed his conduct in the important ſtation he now filled. When intelligence was brought to Madras of the capture of the Engliſh ſettlement at Calcutta, by Serauj-ud-Dowlah, the ſubahdar of Bengal, and of the dreadful ſufferings of the captives on that occaſion,

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caſion, the governor and council, after ſome deliberation, reſolved to avenge the injuries which their countrymen had ſuſtained, to wreſt Calcutta from the hands of its conqueror, and re-eſtabliſh a ſettlement which was of ſuch deep importance to the intereſts of the Company. An armament for that purpoſe was ſpeedily equipped, in conjunction with admiral Watſon; but a difference of opinion aroſe in the council, reſpecting the choice of an officer to command the troops. The commander in chief of the forces at Madras, who was colonel of his majeſty's 39th regiment, had certainly a prior claim to this appointment; but there exiſted ſufficient reaſons why he ſhould not be entruſted with the chief direction of an expedition, on which the reputation of the Britiſh arms in India, and the conſequent ſtability of the Company's poſſeſſions, ſo materially depended. Mr. Orme objected in forcible terms to the command being given to that officer. He repreſented the nature of the country which the expedition was deſtined to invade, the magnitude of the army which it would have to oppoſe, the numerous difficulties and dangers with which it would infallibly be ſurrounded, and the neceſſity, therefore, of veſting the command of it in an officer, who ſhould not only be equally intelligent and active, but alſo accuſtomed to the peculiarities of Indian warfare, and acquainted with the character of the natives. The ſucceſs of ſuch an enterpriſe, he ſaid, would depend not leſs on the keen diſcernment and deciſive judgment, than on the perſonal valour and intrepidity of him to whom it might be entruſted. In this opinion he was ſupported by the celebrated colonel Lawrence, then a member of the council, and commander in chief of the Company's troops: and after much diſcuſſion lieutenant colonel Clive was finally choſen as the perſon in all reſpects the beſt qualified to command the expedition. The well known reſult was a glorious confirmation of the wiſdom and propriety of the choice; and it ſerves to place, in a ſtriking light, the penetrating ſagacity and ſound judgment of Mr. Orme, to whom his country is indebted for this hazardous enterpriſe having been placed under the guidance of Clive, whoſe intrepid and adventurous genius could perhaps have alone conducted it to the important conqueſt it achieved.

In the deliberations of the council of Madras, relative to the military operations in the Carnatic, between the years 1755 and 59, Mr. Orme took an active part; and, in ſome of the moſt critical conjunctures of that war, his abilities, as a politician and a ſtateſman, appeared particularly conſpicuous. So ſenſible were the court of directors of the benefit which the public ſervice derived from his advice, and ſo highly was his general conduct approved of, that he was appointed the eventual ſucceſſor to the governor of Madras,—(the late unfortunate lord Pigot.) He did not, however, continue long enough there to be elevated to that ſtation.

In addition to his duty as a member of the council, he held the office of commiſſary general during the years 1757-58, and 59; ſo that almoſt the whole of his time was occupied in public buſineſs. Yet fond of ſocial pleaſures, he found leiſure to cultivate the friendſhip of thoſe in whom he diſcovered any eſtimable qualities. With admiral Watſon and ſir George Pocock,

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cock, he was in habits of great intimacy; and with captain Speke, who commanded the flag ship, then on the India ſtation, he contracted a cloſe friendſhip, which not only contributed to their own gratification, but tended to advance the public ſervice; for by their cordial and united exertions many difficulties and impediments that obſtructed the co-operation of the land and naval forces, were either obviated or removed. He entertained a high eſteem for Mr. James Alexander, (late lord viſcount Caledon) who was his deputy, as accountant general. About this time, too, he became acquainted with Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, who has ſince acquired ſo much merited reputation by his hydrographical works. Dalrymple was then under ſtorekeeper at Madras; and Orme perceiving that he had a capacity fitted for a higher ſtation, was deſirous of getting him nominated to ſucceed Mr. Alexander, as deputy accountant. His endeavours in this particular were unſucceſsful; but he continued with a generous attention to cheriſh and befriend Dalrymple, whoſe good natural parts, he rightly judged, might be employed to the advantage of the public.

Though his official avocations prevented him from applying to the ſtudy of claſſical literature, for which he had in his youth imbibed an ardent deſire, they afforded him great facilities for collecting thoſe hiſtorical materials, by which that literary character he was ſo ambitious to gain, was deſtined to be eſtabliſhed. He was, however, obliged to relinquiſh thoſe purſuits ſooner than he wiſhed. The unwearied attention with which he applied to them at laſt impaired his health; and in 1759 he found it neceſſary to quit India, and return to England with a very ſmall fortune.

In the courſe of a year after his arrival, he began to digeſt the plan of his hiſtory of the military tranſactions of the Britiſh nation in India, a work of which he had long conceived the idea; and finding that the original documents which he had obtained would require conſiderable enlargement and illuſtration, he inveſtigated with ſedulous induſtry and diligence every ſource from whence information could be derived. By theſe means he procured a great maſs of materials, of which a ſmall part only had previouſly been communicated to the public, and that in a garbled ſtate, through the medium of partial narratives. In arranging thoſe materials, and in forming them into an hiſtoric compoſition, he was occupied upwards of two years. In 1763 the firſt volume of his hiſtory was publiſhed, and the reception it met with was calculated to gratify his expectations of literary fame, though it did not reward his labours by a ſpeedy ſale. A ſecond edition was not called for until 1775. To this volume he prefixed a conciſe hiſtorical diſſertation on the Mahommedan conqueſts and eſtabliſhments in Hinduſtan, compriſing a review of the peculiar character and cuſtoms of the Hindu people. Having no acquaintance with the learned languages of Aſia, and therefore no acceſs to ſome of the beſt authorities on thoſe important but complicated ſubjects, he was led into a few miſtakes and miſconceptions; which, however, are perfectly excuſeable, as there did not exiſt, at the period he wrote, any tranſlations from Aſiatic writers into any European language, re-

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lative to the political history and civil institutions of Hindustan. His account of the Hindus appears to have been principally derived from his own actual observations; and is in general so accurate, and is written with such clearness and simplicity, that we consider it as better calculated to convey to European readers a distinct idea of the general character and habits of those people, than almost any of the more recent productions on that subject. With respect to the early Mahommedan conquests, his only guides were D'Herbelot, and Petit de-la-Croix; and he is therefore, for the most part, correct, as far as relates to the Ghaznian and Tartar conquerors; but regarding the subsequent establishment of the Mogul dynasty, as well as the history of its progress, and the institutions of its most renowned princes, his account is sometimes erroneous, and often defective. His history of the wars in the Carnatic, has not been more celebrated than it deserves, for the faithfulness, impartiality, and uniform accuracy of its narration.

Having, by this publication, introduced himself to the world with so much advantage, he became solicitous to support and advance his literary reputation, by storing his mind with a competent knowledge of the ancient classics, which he knew to be essential not only to the cultivation of a pure taste, but to the attainment of eminence in literature. With this view he applied himself with his usual diligence to the study of the Greek language, which he had almost forgotten, and which, in a few years, he is said to have completely mastered. The erudition which he thereby acquired strengthened his habits of thinking, in the same proportion that it informed and polished his understanding, and his conversation which had been always marked by strong sense, received additional vigour and vivacity. His company was therefore much solicited, and every day brought him new acquaintance.

About this period (1769) his friend, lord Clive, finally returned from India; but soon after his arrival a coolness arose between him and Orme, which terminated in the total dissolution of their friendship, several years before his lordship's death. Of the cause of this disagreement we are not informed; but it is lamentable to observe the friendship of such men as these perish like that of the most frivolous characters.

In 1770 he began to prepare the materials for the second volume of his history, which the Court of Directors, with a just sense of the utility of his writings, enabled him to amplify and correct, by giving him free access to the records at the India House; and at the same time they appointed him historiographer to the Company, with a salary of 300l. a year. In order, however, to obtain all possible information respecting the operations of the French, in the Carnatic, he applied to lieutenant-general Bussy, who had borne so considerable a part in those operations; and that officer thought himself under such obligations to Orme, for the precision and impartiality with which he had recorded his actions in his first volume, that upon his going to France, he invited him to his *chateau*, where he treated him with elegant hospitality, and furnished him with several authentic documents.

In 1773 he received the following letters from doctor Robertson

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and sir William (then Mr.) Jones, with both of whom the publication of his first volume had brought him acquainted:

From Doctor Robertson.

College of Edinburgh,
April 23, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

I shall be happy to hear that you still enjoy that more confirmed state of health in which I had last the pleasure of seeing you. What progress do you make? I hope you do not relax your ardour in carrying on your work, and that if the present age may not expect to peruse the history of those extraordinary transactions you have seen, you will not deprive posterity of that satisfaction. I go on as usual, slowly. I have got many useful and uncommon books from Spain, and expect some manuscripts by the interest of lord Grantham. I flatter myself the work will turn out curious and interesting. Allow me to put you in mind of two promises, one that you would give me some criticisms or strictures upon style, in some parts of my history; the other, that you would send me a copy of the last edition of your first volume. I wish for the former, as I shall certainly profit by the ideas of one who has attended so much to the purity and elegance of language; and for the latter, that it may remain as a monument with my son of a connection of which I shall say no more, than that I am solicitous it should be remembered. In the mean time believe me to be with most sincere respect,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate and faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

Extracts of a letter from the late Sir William Jones.

Duke-street, June 26, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

I was never less pleased with the study of the law than at this moment: when my attendance in Westminster Hall prevents me from thanking you in person for your most elegant and acceptable present, which shall ever be preserved amongst my literary treasures. Your history is not one of those books which a man reads once in a cursory manner, and then throws aside for ever: there is no end of reading and approving it, nor shall I ever desist giving myself that pleasure to the last year of my life. You may rely on this testimony, as it comes from one who not only was never guilty of flattery, but like Cæsar's wife, would never suffer himself to be suspected of it.

It is much to be regretted that the historical pieces of Lucceius are not preserved to us: by a letter or two of his which are extant, he seems to have been a man of exquisite parts and taste: Cicero declares himself charmed with his way of writing, which makes me think that his works would have been far preferable to those of Sallust and Tacitus, whom I cannot help considering as the first corruptors of the Roman language and eloquence. As to our language, if yourself and perhaps lord Lyttelton had not restored it to its native simplicity, we should soon have been reduced to talk a new dialect, &c. &c. &c.

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See the loquacity of us lawyers, you honour me with three kind and indulgent lines, and I send you in return

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return as many rambling pages: but when friends cannot converſe in perſon, they have no reſource but converſing at a diſtance.

I am with great truth,
Moſt ſincerely yours,
W. Jones.

Having procured all the materials he required, and having beſtowed ſeveral years in the compoſition of his ſecond volume, he publiſhed it in the beginning of 1778. It is written with no leſs ability than the former volume, and is more intereſting and comprehenſive. It embraces the whole of the military tranſactions of the Engliſh and French in every part of India, from 1756 to 1761; and commences with an hiſtorical ſurvey of Bengal, from its ſubjugation by the Muſſulman arms, to the conqueſt of lord Clive; comprizing a ſuccinct account of the riſe and progreſs of the Engliſh commerce in that province, and of the foundation of the ſettlement of Calcutta. During the fifteen years that elapſed between the publication of his firſt and that of his ſecond volume, he gained much additional and more accurate knowledge of the hiſtory and inſtitutions of the Mogul government, and the other native ſtates. Colonel Dow's verſion of Ferishta's hiſtory of northern Hinduſtan, publiſhed in the courſe of that time, ſupplied him with many important particulars, that ſerved to elucidate his reſearches; though being defective as a tranſlation in ſeveral parts, it has occaſionally miſled him. But for adopting the miſtakes of his authorities he cannot juſtly be blamed, as there was no reaſon to ſuſpect, and he poſſeſſed not the means to detect them. They do not therefore impeach the general accuracy of his narrative, or leſſen the credit which is has ſo juſtly obtained.

His talents as an hiſtorian, were now held in high eſtimation; and men, the moſt eminently qualified to judge of them, ſhowed him very flattering marks of their attention. On this occaſion Dr. Robertſon ſent him a preſent of his hiſtory of Charles the Fifth, accompanied with the following letter, expreſſive of his regard, and of the high opinion he entertained of his laſt volume, as well as of his writings in general:

MY DEAR SIR,

I do believe that no two perſons who have reciprocal good will as you and I, are leſs diſpoſed to break in upon each other by expreſſing it. I wiſh we both poſſeſſed a little more of the ſpirit of French *ſcavans*, and then our letters would be as frequent as now they are rare. To the natural diſinclination to writing of letters, I hope you will be kind enough to impute my neglecting to thank you in proper time for the preſent of your two new volumes. I peruſed them with great eagerneſs and much ſatisfaction: I can ſay nothing more expreſſive of my approbation, than that they equal the firſt. The conteſt in the ſecond part is between parties not ſo equally matched: the viciſſitudes of fortune are leſs ſingular, but whenever the ſubject admitted of it, your narrative carries your readers along, with all that intereſting and unwandering attention which diſtinguiſhes your mode of writing hiſtory. I incline to think that the war of Bengal, in books, vi. and vii, is the moſt choice morſeau in your work. When I ſee you, I will mention one or two criticiſms;

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ciáms; for where there is so much to praise, you can afford something to be blamed.

I am, with great truth and attachment,
Your faithful humble servant,
WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

During a short stay which the doctor made in London, some time afterwards, they often met. In conversation together one day, on the subject of history, Dr. Robertson observed, "that he thought lord Clive must consider himself much indebted to him, for having placed his conduct in so conspicuous a point of view." Orme replied, "lord Clive is a man who travels post through the world, and changes horses at every stage." This answer at once shews the opinion he entertained of that nobleman's private character, and the striking and forcible manner in which he could express his thoughts.

At this period he lived chiefly in London, and was much in the society of men of letters, where he sometimes met doctor Johnson, of whose wonderful intellectual powers and impressive wit he was struck with a just admiration. Talking one day with Mr. James Boswell of Johnson's journey to the western islands of Scotland, he thus strongly expressed his opinion of it: "It is," said he, "a most valuable book: besides extensive philosophical views and lively descriptions of society in the country it describes, it contains thoughts, which by long revolution in the great mind of Johnson, have been formed and polished, like pebbles rolled in the ocean."

Mr. Boswell, in his interesting and entertaining life of Johnson, has preserved another conversation which he had with Orme, relative to that extraordinary man. "I do not care (said Orme), on what subject Johnson talks; but I love better to hear him talk than any body. He either gives you new thoughts, or a new colouring. It is a shame to the nation that he has not been more liberally rewarded. Had I been George the Third, and thought as he did about America, I would have given Johnson three hundred a year for his Taxation no Tyranny alone." I repeated this (says Boswell) to Johnson, who was much pleased "with such praise from such a man."

A man who can express himself in conversation with such precision and energy is naturally fond of company, and if he be of an ingenuous disposition takes delight in associating with superior minds. Whilst Orme, therefore, enjoyed a good state of health, much of his time was spent in that agreeable and instructive way. Yet he did not neglect his researches in Indian history: for in 1789, he published his historical fragments of the Mogul empire during the reign of Aurungzebe; a work of great utility, as it contains within a narrow compass a variety of valuable particulars, both with regard to the native governments, and the European establishments in Hindustan, which, for the most part either lie buried in books that cannot be procured without considerable diligence, and that few readers would choose to peruse, or are locked up in the archives of the honourable Company. During the time he was employed in compiling these fragments, he thought it useful to study the Portuguese language, in order to consult in the originals the numerous writers of that nation who have treated of India.

His constitution, naturally weak,

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was at last so much impaired by his unremitting application to these pursuits, and the sedentary life which he consequently led, that he was obliged to confine himself at home, and observe very regular habits: but such was his love of society, that he seldom denied himself to any one who called on him.

In 1792 he left London, and retired to Ealing, where he resided during the remainder of his life; as well for the benefit of his health, as to reduce his expenditure, to which he then found his small income inadequate. He continued, however, to take a warm and lively interest not only about his friends, but in public affairs; and the following letter to an intimate friend towards the close of the year 1794, gives a pleasing specimen of his epistolary style, and shews the sentiments he entertained respecting the political situation of the country at that period.

"I owe you an account of the reasons of my long silence since I received your letter of the 26th of last month, and why I have not come to town, although, when I wrote you last, I seemed so near it; of this I shall speak first, as of the less importance.

"With my fever, all the distressful circumstances which accompanied it were almost removed, yet the fever left me much weakened; but fortunately came on, I know not from what cause, a succession of better sleep for fifteen nights, than I have known these ten years. I could not bring myself to break through this best of medical relief by coming into the rumble of Harley-street; and to this was added the opportunities I have had of riding, which have generally happened every other day; for the by-roads about this place are better than any near London, although the high road is perhaps the very worst. My good sleep was interrupted four or five nights, but it has returned for the last week; therefore I am not to be blamed for continuing here: such neighbours as I am willing to be known to are very civil to me; but as I am never out in the night air, (a caution most necessary to all invalids in the months of November and December,) I cannot be much with them. I find very pleasant companions in my study (my books) with whom I can communicate my ideas with as much confidence as I do to you.

"Your letter of the 26th of November, combined with what little I picked up from papers and talk, gave me much matter of reflection, of which every result was ominous, none favourable; and I will confess to you, that my mind was gradually getting into a gloominess, irksome, and unpleasant to the last degree; and therefore I determined to break through it, by applying myself to a literary pursuit, which should keep me from being absorbed in the politics of the day, of which every aspect is dismal. I knew, if I wrote my thoughts to you, you would have taken the trouble to have given me your's, which, from your situation, would have comprehended many points unknown to me, and I should have laid a burden on you, which however willingly taken up by you, I felt myself almost ashamed to expect, as it would be a return of ten for one.

"The approaching session of parliament will be more important than any this country ever knew. The question is, whether we shall make peace or continue the war? and each of these propositions branch

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branch out into others that immediately ſpring from them: With whom ſhall we treat? the convention! Can they be truſted? Will they make peace with any other view than to gain two or three years to raiſe a navy ſtronger than ours, and then begin with us again? What guarantees either of local powers or ſovereign ſtates will be granted to them, or undertaken by their neighbours? What are we to give to induce them (who certainly have the advantage ground at preſent) to make peace with us? They have got all Flanders, &c. and we have only their Weſt India iſlands, which it is moſt likely they think themſelves able to reconquer from us.

"Suppoſing then that we are obliged to continue the war, in what mode, and in what points are we to continue it? Is Flanders to be attacked again? I think our ſtrength quite inſufficient. Lord Stair declared that attacking France through Flanders, was taking the bull by the horns. The emperor muſt join us with at leaſt 120,000 men: Will, or can he? The other princes of the empire, will they do more than hire out their men to us?—and then, will they not do as the king of Pruſſia has done this year?

"If Holland will accept our ſupport, inſtead of fraternizing with the French, ſhe muſt by all means be ſupported by us. The alliance of Holland with France will be a great increaſe of naval force to the enemy.

"Should the French obtain Holland, they may probably attempt to invade us; but all that they can do, whilſt we can meet them at ſea in full ſtrength, will be to make deſcents on our remoteſt coaſts;—but even theſe will greatly affect our ſtocks.

"Theſe and many more points you will have to think on at the meeting of parliament. I am confident that *you* will judge right on all.

"I hope your health continues undiſturbed; my reſpects I wiſh to be acceptable to———."

Monday, 8th Dec. 1794.

In his retirement at Ealing, he was often viſited by his friends, who appear to have loved him with great affection. Amongſt theſe may be mentioned general Richard Smith, Mr. Roberts, the preſent chairman of the court of directors, Mr. Dalrymple, Sir George Baker, and the late Mr. Owen Cambridge, of Twickenham; author of a book of ſome merit, intitled "An Account of the War between the French and Engliſh, on the coaſt of Coromandel, from 1750 to 1761." But, as he ſays himſelf in the letter we have quoted, his books were his chief companions; and ſuch was the active curioſity of his mind, that at the age of ſeventy, he found in them a conſtant ſource of amuſement. He continued his ſtudies to the laſt month of his life, and a great many of his books bear intereſting evidence of the ſtrict attention with which he peruſed them; for their margins are filled with obſervations in his own hand-writing.

In the beginning of January 1801, he fell into a ſtate of weakneſs and languor, that prognoſticated his ſpeedy diſſolution; and he expired on the 14th of that month, in the 78d year of his age.

Mr. Orme was not known to be married, even to thoſe who were moſt in his confidence; but in a

letter from him to a particular friend, which, agreeably to the directions he left, was delivered according to its address, after his death, he acknowledges his marriage; and, in consequence of that acknowledgment, the court of directors settled a small annuity on his widow. He left no children.

Mr. Orme was somewhat above the middle stature, and his countenance expressed much shrewdness and intelligence. In his personal habits he seems not to have had any striking peculiarities. His general manner was sensible, easy, and polite. Of the qualities of his heart, those who knew him long and intimately, talk very highly. He was zealous in the service of those whom he really loved: but as it was not his custom to make professions of friendship, his acts sometimes surpassed expectations. His powers of conversation, as we have already shewn, were very considerable; and such was the extent of his knowledge, the readiness of his thoughts, and the facility of his expression, that he generally illustrated in a pleasing, often in a forcible manner, whatever subject he talked on. Ancient literature was one of his favourite topics; and he conversed on it with no common degree of learning and critical exactness, without any sort of pedantry or affectation. He loved to talk of music and painting, and was a good judge of both.

With respect to his intellectual character it would appear, from his life as well as his writings, that the principal features were good sense, sagacity and judgment. These qualities were assisted in their operation by an active spirit, a solicitous curiosity, and a cultivated taste. A mind thus constituted, readily acquired that power of combining circumstances in lucid order, and of relating them with compressive force, which distinguishes the writings of Orme. Few historians have connected the events of their story with more perspicuity, or related them with more conciseness. If he is sometimes minute, he is never redundant, and never tedious. Every incident is so distinctly stated and clearly arranged; every new nation, or individual, is introduced with so compendious an explanation; all the observations arise from the facts with so much propriety, and are in themselves so forcible and just; and the general style has so much simplicity and terseness, that every reader of discernment and taste must feel a strong interest in perusing his history. It is not indeed illumined with philosophical views of society, or manners, or civil institutions, or arts, or commerce; nor is it adorned with any fine delineations of character; but it is nevertheless a work of great merit, and must continue to hold a high place in the second rank of historical compositions.

*** Mr. Orme bequeathed to his friend and executor Mr. Roberts, the present chairman of the court of directors, all his manuscripts, and a variety of other valuable historical materials, accompanied with a wish that his friend would present them to the honourable the East-India Company. This wish has accordingly been complied with. We subjoin an abstract catalogue of the whole, signed by Mr. Wilkins, the Company's librarian:

An abstract Catalogue of printed Books and Manuscripts, with Maps, Charts, Plans, Views, and Hindu Idols, the Gift of John

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John Roberts, Esq. to the Honourable the East India Company's Library, being from the Collection of their late Historiographer, Robert Orme, Esq. F.A.S.

PRINTED BOOKS.

Fifty-one volumes, containing one hundred and ninety tracts on the subject of India, and the honourable Company's affairs, from about the year 1750 down to the year 1788.

MANUSCRIPT BOOKS.

Two hundred and thirty one volumes of various sizes, chiefly bound in vellum, containing a vast body of information upon the subject of India, in copies which Mr. Orme had permission to make from the records, and collections of others, and in original documents, common place, &c. with many useful indexes.

Eight bundles of letters, chiefly from Madras and Bombay, upon the subject of the Company's transactions in India.

PRINTED MAPS, CHARTS, PLANS, AND VIEWS.

Twenty rolls, consisting chiefly of foul and spare impressions of the plates, used for Mr. Orme's history.

Twenty rolls, containing sundry maps and plans.

Thirty-five books, containing maps, plans, and views.

Four port folios, ditto ditto.

MANUSCRIPT PLANS AND MAPS.

Seventeen rolls of plans and maps, chiefly the originals of those engraved for Mr. Orme's history.

HINDU IDOLS.

Six figures in brass, representing some of the principal emblems of the divine attributes, according to their mythology.

Library, East India House,
26th May, 1802.

CHARLES WILKINS, Librarian.

An AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT *of* GEORGE THOMAS, *an Irish Adventurer in India, a most extraordinary and enterprising Character. Just received from a Correspondent at Lucknow.*

"GEORGE THOMAS, an Irishman, ran away from a ship, of which he was cabin-boy, on the Coromandel coast. He found his way to Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam, where he served as a private soldier. He did not like this service, and, spurred on by the spirit of adventure, he crossed the Peninsula, and arrived at the Begum of Somroo's, who has a country about 150 miles N. W. of Delhi. She took him into her service, and he obtained her favour and confidence. She married him to an adopted daughter of her own, and appointed him to the management of a province, the revenues of which he very soon nearly doubled. The expenses of his mistress exceeded her income. He felt himself sufficiently established to attempt a reform. She had many Frenchmen in her service, whom she supported at a great expense, and who were entirely useless to her. These Thomas intended to have reduced. The Sieks at this time committing depredations upon the Begum's country, Thomas went to retaliate, which he had often before done with great advantage.

During

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During his abſence, the Frenchmen found means to make his miſtreſs believe that his plan was to take her country from her, and that for that reaſon he had wiſhed for their diſmiſſal.

"She took the firſt opportunity of ſhewing Thomas the change of her ſentiments towards him, by inſulting his wife while he was abſent. He immediately returned; protected his wife, and left her (the begum's) ſervice. This was in 1795. He was then at Anopſhire. He had not 500 rupees in the world; a proof of his honeſty, for he had been many years collector of a province, which at firſt yielded 70,000 rupees, but which he doubled before he left it. He now went into the ſervice of a Mahratta chief, named Appa Row Cunda. This man ordered him to raiſe and form ſome corps, and gave him ſome diſtricts for the payment of them. The diſtricts were unequal to the payment of his troops, but he managed to ſupport them by the plunder he got during the continual ſtate of warfare in which he was engaged. His chief was drowned: and being conſiderably in debt to Thomas, he kept poſſeſſion, and at laſt made a property of the diſtricts under his charge. He is a bold determined fellow. He augmented his troops; he formed, in fact, an army for himſelf, and by conqueſt he added to his original territory. He has often been called in as an ally by the different contending powers in that quarter. On one occaſion he was paid a ſubſidy of 50,000 rupees per month. His former miſtreſs, ſome time after he left her, went to ruin, was impriſoned, and treacherouſly deprived of her country. He marched to her relief, and reinſtated her.

"During the laſt years he has been more bold, and made conqueſts upon a grander ſcale than before. His capital, which is one of the ſtrongeſt places in India, is about 80 miles weſt of Delhi. It is called Hanſee, and is laid down in ſome of the maps. From this point he entered the Seik country, beat them wherever he could find them, and took poſſeſſion of a country upon the banks of the Sutledge, yielding near two lacks of rupees per annum. The Sutledge is in all the maps; it is the firſt of the five rivers which form the country called Punjaub. The Mahrattas could not with indifference view the ſucceſs of this enterpriſing adventurer. He was in their neighbourhood. They at firſt offered to take him and his corps into their ſervice, but they could not ſettle the terms. They then ordered general Perron, their commander in chief, to march againſt him. The general did not, it would appear, like his antagoniſt, for he ſettled with him upon his own terms. Thomas had then in the field 10,000 infantry, 1000 good cavalry, and 50 pieces of cannon, and he was not afraid of the Frenchman. Some friends of mine have been long in the habit of correſponding with him. He has always given them a detail of his different operations; they are wonderful. Our government cannot aſſiſt him; but I know the marquis Welleſley feels much intereſted for his ſucceſs.

"In one of his letters he propoſes that we ſhall attack the Seiks; and he ſays, that theſe people are the enemies both of the Mahrattas and the Engliſh. All he deſires is, that our government will requeſt the Mahrattas not to aſſiſt the Seiks. He wants no money,

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money, no arms, no troops; and he engages, in three years, to deliver to the Company his whole army, and all that country called the Punjaub, yielding a revenue of two crores of rupees per annum.—He will only require to be paid for his cannon. His ambition is to serve his country, and it is by this means he can do it.

"The plan may be thought wild and impracticable by those unacquainted with the Seik nation and with Thomas. With the former I have done all I could to get acquainted; the latter, I believe, to be equal to any thing possible to be performed, and I am fully convinced he will accomplish all he has promised, if the Mahrattas will not interfere."

OCTOBER 1801.—"George Thomas is now opposing the Mahrattas, and is nearly overpowered by the superiority of their resources; but he struggles hard, and hitherto victory has attended him. The last time I saw him he was not worth more than 500 rupees, exclusive of his horse. To his own vigorous conduct, to his own exertions and abilities, he owes every thing. He has been assisted by no friend—alone, and always surrounded by enemies. The Frenchman who now opposes him, is high in the service of the Mahrattas. A few years ago he was a cook at Calcutta!"

"FEB. 1802. I left George Thomas contending with the Mahrattas. He fought several battles with them, in all of which he compelled them to retreat; but they were too numerous for him to gain any thing but a name by the victories he had obtained. Finding that arms would not reduce him, they had recourse to means more certain, though less honourable, and they succeeded but too well. They bribed his chiefs, and deserted by his army, he was obliged to fly to his strong fortress. It was distant 100 miles. He reached it in one night, upon one horse. He was soon followed. The few men who remained with him fought bravely for some time, but his enemies subdued them with gold. He found it was in vain, and reluctantly he dictated terms of capitulation. He got 50,000 rupees for giving up his fort, and was besides permitted to carry off his property."

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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

An ACCOUNT *of the* TEA-TREE.—*By* FREDERICK PIGOU, *Esq.*

THE Chineſe all agree there is but one ſort or ſpecies of the tea-tree; and that the difference in tea ariſes from the ſoil and manner of curing.*

Chow-qua, who has been eight times in the bohea country, and who has remained there from four to ſix months each time, ſays, that many people, among their tea-leaves, eſpecially at Ankoy, near Amoy, put leaves of other trees; but that of theſe, there are but two or three trees, the leaves of which will ſerve that purpoſe; and they may eaſily be known, eſpecially when opened by hot water, becauſe they are not indented as tea-leaves are.

He ſays, that bohea may be cured as hyſon, and hyſon as bohea, and ſo of all other ſorts; but that experience has ſhewn, the teas are cured as beſt ſuits the qualities they have from the ſoils where they grow; ſo that bohea will make bad hyſon, and hyſon, though very dear in the country where it grows, bad bohea. However, in the province of Tokyen, which may be called the Bohea province, there has ſince a few years ſome tea been made after the hyſon manner, which has been ſold at Canton as ſuch.

The bohea country, in the province of Tokyen, is very hilly, and ſince ſome years greatly enlarged; the length of it is four or five days journey, or as much again as it formerly was. The extent of the ſoil that produces the beſt bohea tea is not more than 40 li, or about 12 miles; in circumference it is from 100 to 120 li. Not only the hills in this country are planted with tea-trees, but the valleys alſo; the hills, however, are reckoned to produce the beſt tea; on them grow congo, peko, and ſouchong; in the valleys or flat parts of the country, bohea. As to the true ſouchong, the whole place does not yield three peculs; Youngſhaw ſays, not more than 80 catty. The value of it on the ſpot is 1½ or 2 tales the catty; about ten or twelve ſhillings the pound. What is ſold to Europeans for ſouchong is only the firſt ſort of congo; and the congo they buy is only the firſt ſort of bohea. Upon a hill planted with tea-trees, one only ſhall produce leaves good enough to be called ſouchong; and of thoſe only the beſt and youngeſt are taken; the others make congo of the ſeveral ſorts, and bohea.

There are four or five gatherings of bohea tea in a year, according to the demand there is for it; but three, or at moſt four gatherings are reckoned proper; the others only hurt the next year's crop. Of ſouchong, there can be but one gathering, viz. of the firſt and youngeſt leaves; all others make inferior tea.

The firſt gathering is called tow-

* A tchune

* This fact is farther confirmed by Lord Macartney and Sir George Staunton, who in their journey from Pekin to Canton, paſſed through the center of the Tea country.—See *Macartney's Embaſſy to China*, vol. iii, page 296. ED.

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tchune, the ſecond eurl, or gee-tchune, the third ſan-tchune. If the firſt leaves are not gathered, they grow large and rank, and are not ſupplied by the ſecond leaves, which only come in their room or place, and ſo on.

The firſt gathering is reckoned fat or oily, the ſecond leſs ſo, the third hardly at all ſo, yet the leaves look young. The firſt gathering is from about the middle of April to the end of May; the ſecond from about the middle of June to the middle of July; the third from about the beginning of Auguſt to the latter end of September. Tea is never gathered in winter. The firſt gathering or leaf, when brought to Canton, commonly ſtands the merchants in

11½ tales the pecul
the 2d 11 or leſs
the 3d 9 ——

The method of curing bohea-tea of theſe three growths is, according to Chow-qua, thus:

When the leaves are gathered, they are put into large flat baſkets to dry, and theſe are put on ſhelves or planks, in the air or wind, or in the ſun, if not too intenſe, from morning until noon, at which time the leaves begin to throw out a ſmell; then they are tatched*; this is done by throwing each time about half a catty of leaves into the tatche, and ſtirring them quick with the hand twice, the tatche being very hot, and then taking them out with a ſmall ſhort broom, if the hand is not ſufficient. When taken out, the leaves are again put into the large flat baſkets, and there rubbed by mens' hands to roll them; after which they are tatched in larger quantities, and over a cooler or ſlower fire, and then put into baſkets over a charcoal fire, as is practiſed on ſome occaſions at Canton. When the tea is fired enough, which a perſon of ſkill directs, it is ſpread on a table, and picked or ſeparated from the too large leaves, yellow leaves, unrolled, broken or bad leaves.

Youngſhaw ſays, bohea-tea is gathered, ſunned in baſkets, rolled with the hand, and then tatched, which completes it.

Another ſays, it is gathered, then put in ſieves, or baſkets, about a catty in each, and thoſe put in the air, till the leaves wither, or give; after which they are put into a cloſe place out of the air, to prevent their growing red, until the evening, or for ſome hours; the ſmell then comes out of them. They are after this tatched a little, then rolled, and then tatched again; and about half a catty is tatched at one time.

Congo, ſays Chow-qua, is tatched twice, as is ſouchong; but Youngſhaw ſays, ſouchong and congo are not tatched, but only fired two or three times: the latter is moſt probable, and yet the former may be true; for as tatching ſeems to give the green colour to the leaves of the tea-trees, ſo we may obſerve ſomething of that greenneſs in the leaves of congo and ſouchong-teas. Youngſhaw further ſays, that the leaves of ſouchong, congo, hyſon, and fine ſinglo-trees, are beat with flat ſticks or bamboos, after they have been withered by the ſun or air, and have acquired toughneſs enough to keep them from breaking, to force out of them a raw or harſh ſmell.

Souchong is made from the leaves of trees three years old, and where the ſoil is very good; of older, when not ſo good, congo is made. The leaves of older trees make bohea. The tea-trees laſt many years. When

* Tatche is a flat pan of caſt iron.

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When tea-trees grow old and die, that is when the bodies of the trees fail, the roots produce new ſprouts.

Peko is made from the leaves of trees three years old, and from the tendereſt of them, gathered juſt after they have been in bloom; when the ſmall leaves that grow between the two firſt that have appeared, and which altogether make a ſprig, are downy and white, and reſemble young hair or down. Trees of four, five, and ſix years old may ſtill make peko; but after that they degenerate into bohea if they grow on the plains, and into congo if they grow on the hills.

Lintſeſſin ſeems to be made from very young leaves rolled up, and ſtalks of the tree; the leaves are gathered before they are full blown: this tea is never tatched, but only fired. Were the leaves ſuffered to remain on the trees until they were blown, they might be cured as peko; if longer, as congo and bohea. This tea is in no eſteem with the Chineſe; it is only cured to pleaſe the ſight; the leaves are gathered too young to have any flavour.

Tea-trees are not manured, but the ground on which they grow is kept very clean and free from weeds. Tea is not gathered by the ſingle leaf, but often by ſprigs. Tea in general is gathered by men; however women and children alſo gather tea. Tea is gathered from morning till night, when the dew is on the leaves as well as when it is off.

Ho-ping tea is ſo called from the country where it grows, which is twelve eaſy days journey from Canton. This tea is cured after the manner of bohea, only in a more careleſs or ſlovenly way, on account of its little value, and with wood inſtead of charcoal fire, which is not ſo proper, and adds to the natural bad ſmell the tea has, from the ſoil where it grows.

Leoo-ching (or Lootſia), the name of a place eight days journey from Canton; it may produce about 1000 peculs of tea in a year. This tea is cured as bohea, or as green, as the market requires, but is moſt commonly made to imitate ſinglo, which ſuits it beſt.

Honan-tea grows oppoſite to Canton; it is cured in April or May for the Canton market, that is, for the uſe of the inhabitants of Canton, eſpecially the women, and not for foreigners. There is but little of it, about 200 peculs. The worſt ſort of it remains flat and looks yellow: it is tatched once to dry it, but not rolled; and is worth three candarines the catty. The beſt ſort is tatched once, and rolled with the hand, and tatched again; it is worth twelve candarines the catty. Theſe teas are not, like the bohea, after they are tatched, put over a charcoal fire. The water of Honan-tea is reddiſh.

Ankoy-tea is ſo called from the country that produces it, which is about twenty-four days journey from Canton. When gathered, the leaves are put into flat baſkets to dry, like the bohea; they are then tatched, and afterwards rubbed with hands and feet to roll them, then put in the ſun to dry, and ſold for three or four candarines the catty. If this tea is intended for Europeans, it is packed in large baſkets, like bohea baſkets, and thoſe are heated by a charcoal fire in a hot-houſe, as is often practiſed in Canton. Bohea-tea is ſometimes ſent to Ankoy, to be there mixed with that country tea, and then forwarded to Canton.

The worſt ſort of Ankoy is not tatched, but Ankoy-congo, as it is called, is cured with care, like good

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bohea or congo: this ſort is generally packed in ſmall cheſts. There is alſo Ankoy-peka; but the ſmell of all theſe teas is much inferior to thoſe of the bohea country. However, Ankoy-congo of the firſt ſort is generally dearer at Canton than the inferior growths of bohea.

As tatching the tea makes it ſweat, as the Chineſe term it, or throw out an oil, the tatche in time becomes dirty, and muſt be waſhed.

If bohea is tatched only twice, it will be reckoned ſlovenly cured, and the water of the tea will not be green, but yellow; ſo that fine bohea-tea muſt be cured as congo; the coarſe is not ſo much regarded.

The ordinary tea uſed by common people in tea-countries, is paſſed through boiling water before it is tatched, notwithſtanding which it remains very ſtrong and bitter. This, father Lefebure ſays, he has often ſeen. Tea is alſo ſometimes kept in the ſteam of boiling water, which is called by ſome authors a vapour bath.

Singlo and hyſon-teas are cured in the following manner: when the leaves are gathered, they are directly tatched, and then very much rubbed by mens' hands to roll them; after which they are ſpread to divide them; for the leaves in rolling are apt to ſtick together; they are then tatched very dry, and afterwards ſpread on tables to be picked; this is done by girls or women, who, according to their ſkill, can pick from one to four catty each day. Then they are tatched again, and afterwards toſſed in flat baſkets to clear them from duſt; they are then again ſpread on tables and picked, and then tatched for a fourth time, and laid in parcels, which parcels are again tatched by ten catties at a time, and when done put hot into baſkets for the purpoſe, where they are kept till it ſuits the owner to pack them in cheſts or tubs; before which the the tea is again tatched, and then put hot into the cheſts or tubs, and preſſed in them by hand. When the tea is hot it does not break, which it is apt to do when it is cold. Singlo-tea being more duſty than hyſon-tea, it is twice toſſed in baſkets, hyſon only once.

It appears that it is neceſſary to tatche theſe teas whenever they contract any moiſture; ſo that if the ſeller is obliged to keep his tea any time, eſpecially in damp weather, he muſt tatche it, to give it a criſpneſs before he can ſell it.

It is to be obſerved that the quantity of leaves tatched increaſes with the times of tatching; at firſt only half or three quarters of a catty of leaves are put into the tatches.

Tunkey ſinglo-tea is the beſt, which is owing to the ſoil; it grows near the hyſon country. Ordinary ſinglo-tea is neither ſo often tatched or picked as the above deſcribed.

There are two gatherings of the ſinglo-tea; the firſt in April and May, the ſecond in June; each gathering is divided into three or more ſorts; the leaves of the firſt are large, fine, fat, and clean; of this ſort there may be collected from a pecul, from 40 to 55 catties, uſually 45. The ſecond ſort is picked next, and what then remains is the third or worſt ſort.

Tunkey, like other ſinglo-tea, is made into two or three ſorts; the beſt is ſometimes ſold for hyſon of an inferior growth.

Of hyſon there are alſo two gatherings, and each gathering is diſtinguiſhed into two or more ſorts; but as great care is taken in gathering it, 60 catties may be choſen from

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from one pecul, when only 45 catties can be choſen from ſinglo.

Hyſon-ſkin, as it is called, has its name from being compared to the ſkin or peel of the hyſon-tea, a ſort of cover to it, conſequently not ſo good; it conſiſts of the largeſt leaves, unhandſome leaves, bad coloured, and flat leaves, that are amongſt the hyſon-tea. This tea is known in London by the name of bloom-tea.

Gomi (or Gobee) and Ootſien, are alſo leaves picked from the hyſon leaves. Thoſe called gomi are ſmall, and very much twiſted, ſo that they appear like bits of wire. The ootſien are more like little balls.

There are many different growths of ſinglo and hyſon-teas, and alſo ſome difference in the manner of curing them, according to the ſkill or fancy of the curer: this occaſions difference of quality in the teas, as does alſo a good or bad ſeaſon: a rainy ſeaſon, for inſtance, makes the leaves yellow; a cold ſeaſon nips the trees and makes the leaves poor.

Bing-tea is ſo called from the man who firſt made that tea; it grows four days journey from the hyſon country. The leaves of bing are long and thin, thoſe of ſinglo are ſhort and thick.

The tricks in Tea are innumerable. In the bohea country, when tea is dear, (and probably they uſe the ſame method in all tea-countries,) they gather the coarſe old leaves, paſs them through boiling water, then cure them as other leaves are cured; after which they pound them, and mix them with other teas, putting five or ſix catties of this tea-duſt to ninety-five catties of tea.

To make Bohea-tea Green.

For this purpoſe coarſe Ankoy-tea is generally taken: the leaves ſhould be large. (Ankoy is no other than the tea-tree, from the bohea country, propagated at Ankoy.) Take ten catty of this tree, ſpread it, and ſweat the leaves by throwing water over them, either hot or cold, or tea-water. When the leaves are a little opened and ſomewhat dry, put them into a hot tatche, together with a ſmall quantity of powdered chico, a fat ſtone, and tatche them well, then ſift the tea, and it is done. If it happens not to be green enough, tatche it again; it is the frequent tatching that gives the green colour to the tea-leaves.

To make Green Bohea.

Firſt water it to open the leaves, then put them in the ſun to dry a little, then tatche them once, and proceed to cure them as bohea leaves, over a charcoal fire. This is ſeldom done, becauſe it is ſeldom worth doing, green tea being generally the deareſt: moreover, green tea does not make ſo good bohea as bohea does green.

Ho-ping tea, already deſcribed, and which is of the bohea kind, after being cured as bohea, is ſometimes altered to green, and becomes like the leoo-ching, beforementioned, and is ſold at Canton to foreigners for ſinglo.

It is to be obſerved, that all theſe worked-up teas, as they may be called, and teas of improper growths, are more commonly mixed with true teas for the Europe market, than ſold ſeparate by themſelves; ſo that the proportions in which they are mixed make combinations without end. The differences to be obſerved in teas ariſe from the ſoils; the methods of curing owing to the ſkill of the curer, ſometimes to his caprice; neglect in the curing; uſing bad fires;—wood, and that green, inſtead of charcoal; ſome-

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times ſtraw or broom for bad teas; and to the ſeaſons, which ſhould not be too wet or too dry, too cold or too hot. The Chineſe alſo ſell at Canton all ſorts of old teas for new, after they have prepared them for that purpoſe, either by tatching or firing, and mixing them with new teas.

Clean ſinglo-tea is called Pi-cha, or ſkin-tea. A cuſtom formerly prevailed to put 15 or 18 catties of very bad ſinglo-tea into the middle of a cheſt, which was covered on all ſides by good tea; and this was done by the means of four pieces of board nailed to each other, making four ſides, or a well for the cheſt, whereon good tea was ſpread, and alſo within two inches of the top, was drawn out. The good tea was called pi-cha, ſkin-tea, or the ſkin or covering to the bad, which the Chineſe called the belly. This method of packing ſinglo-tea has long ſince been diſcontinued.

The bohea country is about twenty-five eaſy days journey from Canton. The ſinglo about forty. The hyſon much the ſame.

Bohea uſually comes to Canton at the coſt of 9 to 11 tales the pecul

Singlo and ſecond hyſon 14 to 18

Hyſon - - 30 to 38

Congo, peko, and ſouchong, very various.

To theſe prices muſt be added the charges of warehouſe-room, packing the duties on exportation, and the ſeller's profit, in a country where money is often 2 per cent. per month, and ſeldom leſs than 20 per cent. per annum.

Bohea, *Voo-yee*, the name of the country.

Congo, or *Cong-foo*, great or much care or trouble in the making or gathering the leaves.

Peko, *Pé-how*, white firſt leaf.

Souchong, *Sé-ow-chong*, ſmall good thing.

Le-oo-ching, the name of a place.

Ho-ping, ditto.

Honan, ditto.

Ankoy, ditto.

Song-lo, ditto.

Hyſon, *He-Tchune*, name of the firſt crop of this tea.

Bing-min, name of the man who firſt made this tea.

Eſtimate of the quantity of Tea made in China in a year, taken in 1756.

Singlo	50,000	*Peculs.*
Hyſon	4,000	
Lock-ann, ſmall baſkets	20,000	not exported, [ſort Bohea
Mo-i-ſhan	2,000	not exported
Bing-tea	2,000	
Phow-ge tea	2,000	lumps, Bohea ſort
Bohea, including Congo, Peko, and Souchong	120,000 to 130,000	
Ankoy, Bohea and Green ſorts	50,000	
Openg	15,000	
Ing-aan	400	Bohea ſort
Cow-low, made either in Bohea or Singlo	2,000	
Loot-ſien	2,000	true ſort
	279,400	

Loot-ſien, true ſort, is what really grows in the Loot-ſien country. Some tea is planted near Loot-ſien, that paſſes for that tea, and that is the caſe in all the countries.

Beſides the teas before enumerated, many other teas are planted, as in the Honan country, &c. the quantities they produce cannot be eaſily aſcertained; but upon the whole, it is reckoned, that in ten parts, not above three are exported.

In 100 Chineſe, it is reckoned forty only can afford to drink tea; the others drink water only. Many, when they have boiled their rice, put water into the tatche in which the rice was boiled, to which ſome grains always adhere; the water looſens them, and is browned by the rice; that water they drink inſtead of tea.

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The tea ſent into Tartary is moſtly green, perhaps in the proportion of ſeven to two.

Old bohea is reckoned good by the Chineſe; in a fever they uſe it to cauſe perſpiration, and put into it a black or coarſe ſugar, with a little ginger.

Old hyſon, one or two cups made ſtrong, removes obſtructions in the ſtomach, cauſed by over-eating or indigeſtion. It is to be uſed, if a weight is felt, ſome hours after eating, and it will remove it.

An ACCOUNT *of the Hindu Method of cultivating the* SUGAR CANE, *and manufacturing the* SUGAR *and* JAGARY, *in the* Rajahmundry District;

Interſperſed with ſuch Remarks as tend to point out the great Benefit that might be expected from increaſing this Branch of Agriculture, and improving the Quality of the Sugar; alſo the Proceſs obſerved by the Natives of the Ganjam Diſtrict. *By Dr.* WILLIAM ROXBURGH.

No purſuit is more pleaſing to the benevolent mind than ſuch as tends to add a new ſource of happineſs to men.

Amongſt the natives of India, the tranſitions from one ſtage of improvement to another are ſo exceedingly ſlow, as ſcarce to deſerve the name, except it be the few who have benefited by the example of Europeans: they naturally poſſeſs a ſtrong diſinclination at departing from the beaten path eſtabliſhed from time immemorial; however, when they ſee a certain proſpect of gain, with little additional trouble, they have frequently been known to adopt our practices. We ourſelves ought more generally to keep in view, and to inſtil into their minds, this maxim, that every new propoſition, merely on account of its novelty, muſt not be rejected, otherwiſe our knowledge would no longer be progreſſive, and every kind of improvement muſt ceaſe.

At a period like the preſent, when the importation of Eaſt India ſugar has become ſo much an object of importance to Great Britain, in conſequence of the preſent ſtate of ſome of the beſt of the Weſt India ſugar iſlands, every inquiry that may tend to open new ſources, from whence that wholeſome commodity can be procured, at the cheapeſt rate, is of national importance.

I believe there are few diſtricts in the Company's extenſive poſſeſſions where there will not be found large tracts of land fit for the culture of ſugar cane; but I know, from experience, the introduction of a new branch of agriculture, amongſt the natives, to be attended with infinite trouble; therefore, where we find a province or diſtrict, in which the culture of the cane and making of ſugar has been in practice from time immemorial, there we may expect, without much exertion, to be able to increaſe the culture, and improve, if neceſſary, the quality.

In the northern provinces, as well as in Bengal, Cadapah, &c. large quantities of ſugar and jagary are made; it is only in the Rajahmundry and Ganjam diſtricts of theſe northern provinces where the cane is cultivated for making ſugars. I

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will confine my obſervations to the firſt, where I have reſided between ten and eleven years.

This branch of agriculture, in the above mentioned ſircar, is chiefly carried on in the Peddapore and Pettapore, along the banks of the Elyſeram river, which, though ſmall, has a conſtant flow of water in it the whole year round, ſufficiently large, not only to water the ſugar plantations during the dryeſt ſeaſons, but alſo a great variety of other productions, ſuch as paddy, ginger, turmerick, yams, chillies, &c. This ſtream of water, during the dryeſt ſeaſon, renders the lands adjoining to this river of more value, I preſume, than almoſt any other in India, and particularly fit for the growth of ſugar cane.

By the bye, permit me to obſerve, that of all the parts of India that I have ſeen, this ſeems the beſt ſuited for the culture of the mulberry and rearing ſilk-worms, as well on account of the cheapneſs of labour, and the general abundance of proviſions for the natives, as for the ſoil, climate, and ſituation.

But to return to the culture of ſugar; in theſe two zimindaries from 350 to 700 viſſums, or from 700 to 1400 acres of land (the viſſum being two acres) is annually employed for the rearing ſugar cane, more or leſs, according to the demand for the ſugar; for they could and would with pleaſure, if they were certain of a market, grow and manufacture more than ten times the uſual quantity; for it is very profitable, and there is abundance of very proper land: all they want is a certain market for their ſugar.

Beſides the above-mentioned, a third more may be made on the Delta of the Godavary.

From the ſame ſpot they do not attempt to rear a ſecond crop oftener than every third or fourth year; the cane impoveriſhes it ſo much, that it muſt reſt, or be employed during the two or three intermediate years, for the growth of ſuch plants as are found to improve the ſoil, of which the Indian farmer is a perfect judge; they find the leguminous tribe the beſt for that purpoſe.

The method of cultivating the cane, and manufacturing the ſugar by the natives hereabouts, is, like all other works, exceedingly ſimple; the whole apparatus, a few pairs of buffaloes or bullocks excepted, does not amount to more than a few (15 or 20) pagodas: as many thouſand pounds is generally, I believe, neceſſary to ſet out the Weſt India planter.

The ſoil that ſuits the cane beſt in this climate, is a rich vegetable earth, which, on expoſure to the air, readily crumbles down into a very fine mould: it is alſo neceſſary for it to be of ſuch a level, as allows of its being watered from the river, by ſimply damming it up, (which almoſt the whole of the land adjoining to this river admits of,) and yet ſo high as to be eaſily drained during heavy rains. Such a ſoil, and in ſuch a ſituation, having been well meliorated, by various crops of leguminous plants, or fallowing, for two or three years, is ſlightly manured, or has had for ſome time cattle pent in it; a favourite manure for the cane with the Hindu farmer, is the rotten ſtraw of green and black peſſaloo, (phaſeolus nungo max). During the months of April and May, it is repeatedly ploughed with the common Hindu plough, which ſoon brings this looſe rich ſoil into very excellent order. About the end of May and beginning of June, the rains generally ſet in, in frequent heavy ſhowers; now is the time

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time to plant the cane: but ſhould the rains hold back, the prepared field is watered, flooded from the river, and while perfectly wet, like ſoft mud, whether from rain or the river, the cane is planted.

The method is moſt ſimple; labourers, with baſkets of the cuttings of one or two joints each, arrange themſelves along one ſide of the field; they walk ſide by ſide, in as ſtraight a line as their eye and judgment enables them, dropping the ſets at the diſtance of about eighteen inches aſunder in the rows, and about four feet row from row; other labourers follow, and with the foot preſs the ſet about two inches into the ſoft mud-like ſoil; which, with a ſweep or two with the ſole of the foot, they moſt eaſily and readily cover; nothing more is done: if the weather is moderately ſhowery, till the young ſhoots are ſome two or three inches high, the earth is then looſened for a few inches round them, with a ſmall weeding iron, ſomething like a carpenter's chiſel: ſhould the ſeaſon prove dry, the field is occaſionally watered from the river, continuing to weed, and to keep the ground looſe round the ſtools. In Auguſt, two or three months from the time of planting, ſmall trenches are cut through the field at ſhort diſtances, and ſo contrived as to ſerve to drain off the water, ſhould the ſeaſon prove too wet for the canes, which is often the caſe, and would render their juices weak and unprofitable; the farmer therefore never fails to have his field plentifully and judiciouſly interſected with drains, while the cane is ſmall, and before the uſual time for the violent rains: ſhould the ſeaſon prove too dry, theſe trenches ſerve to conduct the water from the river the more readily through the field, and alſo to drain off what does not ſoak into the earth in the courſe of a few hours; for they ſay, if water is permitted to remain in the field for a greater length of time, the cane would ſuffer by it, ſo that they reckon theſe drains indiſpenſably neceſſary; and upon their being well contrived depends, in a great meaſure, their future hopes of profit. Immediately after the field is trenched, the canes are all propped; this is an operation I do not remember to have ſeen mentioned by any writer on this ſubject, and is probably peculiar to theſe parts. It is done as follows:

The canes are now about three feet high, and generally from three to ſix from each ſet that has taken root and form, what we may call the ſtool; the lower leaves of each cane are firſt carefully wrapped up round it, ſo as to cover it completely in every part; a ſmall ſtrong bamboo (or two), eight or ten feet long, is then ſtuck into the earth, in the middle of each ſtool, and the canes thereof tied to it; this ſecures them in an erect poſition, and gives the air free acceſs round every part. As the canes advance in ſize, they continue wrapping them round with the lower leaves, as they begin to wither, and to tie them to the prop bamboos higher up, during which time, if the weather is wet, they keep the drains open; and if a drought prevails, they water them occaſionally from the river, cleaning and looſening the ground every five or ſix weeks: tying the leaves ſo carefully round every part of the canes, they ſay, prevents them from cracking or ſplitting by the heat of the ſun, helps to render the juice richer, and prevents their branching out round the ſides: it is certain you never ſee a branchy cane here.

In January and February the canes

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canes are ready to cut, which is about nine months from the time of planting; of courſe I need not deſcribe it. Their height, when ſtanding in the field, will now be from eight to ten feet (foliage included), and the naked cane from an inch to an inch and a quarter in diameter.

A mill or two, or even more, according to the extent of the field, is erected, when wanted, in the open air, generally under the ſhade of large mangoe trees, of which there are great abundance hereabout; the mill is ſmall, exceedingly ſimple, and at the ſame time efficacious. The juice, as faſt as expreſſed, is received in common earthen pots, ſtrained, and put into boilers, which are, in general, of an oval form, compoſed of ill-made thick plates of country iron riveted together.

Theſe boilers hold from 80 to 100 gallons; in each they put from 24 to 30 gallons of the ſtrained juice; the boiler is placed over a draft furnace, which makes the fire burn with great violence, being ſupplied with a ſtrong draft of air, through a large ſubterranean paſſage, which alſo ſerves for an aſhhole: at firſt the fire is moderate, but as the ſcum is taken off, a point they are not very nice about in theſe parts, as they look up to quantity more than quality, the fire is by degrees increaſed, ſo as to make the liquor boil very ſmartly; nothing whatever is added to help the ſcum to riſe, or the ſugar to gain, except when the planter wants a ſmall quantity for his own or a friend's uſe; in this caſe they add about 10 or 12 pints of ſweet milk to every 24 or 30 gallons, or boiler of juice, which no doubt improves the quality of the ſugar; the ſcum, with this addition, comes up more abundantly, and is more carefully removed.

The liquor is never here removed into a ſecond boiler, but is in the ſame boiled down to a proper conſiſtence, which they gueſs at by the eye and by the touch; the fire is then withdrawn, and in the ſame veſſel ſuffered to cool a little; when it becomes pretty thick, they ſtir it about with ſtirring-ſticks for ſome time, till it begins to take the form of ſugar; it is then taken out and put on mats, made of the leaves of the palmira tree, (*boraſſus flabelliformis,*) where the ſtirring is continued till it is cold; it is then put up in pots, baſkets, &c. till a merchant appears to buy it.

The Hindu name of this ſugar is panſadarry; its colour is often fairer than moſt of the raw ſugars made in our Weſt India iſlands, but it is of a clammy, unctuous nature, abſorbing much moiſture during wet weather, ſometimes ſufficient to melt a great deal of it, if not carefully ſtowed in ſome very dry place where ſmoke has acceſs to it.

Many of the planters prefer that ſort of ſugar which they call bellum, and European's jagary, becauſe it keeps well during the wet weather, if kept from the wet. It generally bears a lower price; yet they ſay this diſadvantage is often overbalanced by their being able to keep it, with only a trifling waſtage, till a market offers, particularly when the planter has not an immediate market for his ſugar; beſides, canes of inferior quality anſwer for jagary when unfit for ſugar.

The proceſs obſerved for making jagary differs from the above deſcribed, in having a quantity of quick-lime thrown into the boiler with the cane juice, about a ſpoonful

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ſoft and a half to every ſix or ſeven gallons of juice, or nine or ten ſpoonfuls in the boiler. Here they do not remove the ſcum, but let it mix with the liquor, and when of a proper conſiſtence, about four or five ounces of Gingeley oil (oil of the ſeeds of *ſeſamum orientale*,) are added to each boiler of liquor, now ready to be removed from the fire, and very well mixed with it; it is then poured into ſhallow pits dug in the ground; they are generally about three feet long, one and a half broad, and three inches deep, with a mat laid at the bottom, which is ſlightly ſtrewed with quick-lime; in a ſhort time the liquor incorporates into a firm ſolid maſs; theſe large cakes they wrap up in dry leaves, and put by for ſale.

Their jagary is of a darker colour than their ſugar, and contains more impurities, owing to the careleſs manner in which they prepare it, by allowing all the ſcum to reunite with the liquor.

The half viſſum, or one acre of ſugar cane, in a tolerable ſeaſon, yields about ten candy of the abovementioned ſugar, or rather more if made into jagary; each candy weighs about 500lb. and is worth, on the ſpot, from 16 to 24 rupees, according to the demand. In the Weſt Indies, the acre (ſo far as my information goes, and it is chiefly from Mr. Beckford's Hiſtory of Jamaica,) yields from 14 to 20 cwt. of their raw ſugar, worth on the iſland from 20l. currency; here the produce is more than double, but, on account of its inferior quality, and the low price it bears on the ſpot, the produce does not yield a great deal more money than in the Weſt Indies; however, as here labour is incomparably cheaper, the Indian planter muſt make much larger profits.

The ſituation of all the ſugar lands hereabout is exactly alike, being the middle of an extenſive plain, adjoining to the foremention-ed river; the ſoil in all is alſo much alike, ſo that the produce is nearly equal in all, when no unfavourable circumſtances happen: this is further proved by the quantity of ſugar a meaſure of juice will yield: here it is almoſt always, except in a very rainy ſeaſon, or in laid down or wormy canes, about one-ſixth part, that is, every ſix pounds, or three quarts of juice yields one pound of ſugar. In Jamaica, Mr. Beckford ſays, that, on an average, 1800 gallons of juice may be reckoned to yield an hogſhead of ſugar, weight 16 cwt. which is, within a trifle, one of ſugar from eight of juice; this proves our juice to be one-fourth part richer than theirs. From the above calculations, it is evident that our lands hereabout are better adapted for this ſpecies of culture than the lands in Jamaica; for here they not only yield a larger crop of canes, but the juice thereof is alſo richer; and were our planters here to bring the molaſſes, &c. into account, employed in the Weſt Indies for the diſtillation of rum, their profits would be ſtill greater; for at preſent ſuch refuſe they give to their cattle, or let their labourers carry away, or uſe as they think proper; and, by being ſo employed, I have no doubt but it is productive of more real good than if converted into ardent ſpirits; let it continue to be ſo employed, is my ſincere wiſh; for the longer they are ignorant how to convert what is at preſent wholeſome into a poiſon, the better it is for them; they have already too many ways of furniſhing themſelves with ſpirits, particularly near the reſidence of Europeans.

Here

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Here the canes, while growing, seem also subject to fewer accidents than in the West Indies. I will mention them briefly.

1st. A very wet season is the worst; it injures the canes greatly, rendering them of a reddish colour, yielding a poor unprofitable juice; here they reckon the small heavy pale yellow canes the best.

2d. Storms, unless they are very violent, do no great harm, because the canes are propped; however, if they are once laid down, which sometimes happens, they become branchy and thin, yielding a poor watery juice.

3d. The worm is another evil, which generally visits them every few years; a beetle deposits its eggs in the young cane; the caterpillars of these remain in the cane, living on its medullary parts, till they are ready to be metamorphosed into the chrysalis state; sometimes this evil is so great as to injure a sixth or an eighth part of the field: but, what is worse, the disease is commonly general when it happens, few fields escaping.

4th. The flowering is the last accident they reckon upon, although it scarcely deserves the name; for it rarely happens, and never but to a very small proportion of some very few fields: those canes that flower have very little juice left, and it is by no means so sweet as that of the rest.

Say the average quantity of land employed for the growth of sugar canes in these parts, the zemindaries of Peddapore and Pettapore, independent of what is made on or about the islands formed by the mouths of the Godavary, is 550 vissums, equal to 110 acres, and to produce at the rate of 10 candy, or about 44 cwt. equal to 2¼ hogsheads per acre; the whole produce in hogsheads will annually be 27,500 of 18 cwt. each, which is fully one-fourth part of sugar produced in the island of Jamaica; and I know well, that the quantity might, with advantage to government, I was going to say, but that must be left to be determined hereafter,—I will therefore say, with advantage to the zemindar, farmer, and labourer, be increased to any extent. All the security the planters want, is a strict adherence to the agreement he makes with the zemindar for the land, and a certain market for his sugar, at even the lowest price stated. I observe that the farmer would require to have the agreement he makes for the rent of the land strictly adhered to, because the zemindar raises his demand if the crop is good; so that he will often, in a favourable season, make farmers of all denominations pay probably a fourth more than the original agreement: such injustice they are obliged to put up with, as custom has rendered it common, and they have no idea of applying for redress; yet it no doubt damps the spirit of industry, and prevents the soil from any further improvement than the bountiful hand of Nature has bestowed on it, which, in these parts, is great indeed.

The planters in these parts very rarely take a second, or what they call carsy crop, from the same field; they say, he is either a very poor or a very lazy farmer that does; because those canes yield less juice, and of an inferior quality, than plant canes; however, poverty obliges some to do so. This carsy crop is cut and manufactured in November, which is a busy season in the paddy fields, &c. As this is the time for reaping the coarse or early paddy and natcheny, and for sowing various sorts of small grain, consequently

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quently attending to the ſugar works at that time of the year is inconvenient; beſides, the rains are frequent during this month, which is another very great drawback attending this crop. The grand ſugar crop fortunately happens during that time of the year (February, March, and April) when there is ſcarce any other ſort of work in the field, conſequently both humanity and policy plead in favour of an extended ſcale to this, or ſuch other branches of agriculture as employ the labourers at a ſeaſon when there is little or nothing elſe to do.

I could never learn that any one had ever depended on a third crop from the ſame field; for they ſay, if the ſecond is ſo much inferior to the firſt, a third muſt be ſtill worſe; here hands are, or rather were, ſo numerous, and labour ſo cheap, that they find it much more profitable to plant every year.

In the Ganjam diſtrict, about Aſka and Barampore, the natives make moſt excellent ſugar and ſugar-candy, but in ſmall quantities; the ſugar is in loaves, of a large grain, and often as perfectly white as what is called in England ſingle refined ſugar, and the ſugar-candy is ſuperior to any thing of the kind I ever ſaw.

Mr. Alex. Anderſon, ſurgeon of the Madras eſtabliſhment, when with the committee of circuit up there, was ſo obliging as to ſend me a very particular account of the method they follow in manufacturing their ſugar and ſugar-candy, of which the following is a copy:

Extract of a letter from Alexander Anderſon, Eſq. Surgeon of the Madras Eſtabliſhment.

Method of preparing the SUGAR *in the Ganjam Diſtrict.*

"After the cane is ready, it is cut in pieces of a foot or eighteen inches long, and on the ſame day it is cut, theſe pieces are put into a wooden mill, which is turned round by bullocks; on one ſide of the mill is a ſmall hole ſufficient to let the juice paſs through, which is received in an earthen pot placed for the purpoſe. The juice is then ſtrained into other pots, containing about 24 quarts, and to each pot of juice is added about three ounces of quick-lime. It is then boiled for a conſiderable time, till, on taking out a little, and rubbing it between the fingers, it has a waxy feel, when it is taken off the fire, and put into ſmaller pots with mouths ſix inches in diameter. The maſs may now be kept in this ſtate for ſix or eight months, or more; and it is neceſſary at any rate to do ſo for a month or ſix weeks. When the proceſs is intended to be continued, a ſmall hole is made in the bottom, through which the ſyrup drains off; it is then taken out of theſe pots, and put into ſhallow bamboo baſkets, that any remaining ſyrup may exude; after which it is put in a cloth, and the ſyrup is ſqueezed through the cloth, adding a little water to it occaſionally, that it may be more perfectly removed; the ſugar is then diſſolved in water, and boiled a ſecond time in wide-mouthed pots, containing only three ſeers, with not too fierce a fire, adding from time to time a little milk and water, and ſtirring it frequently, which is uſed by theſe people to clarify it, inſtead of eggs, which their religion forbids them to touch. The ſcum is removed as it is thrown up, and when it reſumes the waxy feel, on rubbing a little of it between the fingers, the proceſs is finiſhed, and the ſugar put into ſmall wide-mouthed pots, to cool and cryſtalize; after which a ſmall

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ſmall hole is bored for the purpoſe of draining off any little quantity of ſyrup that may ſtill exude. The outſide of the pots are now covered with cow-dung, and, for the purpoſe of making the ſugar white, or removing any ſyrup or blackiſh appearance, the creeping vine, called in the Hindu *panicha-dub*, and in Telingas *neſſy-nas*, growing in tanks and marſhy places; it is put on the top of the ſugar in the pots, and renewed every day for five or ſix days; ſhould the ſugar, on taking it out of the pots, be blackiſh, or leſs pure towards the bottom of the loaf, being ſet upon this plant and renewed daily, will effectually remove that appearance. If it is wrapped in a wet cloth, and renewed twice a day, the ſugar will alſo become white; it muſt be then thoroughly dried and kept for uſe.

"To make ſugar-candy, the ſugar muſt be again diſſolved in water, and boiled in the ſame manner as before, adding milk to it, in ſmall quantities; the proportion three ſeer of ſugar and half a ſeer of milk with water to diſſolve the ſugar; it is then put into other wide-mouthed pots, with but three ſeer in each pot, putting thin ſlices of bamboo, or ſome dried date leaves, which prevents the ſugar, as it candies, from running into large lumps.

"Here we ſee a very ſuperior ſugar, and ſugar-candy of the firſt quality, manufactured in a ſimple but tedious manner, and at a moſt trifling expence; a few earthen pots are the only veſſels or boilers they require; but it is not to be imagined that ſuch would ſucceed if the work was carried on to any great extent. The iron-boilers employed hereabout might be laid aſide for thoſe of copper, or of caſt iron, from Europe, or not, as they like themſelves; for it ſeems of no great conſequence: but by having a greater number of them to paſs through, and be well clarified in, would render unneceſſary the ſecond proceſs mentioned by Dr. ANDERSON, which, on account of its tedioufneſs, muſt become very inconvenient; conſequently, all that ſeems to be wanted to render the ſugars made thereabouts fit for any market, is a boiler, or two or three more in each ſet, with wooden coolers, inſtead of loſing time to let it cool in the boiler, as is the practice here at preſent, the addition of ſome quick-lime, and probably alum to the cane juice, and the ſubſequent claying of it in conical pots, as is done in the Weſt Indies; for which proceſs the natives of the Ganjam diſtrict ſubſtitute moiſt conſerva for covering the ſugar in the pots with, and wrapping the loaves, when not ſufficiently white, in wet cloths, to extract the molaſſes.

"The rate of freight from India to England being ſo very high, renders it the more neceſſary to make the ſugars for that market of a good quality, which can be done here at infinite leſs expence than in the Weſt India iſlands, where labour is ſo exceedingly high.

"If the ſugar-cane can be cultivated with ſo much eaſe, and to ſuch perfection, in this climate, (which is conſiderably hotter than the Weſt Indies,) by ſimply burying the ſet about two inches in the level ploughed field, by which practice the ſuperficial or horizontal roots muſt be near the ſurface, of courſe ſubject to great heats; I ſay, if this practice ſucceeds ſo well here, it may be preſumed it would ſucceed equally well, if not better, in the Weſt Indies, where the heats are never

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never ſo great, of courſe the ſuperficial roots of the cane leſs ſubject to be ſcorched.

"The preſent practice of digging large ſquare holes to put the ſets in, is, I am told, exceedingly laborious, and does not ſtand the planter in leſs than 10l. per acre, which is nearly double the whole expence of cultivating, from firſt to laſt, an acre of canes, and manufacturing the ſugar, in this diſtrict. Should the Britiſh legiſlature deem it proper to emancipate the ſlaves on thoſe iſlands, the planter there may then be obliged to cultivate and plant his lands in the manner practiſed here, or as potatoes are planted with the plough in the fields in England; and there is ſcarce a doubt but that they would in either way ſucceed fully as well as by planting in holes.

"Should political motives prevent the importation of Eaſt India ſugars into England, it is even then of infinite importance to the Company's territories to have the qualities of their ſugars improved, ſo as to render unneceſſary the importation of thoſe of China and Batavia, large ſums being annually thrown into thoſe places for this commodity; while we, at the ſame time, poſſeſs every advantage for making this neceſſary article of the beſt quality, to the full in as high a degree as either the Chineſe or Dutch; beſides our own wants, we have every reaſon to imagine, that we might ſoon be able to ſupply the Malabar coaſt, Perſia, and Arabia, with ſugars; whereas, at preſent, they are chiefly ſupplied from China and Batavia."

DESCRIPTION *of the* COUNTRIES *on the Malabar Coaſt, ceded to the English by the Treaty of Seringapatam, in* 1792.—*By Lieut.* JOHN COMYN.

THE country, from Mount Delhi to Cochin, was ceded to us by Tippoo, in the late treaty: the rajah of Travancore's country extends from the latter place to the extremity of the peninſula, and is under our protection. It is inhabited by three different ſects: the firſt is Nairs, or Hindus; the ſecond, Moplas, or Muſſulmen; and the third Tiers, which is a low caſt. The latter were formerly little better than ſlaves to the Nairs, to whom the country belongs, and is now governed by them; all the rajahs being of that ſect. The Moplas are a very ſtout race of men, and ſettled in this country about 400 years ago; they are now nearly as numerous as the Nairs, whoſe authority over them they diſpute. They are an induſtrious race of men, but moſt conſummate villains: they dwell chiefly on the ſea-coaſt, on account of trade, which they carry on very extenſively. The landed property chiefly belongs to the Nairs, who generally employ Tiers to cultivate it. The Moplas poſſeſs ſome large villages inland. The Nairs never inhabit towns; they are the moſt cleanly people I ever ſaw, and their houſes are exceedingly neat; their food is rice, ghee, and milk, which are the produce of their own land, and ſalt-fiſh, which is the only thing they have occaſion to go to market for. They look upon the Tiers to be ſo much beneath them, that if any one of them ſhould by chance

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chance touch them, they think themſelves contaminated, and are obliged to waſh their bodies immediately: It formerly often coſt the Tier his life without notice being taken. They have a great averſion to the Moplas, and always oppreſſed them as much as laid in their power; the latter often reſiſted, which occaſioned great diſturbances in the country, that are not yet ſubſided, nor do I ſuppoſe they ever will, while one party is allowed to have any ſuperiority over the other. They live in continual apprehenſions of one another; and, on both ſides, go armed either with a ſword or muſket; in the inland parts, their muſkets are always loaded, and their pouches filled with cartridges, juſt as in the time of war. We have detachments of ſepoys, under an European officer, ſtationed in almoſt every diſtrict, to keep them in order.

The country is divided into petty rajahſhips, each rajah independent of the other; but all acknowledge the zamorin as their head, though they ſeldom pay him any tribute. They have no regular troops; when they appear in public, they are attended by as many armed Nairs as they can afford to pay. There are no courts of juſtice; all diſputes are laid before the rajah, or his miniſters, and they decide as they think proper. It is a moſt deſpotic government, life and death being at the ſole diſpoſal of the rajah. The Paulykaut rajah having had ſome diſputes with the zamorin, invited Tippoo to his aſſiſtance, who readily accepted the invitation, and invaded the country with a powerful army. The rajah thought it in vain to oppoſe him in the field, with undiſciplined troops, and fled into the jungle, near the ghauts, where Tippoo could not follow them. He of courſe took poſſeſſion of the country, and ruled it with a rod of iron. The inhabitants, finding themſelves ſo much oppreſſed, alſo fled into the jungle, and every thing fell into confuſion: the conſequence was, he could not collect any revenue, at leaſt very little, in compariſon to his diſburſements, which were very great, as he was obliged to keep up a ſtrong force; to make up for this, he ſeized the monied men, whom he mulcted without mercy.

The moſt unwarrantable act of tyranny he was guilty of, was forcing the Nairs and Tiers to embrace the Mahommedan religion, which exaſperated them beyond every thing; they were never completely conquered, but took every opportunity of revenging themſelves. On Tippoo's troops leaving the country, which was immediately after the battle of Ferruka, with Colonel Hartley, the zamorin was reinſtated in his former power; and alſo the rajahs in their reſpective diſtricts. Since that time the country has improved aſtoniſhingly, and I make no doubt, in a few years, will turn out a valuable acquiſition.

Its chief produce is pepper, cocoa-nuts, rice, and a variety of other grains; it exports a great quantity of each, alſo cocoa-nut oil, and coir-rope, which is made from the huſk of the cocoa-nut. The country inland produces very fine timber, which is floated down the rivers during the rainy ſeaſon; the rivers lie remarkably convenient for that purpoſe; taking it throughout the coaſt, there is a fine river at every eight miles. The Company have taken up the pepper of this and laſt year's growth, for their own uſe.

The country this year is farmed out to the zamorin, who has agreed

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to pay a certain sum to the Company. Every rajah is assessed his proportion out of the revenue, which they collect themselves, and have parties of our sepoys to assist them: it is attended with great inconvenience, as, being clothed with authority, the rajahs greatly impose upon their subjects, especially the Moplas, who, only a few months ago, rose in arms to oppose them, and refused laying them down when our commissioners ordered them to do so. The consequence was, though in the height of the rains, the Calicut detachment was ordered out against them, with our guns; but the evening before we were to march, they submitted. Three commissioners from Bombay, and two from Bengal, have been employed since June last in settling the country; they have now nearly finished their arduous task, and have drawn up a plan for government's approbation. William Gamul Farmer, Esq. is appointed supervisor and chief magistrate on the coast; Lieut. Colonel Hartley to command the troops; they both reside at Calicut. Our territory is divided into the northern and southern district; each district has a collector, and three assistants under him, on very handsome allowances.

An ACCOUNT *of* BORNEO,

Contained in a Letter from Mr. JOHN JESSE, to the Court of Directors, from Borneo Proper.

As I am the first servant the Company ever had, or even European, which, for a number of years, has visited this part of the island of Borneo, I have presumed to lay before you every, even the minutest particular, which has occurred to my knowledge worthy your observation, that you may be the better enabled to form a just idea of your connexions here, and to judge with precision what measures may, hereafter, most readily effect the objects you have had in view, by an establishment in this quarter.

The chief and council of Balambangan, in the beginning of the last year, addressed a letter to the state of Borneo, informing them of being arrived at Balambangan, and expressing their wishes to enter into alliance with them. In consequence of this invitation, an ambassador arrived from thence in June; and I had the honour of being appointed to return with him, to open an intercourse there, and to enter into such engagements as might appear most to the Company's advantage.

I arrived here in the month of August, and found them unanimous in their inclination to cultivate the friendship and alliance of the honourable Company; in consequence thereof, I made it my first care to discover the motives which principally induced them thereto, that I might be the better enabled so to frame my treaty, as to keep them dependent in such particulars as they most essentially stood in need of; which I then found to be, and have since been confirmed therein, was protection from their piratical neighbours, the Sooloos and Mindanaos, and others, who were making continual depredations on their coast, by taking advantage of their natural timidity. To relieve them, therefore, in this particular, and to in-

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duce them the more readily to consent to my subsequent proposals, I stipulated by one of the articles, that (if attacked) the Company should protect them; and having thus gratified them in their principal want, in return I demanded for the Company, agreeable to the tenor of my instructions, the exclusive trade of the pepper, as I well knew it was the grand object they wished to attain; and I therefore also made it my study to be thoroughly acquainted with every particular relative thereto. I was informed the quantity that year was 4000 peculs, cultivated solely by a colony of Chinese settled here, and sold to the junks at the rate of 17.2 per pecul, in China cloth called congongs, which, for want of any other specie, are become the standard for regulating the price of all other commercial commodities at this port. Although I was well convinced it could never answer the Company's purpose to pay so high a price for the pepper, especially where the quantity was so small, I notwithstanding in the treaty made a point of securing to them the exclusive trade of that article, to be paid for in merchandize, at such rates as might indemnify them at present, in the inconvenience of the high price, to the end that it might divert the channel of the junk trade from this to Balambangan, (their grand inducement for coming here being thus removed,) which, together with my having bound the state to oblige all their dependents to make plantations, whereby the quantity would not only be greatly increased, but, from their having no other purchasers, the Company would be enabled to fix such prices as would give ample encouragement to the planters, and soon reimburse the expences, which were necessitated to be borne at the beginning of the undertaking; and the more so, as in consequence of their industry, becoming yearly richer, they would find our protection but the more indispensably necessary.

Things being fixed on this basis —the Englishman and the Borneyan becoming thus mutually necessary to each other, I flattered myself the event might have produced a solid and real commercial advantage, as well to the Nation as to the Company, and the more so, as from the great probability of the hill people being soon induced also to plant, who, by receiving cloth as the price of their industry, would naturally increase the consumption, and render our manufactures with them a necessary of life; these being by far the most numerous, and the aborigines of the island: another advantage accruing therefrom is, that having once connected these people in interest with the Company, and familiarized them to our customs, the inhabitants of the sea-coast would be unable (were they inclined) to obstruct or molest the prosecution of the Company's views. These were the motives which first induced me to secure to the Company, in the treaty with the Borneyans, the exclusive trade to the pepper, although, at that time, on seemingly disadvantageous terms; how far I may have acted with propriety, remains with the Company to determine.

I now come to say something of the characteristics of the different sects of the inhabitants.

The Borneyans who inhabit the sea-coast are Mahommedans, and, as they say, are originally an emigration from Jehore, but are ignorant of the chronology; they extended their dominions over these coasts,

Palawan,

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Palawan, Manila, and other parts of the Philipinas; and even Sooloo, as Mr. Dalrymple obſerves, was formerly a part of this empire. From theſe extenſive conqueſts, and the unconnected traditions I have had from them, I am inclined to think they were originally a warlike people; but, as moſt other empires, when arrived at a pitch of grandeur, have generally declined to nearly their original ſtate, from a want of that vigorous and active government which is ſo eſſentially neceſſary in ſupporting all acquiſitions obtained merely by force of arms, ſo appears to be the caſe with that of Borneo; and I am the more convinced of it, from that entire indolence and inactivity I found them immerſed in, on my arrival, being totally degenerated from that courage and enterpriſe which ſeems to have marked the character of their roving anceſtors, and deprived of their influence, in all their former dominions ſituated to the northward of Borneo.

From what I have been led to ſay relative to this ſtate, it may be ſeen they are enervated and unwarlike; added to which, they ſeem to be envious of the private property of each other to a great degree: but, on the other hand, I have found them fair in their dealings; cool and deliberate in their reſentments, even where the object is in their power; candid in their intentions; ſtrangers to what we call the world, although not deficient in the innate faculty of the underſtanding, as they ſeem to have in great perfection ſuch mechanical arts as are met with in theſe countries, particularly in the foundery of braſs cannon, wherein they excel all the Aſiatics I have ſeen on this ſide, or have heard of on the other.

That they are conſtant in their attachments, I think I may ſay, from their behaviour ſubſequent to the unhappy capture of Balambangan; for although threatened by the Sooloos, in caſe they ſhould ſupply us, and that at a time when many of their boats were trading in the verge of the Sooloo diſtricts, they ſet them at defiance, and generouſly afforded ſuch aſſiſtance as lay in their power.

With reſpect to the Idaan, or Mooreete, as they are called here, I cannot give any account of their diſpoſition; but, from what I have heard from the Borneyans, they are abandoned idolaters: one of their tenets, ſo ſtrangely inhuman, I cannot paſs unnoticed, which is, that their future intereſt depends upon the number of their fellow-creatures they may have killed in any engagement, or common diſputes, and count their degrees of happineſs hereafter to depend on the number of human ſkulls in their poſſeſſion; from which, and the wild diſorderly life they lead, unreſtrained by any bond of civil ſociety, we ought not to be ſurpriſed if they are of a cruel and vindictive diſpoſition. They are, as yet, near to a ſtate of nature, but have a great ſhare of innate cunning; of which I had a ſtriking inſtance in the following circumſtance: Two of their principal chiefs, induced from curioſity, came one day to the factory; they plainly told me they came to ſee a white man, and ſhould judge of my treatment of them then, what inducement they might have to cultivate an intercourſe with me: pleaſed with the proſpect, however faint, of having thus met with an inſtrument through which I might encompaſs, in time, what I have ever eſteemed my capital object, I endeavoured to ingratiate myſelf by

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giving them ſmall preſents of different aſſortments of goods, and expreſſed a deſire to ſee them again: One only of them ſhortly afterwards returned, with ſome proviſions, which I learnt he had firſt been endeavouring to ſell to the junks, and even then demanded of me ſuch an exorbitant price as I could not think of complying with.

They are repreſented, however, as induſtrious in cultivating their paddy plantations, and in following ſuch other employments as are known amongſt them; but having no purchaſer for their commodity but the Borneyans, who treat them very indifferently, the intercourſe, of conſequence, is not carried to any extent.

Their arms are long knives and ſoompittans, a tube of wood, about ſix feet long, through which they blow ſmall arrows, poiſoned at one end, having at the other a ſmall bit of cork wood, juſt big enough to fill up the hollow of the tube, the leaſt touch of which, where blood is produced, is certain death, unleſs immediately counteracted by the medicine they make uſe of.

Their dreſs, at preſent, is nothing more than a girdle, or long ſlip of ſtuff, made of the bark of a certain tree, which turns between the thighs to cover their nudities, one end of which hangs down before, the other behind.

The civil government of Borneo is veſted with a ſultaun and a ſuperior council, which conſiſt of thoſe pangarans who hold the great offices of the ſtate; ſuch as a bandahara, in whoſe hands is lodged the whole executive power; de gadong, or director of the ſultaun's houſehold; the tomangong, or commander in chief, on their occaſional war; the pa mancha, or mediator in diſputes; and the ſhabandar: to aſſiſt theſe are three oran kayos, de gadong, ivattan, and ſhabandar. There are many others who hold the title of pangarans, but who are called to council only on particular matters.

I cannot better convey an idea of this form of government, than to ſay it bears a ſtrong reſemblance to our ancient feudal ſyſtem; for although there is more reſpect paid to the regal power here than in any other Malay country I have been in, (for this obvious reaſon, that the ſultaun has entirely the power of appointing the great officers of ſtate, and of courſe can always influence the public councils,) yet, however, each pangaran has the entire ſway over his particular dependants, whoſe cauſe they never fail to eſpouſe, even where he may ſtand in oppoſition to the ſovereign authority.

They have no particular laws againſt treaſon; murder is capitally puniſhed, except in the caſe where the maſter kills the ſlave; polygamy prevails, as in all other Mahommedan countries, but they ſeldom intermarry with foreigners: the original law in caſes of adultery required the parties to be inſtantly ſtrangled; but for want of it being properly enforced, and the difficulty there would be found in puniſhing ſuch as have a number of adherents, people in power often paſs with impunity, whilſt, towards the middle or inferior rank of people, it is extended with the utmoſt rigour. Theft, according to the degree of the crime, is puniſhed with death, or the loſs of the right hand. I found in the courſe of my tranſactions with them, they have as yet no inſtitutions of a commercial nature, which may be attributed to the want of communication with other nations, the Chineſe excepted, who make preſents to the head men in

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in lieu of duties. Thoſe of that nation ſettled here, reap without moleſtation the fruits of their induſtry; but the caſual traders ſuffer many loſſes from there being no law which obliges the debtor to diſcharge his debt, and the neceſſity they are under of complying with every unreaſonable requeſt of thoſe of any conſideration in the place.

Having thus communicated what I know of the characteriſtics and policy of the Borneyans, it will not be improper to obſerve, that from the plenty and goodneſs of the timbers found here, the Chineſe have been induced to adopt the ſcheme of building junks, and have found it by experience turn out to advantage, although neceſſitated to bring the workmen and many of the materials from China. One of the burthen of 7000 peculs (580 tons) was built this year, on the following plan: two nouquedahs of junks, and the captain of the Chineſe reſiding here, entered into a contract, whereby the latter, on the one part, agreed to provide the timber, and the former ſtipulated to bring the artificers and iron-work from Amoy. The keel was laid in the beginning of March, and ſhe was launched the 28th of May: the entire coſt and out-fit amounting, as I have been informed by the contracting parties, to no more than 8,500 Spaniſh dollars; which, when allowing for the profits on their congongs, is not more than 4,250 Spaniſh dollars.

From hence it may be inferred, that ſhould it ever be the Company's intentions to eſtabliſh, in theſe parts, a marine wherein ſmall craft might be wanted, they could be built on eaſy and advantageous terms; as I have found, on inquiry of the nouquedahs, there would be no difficulty in procuring artificers from China, by the junks, on very moderate encouragement.

The river of Borneo is navigable, far above the town, for ſhips of a very conſiderable burthen; and the only difficulty lies at the mouth of it, where the channel is very narrow, for about a quarter of a mile in length, through which there is not above ſeventeen feet at high water; however, the bottom is ſoft mud, and the place ſo completely land-locked, there never can be any ſurf, and conſequently a ſhip taking the ground can be attended with no bad conſequences.

My non-acquaintance with marine matters diſenable me from judging, with preciſion, as to the expediency of making docks here; but from the temporary ones made by the Chineſe, wherein they build their junks, and out of which they are floated, I ſhould imagine they might be made with conveniency for veſſels of 400 tons; and I am rather encouraged in this opinion, from the banks of the river being a tough clay, and therefore a good foundation, in which it has the preference above Laboan, the ſhores there being only a quick-ſand. The water here flows from eight to nine feet ſpring tides.

Chimerical are the expectations of finding in theſe countries, any people ſo diſintereſted as not to be ready to take an advantage which chance may throw in their way, where reſolutions are not more biaſſed by dread than attachment; and how unreaſonable it is to expect any ſucceſs in theſe parts, unleſs where there is a force ſufficient to awe, as well as to protect? for although the chief and council here ſeem to think the Borneyans have infringed their agreement, by not giving us the whole of the pepper, yet neither

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have we, on our parts, been able to fulfil that of affording them protection, which they have experienced by the loſs of their boats, ſeized by our mutual enemy the Sooloos, to the amount of 20,000 Spaniſh dollars: this will occaſion ſurprize, as there were not only ſeveral veſſels on the Balambangan eſtabliſhment, but likewiſe two ſmall cruiſers ſent from Bombay, properly adapted to that purpoſe: of theſe, one was upſet, being ordered out in tempeſtuous weather, to cruiſe for the ſhip *Louiſa*, then expected; the other ſent with the ſame veſſel to keep a-head of her all the way to China, and which loſt her paſſage in returning, being obliged to bear away for Malacca, from whence ſhe is this month arrived. The public ſervice, therefore, expected to accrue from them has been rendered totally abortive, by being made ſubſervient to private convenience; and the protection due to the Company's allies having been thus withdrawn, the Borneyans cannot, with juſtice, be accuſed of want of faith, in not ſcrupulouſly fulfilling the engagements on their part.

LETTERS *of Sir* THOMAS ROE, *during his Reſidence at the Court of the Mogul Emperor*, JEHANGEER.

[Having in the Third Chapter of our Hiſtory given an Account of Sir THOMAS ROE's Embaſſy to the Court of Jehangeer, our Readers will peruſe with ſatisfaction the following original Letters of that Ambaſſador, from which we principally extracted our information; more eſpecially as they contain many curious particulars which it was foreign to our purpoſe to notice.]

An Extract of a Letter from Sir THOMAS ROE *to the Eaſt India Company; dated at Ajmere, January* 25, 1615.

"AT my firſt audience, the mogul prevented me in ſpeech, bidding me welcome as to the brother of the king my maſter; and after many compliments I delivered his majeſty's letter, with a copy of it in Perſian: then I ſhewed my commiſſion, and delivered your preſents, that is, the coach, the virginals, the knives, the ſcarf embroidered, and a rich ſword of my own. He ſitting in his ſtate, could not well ſee the coach, but ſent many to view it, and cauſed the muſician to play on the virginals, which gave him content. At night, having ſtaid the coachman and muſician, he came down into a court, got into the coach, and into every corner of it, cauſing it to be drawn about. Then he ſent to me, though it was ten o'clock at night, for a ſervant to put on the ſcarf and ſword after the Engliſh faſhion, which he was ſo proud of, that he walked up and down flouriſhing it, and has never ſince been ſeen without it. But after the Engliſh were come away, he aſked the Jeſuit, whether the king of England were a great king, that ſent preſents of ſo ſmall value, and that he looked for ſome jewels; yet rarities pleaſe as well; and if you were yearly furniſhed from Frankfort, where there are all ſorts of knacks and new devices, a hundred pounds would go farther than five hundred pounds laid out in England, and be more acceptable here. This country is ſpoiled by the many preſents that have been given, and it will be chargeable to follow

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follow the example. There is nothing more welcome here, nor did I ever see men so fond of drink, as the king and prince are of red wine, whereof the governor of Surat sent up some bottles, and the king has ever since solicited for more; I think four or five casks of that wine will be more welcome than the richest jewel in Cheapside; large pictures on cloth, the frames in pieces, but they must be good, and for variety, some story with many faces. For the queen, fine needle-work toys, bone-laces, cut-work, and some handsome wrought waistcoats, sweet-bags, and cabinets, will be most convenient. I would wish you to spare sending scarlet; it is dear to you, and no better esteemed here than flannel. I must add, that any fair China bedsteads, or cabinets, or trunks of Japan, are here rich presents.

"Lately the king of Visapour sent his ambassador with thirty-six elephants, two of them with all their chains of wrought beaten gold, two of silver, the rest of brass, and four rich furnished horses, with jewels to the value of ten lacks of rupees. Yet withal he sent china-ware, and one figure of crystal, which the king valued more than all that mass of wealth.

"This place is either made, or of itself unfit for an ambassador; for though they understand the character, yet they have much ado to understand the privileges due to it, and the rather because they have been too humbly sought to before."

Extract of a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated at Ajmere, January 29, 1615.

"Laws, these people have none written; the king's judgment binds, who sits and gives sentence once a week, with much patience, both in civil and criminal causes, where sometimes he sees the execution done by his elephants, with too much delight in blood.

"His governors of provinces rule by his firmauns, which are his letters, or commissions, authorising them, and taking life or goods at pleasure.

"There are many religions, and in them many sects: Moors, or Mahommedans following Alli; and such is the king: Banians, or Pythagoreans, believing the transmigration of souls, and therefore will not kill the vermin that bite them, for fear of dislodging the soul. They often buy many days respite from killing any flesh in a province or city, merely out of charity. Idolaters there are of several sorts, their wives adorning the funeral piles, and casting themselves into the flames with great joy.

"The extent of this dominion is on the west to Syndu, on the north-west to Candapar, on the north almost to the mountain Taurus, on the east to the borders of the Ganges, and south-east all Bengala, the land forming the gulf down to Deccan. It is much greater than the Persian monarchy; almost, if not quite, equal to the Turkish. Agra, the ordinary residence of the king, is near a thousand miles from any of the borders, and further from some. The right issue of Porus is here a king in the midst of the mogul's dominions, never subdued till last year; and to say the truth, he is rather bought than conquered, won to own a superior by gifts, and not by arms. The pillar erected by Alexander is yet standing at Delhi, the ancient seat of Rama, the successor of Porus.

"The buildings are all, base of mud, one story high, except in Surat, where there are some of stone.

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I know not by what policy the king ſeeks the ruin of all the ancient cities, which were nobly built, and now lie deſolate and in rubbiſh. His own houſes are of ſtone, handſome and uniform. His great men build not, for want of inheritance; but, as far as I have yet ſeen, live in tents, or houſes worſe than our cottages. Yet, where the king likes, as at Agra, becauſe it is a city erected by him, the buildings, as is reported, are fair, and of carved ſtone.

"In revenue, he doubtleſs exceeds either Turk or Perſian, or any eaſtern prince; the ſums I dare not name; but the reaſon. ALL THE LAND IS HIS, NO MAN ELSE HAS A FOOT. He maintains all that are not mechanics, by revenues beſtowed on them reckoned by horſes; and the allowance of many is greater than the eſtates of German princes. All men riſe to greater and greater lordſhips as they advance in favour, which is got by frequent preſents rich and rare. The mogul is heir to all that die, as well thoſe that gained it by their induſtry, as merchants, &c. as thoſe that live by him. He takes all their money, only leaving the widow and daughters what he pleaſes. To the ſons of thoſe that die worth two or three millions, he gives ſome ſmall lordſhip to begin the world anew.

"The king ſets out in three ſeveral places, at three times of the day, except ſomething extraordinary hinder him; an hour at noon to ſee his elephants fight; from four till five to entertain all comers, to be ſeen and worſhipped; from nine till midnight amidſt his principal men in more familiarity, being below among them.

"All the policy of his ſtate is to keep the greateſt men about him, or to pay them afar off liberally. There is no council, but every officer gives the king his opinion apart.

"He (meaning Jehangeer) is of countenance cheerful, and not proud in nature, but only by habit and cuſtom; for at night he is very affable, and full of gentle converſation.

Extract of a Letter from Sir THOMAS ROE *to the Archbiſhop of* CANTERBURY; *dated Ajmere, 30th October* 1616.

"Before the inundation of Timur the great, that is Tamerlane, the ninth anceſtor of this king, theſe countries were governed by divers heathen petty princes, worſhipping all ſorts of creatures after their ſeveral manners. Tamerlane's offspring brought in the knowledge of Mahommed, but impoſed it on none by the law of conqueſt, leaving conſciences at liberty. So that the natives, from the circumciſion brought in by the Mahommedans, called them Moguls, or chief of the circumciſed. Among the Moguls there are many ſtrict Mahommedans, many that follow Alli, his ſon-in-law, and other later prophets, who have their muth's, or prieſts, their moſques, religious votaries, waſhings, prayings, and ceremonies without end. And as for penitents, no ſect in the world can ſhew ſuch ſtrange examples, nor boaſt of ſuch voluntary poverty, puniſhments, ſufferings, and chaſtiſements, as theſe, who are all eſteemed holy men, but of a mixed religion, not upright with their prophet. [*Sir T. Roe ſhould have excepted the Hindus who far outdo the Mahommedans in this particular.*] The Gentiles (*Hindus*) are of more ſorts; ſome valiant good ſoldiers, drinking wine, eating hog's fleſh, but worſhipping the figure of a beaſt; ſome who will not touch the

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the flesh that is not holy by imputation; others that will not eat any thing that ever had life, nor kill the vermin that bites them, nor drink in the same cup with those that do, superstitious in washing, and most zealous in their profession; but all of them ascribe a sort of divinity to the river Ganges, at which, once a year, forty or fifty thousand meet, and cast in gold and silver for an oblation. In like manner they reverence a pig's head in a pagoda near this city, and all living cows, and some other beasts and creatures. These have their pagodas, and holy men, prophets, witches, soothsayers, and all other impostures of the devil. The Mahommedan mulhaes *(mulaves)* know somewhat in philosophy and the mathematics, are great astrologers, and can talk of Aristotle, Euclid, and other authors. The learned tongue is the Arabian. In this confusion they continued till the time of Ekbar Shah, father to this king, without any knowledge of christianity. Ekbar Shah, being a prince by nature just and good, inquisitive after novelties, curious of new opinions, and excelling in many virtues, especially in piety and reverence towards his parents, called in three Jesuits from Goa, the chief of whom was Jerom Xaverius, a Navarrois. After their arrival, he heard them discourse with much satisfaction, and dispute of religion, and caused F. Xaverius to write a book in defence of his religion, against both Moors and Gentiles; which, when finished, he read in every night, and had some part discussed. Finally, he granted them his letters patent to build, preach, teach, convert, and to use all their rites and ceremonies as freely as in Rome, bestowing on them means to erect their churches and places of devotion. In this grant he gave liberty to all sorts of men to become Christians, even to his own court and blood, professing it should be no cause of disfavour. Ekbar Shah himself continued a Mahommedan, yet he began to make a breach into the law; for considering that Mahommed was but a man, and a king as he was, and therefore reverenced, he thought he might prove as good a prophet himself. This defection of the king spread not far, a certain outward awe with-held him, and so he died in the formal profession of his sect. Jehangeer Shah, his son, the present king, being the issue of this new fancy, and never circumcised, bred up without any religion at all, continues so to this hour, and is an atheist. Sometimes he will profess himself a Mahommedan, but always observes the holy days, and does all ceremonies with the Gentiles. He is pleased with all religions, but loves none that changes; and falling into his father's conceit, has dared to proceed further in it, and to profess himself, for the main of his religion, to be a greater prophet than Mahommed, and has formed to himself a new one, being a mixture of all others, which many have received with such superstition, that they will not eat till they have saluted him in the morning; for which purpose he comes at sun-rising to a window, open to a great plain before his house, where multitudes attend him. When the Moors about him talk of Mahommed, he will soothe them, but is glad when any one will lash out against him. Of Christ, he never utters any disrespectful words, nor do any of all these sects; which is a wonderful secret working of God's truth, and worth observing.

"As for the new-planted Christian

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tian church, he confirmed and enlarged its privileges, ſpending two hours every night for a year in hearing diſputes; often dropping words of his converſation, but to a wicked purpoſe. To give the more hope, he delivered many youths into the hands of F. Franciſco Corſi, ſtill reſident here, to teach them to read and write Portugueze, and to inſtruct them in humane learning, and in the law of Chriſt. To that purpoſe, the father kept a ſchool ſome years, to which the king ſent two princes, his brother's ſons, who being brought up in the knowledge of God, and his Son, our bleſſed Saviour, were ſolemnly baptized in the church of Agra, with great pomp; being firſt carried up and down all the city on elephants in triumph; and this by the king's expreſs order, who would often examine them to ſee what progreſs they made, and ſeemed well pleaſed with them. This made many bend towards the ſame way, being ignorant of his majeſty's intention; others that knew him better, ſuppoſed he ſuffered this in policy to render thoſe children odious to the Moors for their converſion, the ſtrength of his eſtate conſiſting in them: but all men miſtook his deſign, which was thus diſcovered. When theſe and ſome other children were ſettled, as was thought, in the Chriſtian religion, and had learnt the principles thereof, as to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with infidels, &c. the king ſent the boys to demand Portugueze wives of the Jeſuits; who thinking it only an idle notion of their own, chid them, and ſuſpected no more: But that being the end of their converſion, to get a woman for the king, and no care being taken in it, the two princes came to the Jeſuits, and delivered up their croſſes, and all other tokens of religion, declaring they would be no longer Chriſtians, becauſe the king of Portugal ſent them no preſents nor wives as they expected. The fathers ſeeing this, began to doubt there was more in it than the boys diſcovered, eſpecially ſeeing their confidence, that had caſt off the awe of pupils; and examining the matter, they confeſſed the king commanded them. The Jeſuits refuſed to receive their croſſes, anſwering they had been given by his majeſty's order, and they would not take notice of any ſuch ſurrender from boys, but bid them deſire the king to ſend one of thoſe who are, according to order, to deliver all his majeſty's commands, whoſe words are by privilege a ſufficient warrant, and then they would accept of them; hoping the king would not diſcover himſelf to any of his officers in this poor plot. The boys returned with this meſſage, which enraged the king; but being deſirous to break up the ſchool, and withdraw the youth without noiſe, he bid them call the Jeſuits to the women's door, where, by a lady, he gave the order; and without ever taking any notice ſince of any thing, his kinſmen were recalled, and are now abſolute Moors, without any taſte of their firſt faith: and here have ended the converſions of theſe infidels.

"I will add one or two more pleaſant relations, and ſo conclude. Not long ſince the Jeſuits' houſe and church being burnt, the crucifix remained untouched, which was given out for a miracle, and much talked of. The king, who never lets ſlip any opportunity of new talk, or novelties, hearing of this accident, calls the Jeſuit, and queſtions him about it. He anſwers him ambiguouſly; whereupon his majeſty

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majesty asked, whether he did not desire to convert him? and being answered in the affirmative, replied, You speak of your great miracles, and of many done in the name of your prophet; if you will cast the crucifix and picture of Christ into a fire before me, if it burn not, I will become a Christian. The Jesuit refused the trial, as unjust, answering, that God was not tied to the call of man, that it was a sin to tempt him, and that he wrought miracles according to his own will; yet he offered to cast himself into the fire for a proof of his faith, which the king would not allow of. Here arose a great dispute, begun by the prince, a most stiff Mahommedan, and hater of all Christians, urging that it was reasonable to try our religion after this manner; but withal, that if the crucifix did burn, then the Jesuit should be obliged to turn Moor. He urged as examples miracles said to be wrought for less purposes than the conversion of so mighty a king, and spoke scornfully of Christ Jesus. The king took up the argument, and defended our Saviour to be a prophet, comparing his works with those of their absurd saints, instancing the raising of the dead, which never any of their's did. The prince replied, that to give sight to one born blind, was as great a miracle. This being hotly debated on both sides, a third man interposed to end the controversy, saying, that both the father and the son were in the right as to their opinions; for to raise a dead body to life, must be owned to be the greatest miracle ever done; but that to give sight to an eye naturally blind, was the same work, because a blind eye was dead, sight being the life of it; therefore he that gave sight to a blind eye, did as it were raise it from death. Thus this discourse ended.

"The other story is this: a juggler of Bengala, of which craft there are many, and very notable at it, brought before the king a great ape, which, as he said, could divine and prophecy; and to this beast some of the Indian sects attribute a sort of divinity. The king took a ring off his finger, and caused it to be hid under a boy's girdle, there being a dozen present; then bid the ape divine, who went to the right child and took it out. His majesty being somewhat more curious, caused the names of twelve law-givers, as Christ, Moses, Mahommed, Ally, and others, to be writ on twelve papers in the Persian tongue; and shuffling them in a bag, bid the beast divine which was the true law-giver, who putting in his paw, took out that inscribed with the name of Christ. This amazed the king, who suspecting the ape's master could read Persian, and might assist him, wrote them anew in court characters, and presented them a second time. The ape found the right, and kissed it. At this a great officer grew angry, telling the king it was an imposture, and desiring he might have leave to make the scrolls anew, offering to undergo any punishment if the ape could deceive him. He writ the names, putting only eleven in the bag, and kept the other in his hand. The monkey searched, but refused all; the king commanded it to bring one; it tore them in a fury, and made signs the true law-giver's name was not among them. The king asked where it was, and the ape ran to the nobleman and caught him by the hand, in which was the paper inscribed with the name of Christ Jesus. The king was concerned,

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cerned, and keeps the ape. This was done in public before thouſands, and no doubt is to be made of the truth of the matter of fact."

Extract of a Letter from Sir THOMAS ROE *to the Eaſt India Company, dated Ajmere, 24th November* 1616.

"Concerning the aiding the Mogul, or wafting his ſubjects into the Red Sea, it is now uſeleſs, yet I made offer of your affections; but when they need not a courteſy, they regard it as a dog does dry bread when his belly is full. The king has peace with the Portugueze, and will never make a conſtant war, except firſt we diſplant them; then his greatneſs will ſtep in for a ſhare of the benefit, which dares not partake of the peril. When they have peace, they ſcorn our aſſiſtance, and ſpeak as loud as our cannon; if war oppreſs them, they dare not put out under any protection, nor will they pay for it. You muſt remove all thoughts of trading to their port, any otherwiſe than defending yourſelves, and leaving them to their fortune: you can never oblige them by any benefits, and they will ſooner fear than love you. Your reſidence you need not doubt, as long as you tame the Portugueze, therefore avoid all other charge as unneceſſary. At my firſt arrival, I underſtood a fort was very neceſſary; but experience teaches me we have refuſed it to our own advantage. If he would offer me ten, I would not accept of one. Firſt, where the river is commodious, the country is barren, and has no trade; the paſſages to better parts ſo full of thieves, that the king's authority avails not, and the ſtrength of the hills ſecures them in that life. If it had been fit for trade, the natives would have choſen it, for they feel the inconveniency of a barred haven; and it is argument enough of ſome ſecret inconveniency, that they make not uſe of it: but if it were ſafe without the walls, yet it is not an eaſy work to divert the courſe of trade, and draw the reſort of merchants from their accuſtomed mart, eſpecially for our commodity, which is bought by parcels, and cannot be called ſtaple. Secondly, the charge is greater than the trade can bear, for to maintain a garriſon will eat out the profit: an hundred men will not keep it, for if once the Portugueze ſee you take that courſe, they will uſe all their endeavours to ſupplant you. A war and traffick are incompatible. By my conſent you ſhall never engage yourſelves but at ſea, where you are like to gain as often as to loſe. The Portugueze, notwithſtanding their many rich reſidencies, are beggared by keeping of ſoldiers, and yet their garriſons are but mean. They never made advantage of the Indies ſince they defended them. Obſerve this well. It has been alſo the error of the Dutch, who ſeek plantations here by the ſword; they turn a wonderful ſtock, they prowle in all places, they poſſeſs ſome of the beſt, yet their dead pays conſume all the gain. Let this be received as a rule, that if you will profit, ſeek it at ſea, and in quiet trade; for without controverſy, it is an error to affect garriſons and land wars in India. If you made it only againſt the natives, I ſhould agree to it; but to make it for them, they do not deſerve it, and you ſhould be very wary how you engage your reputation in it. You cannot ſo eaſily make a fair retreat as an onſet. One diſaſter would either diſcredit you, or engage you in a war of extreme danger and doubtful event:

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event: beſides, an action ſo ſubject to chance as a war, is moſt unfitly undertaken, and with moſt hazard, when the remoteneſs of the place for ſupplies, ſuccours and counſel, ſubjects it to irrecoverable loſs; for where there is moſt uncertainty, remedies ſhould be ſo much the nearer upon all occaſions. At ſea, you may take and leave; your deſigns are not publiſhed. The road of Suali, and the port of Surat, are the fitteſt for you in all the Mogul's territories. I have weighed it well, and deliver you that which will never be diſproved. You need no more. It is not a number of ports, reſidencies, and factories, that will profit you; they will increaſe charge, but not recompenſe it. The conveniency of one with reſpect to your ſales, and commodity of inveſtments, and the well employing of your ſervants, is all you need. A port to ſecure your ſhips, and a fit place to unload, will not be found together. The road at Suali, during the ſeaſon, is as ſafe as a pond. Surat, Cambaya, Baroche, and Amadabat, are better traded than all India, and ſeated commodiouſly. The inconveniencies are, the Portugueze at ſea, and the landing of goods. To obviate the firſt, you muſt bring to paſs that your lading be ready by the end of September at the port, which may be effected by a ſtock before hand, or by taking up money for three months, and ſo you may diſcharge and load at once, and depart in excellent ſeaſon for England, and the enemy will not have time to offend you, being newly arrived: and if the preparation be of longer date, we ſhall know it. For the ſecond, to land goods without the danger of frigates, and to ſave the carriage over-land, you muſt ſend a pinnace of ſixty tons, with ten guns, that draws but ſeven or eight feet of water, to paſs up the river between Suali and Surat, and ſo your goods will be ſafe, and in your own command, to the cuſtomhouſe-quay, and it will a little awe the town; ſhe may afterwards proceed according to your appointment. The commodities you ſell paſs beſt in that quarter, the goods you ſeek being indigo and cloth; no one place is ſo fit for both, and the leſs inconveniencies are to be choſen. Synda is poſſeſſed by the Portugueze; or, if free, were no fitter than Surat, nor ſafer; as it is, will be more ſubject to peril.

"For the ſettling your traffick here, I doubt not to effect any reaſonable deſire; my credit is ſufficient with the king, and your force will always bind him to conſtancy. It will not need ſo much help at court as you ſuppoſe; a little countenance, and the diſcretion of your factors, will with eaſy charge return you moſt profit, but you muſt alter your ſtock. Let not your ſervants deceive you; cloth, lead, teeth, quickſilver, are dead commodities, and will never drive this trade; you muſt ſuccour it by change. Articles of treaty on equal terms I cannot obtain; want of preſents has diſgraced me; and yet by piecemeal I have got as much as I deſired at once. I have recovered all bribes, extortions, and debts made and contracted before my time till this day, or at leaſt an honourable compoſition.

"The preſents ſent are too few to follow examples, they will ſcarce ſerve the firſt day. The rule is, at every arrival of a fleet, the Mogul, and the prince, during his government of our port, will expect a formal preſent and ſome letter from the king, our ſolicitor from you, which need not be dear, if well

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well choſen. Your agent muſt be furniſhed with a china-ſhop to ſerve ſmall turns; for often giving of trifles is the way of preferment; it cannot be avoided, and I have been ſcorned for my poverty in that kind. At my delivery of the firſt ſent by me, contentment outwardly appeared; but I will acquaint you with the cabinet council's opinion, by which you may judge three exceptions were taken and argued by the king and his great ones. Firſt, it was cenſured to name preſents in a king's letter, to be ſent by a principal man, his ambaſſador; and ſuch poor ones delivered, meaner and fewer than when they came with leſs oſtentation: that if they had not been named as from a monarch, they had been leſs deſpicable; for ſuch is their pride, that though the coach, for its form, and as a model, gave much content, yet the matter was ſcorned, and it was never uſed till two others of rich ſtuff were made by it, and that covered with cloth of gold, harneſs and furniture, and all the tin nails headed with ſilver, or hatched: ſo that it was nine months in repairing, and when I ſaw it, I knew it not. Secondly, exception was taken that his majeſty did write his name before the mogul; but it matters not for that dull pride. Thirdly, that his majeſty in his letter intimated, that honour and profit ſhould ariſe to this prince by the Engliſh and their trade, which he ſo much ſcorns to hear of, that he would willingly be rid of it and us if he durſt. The forgetting to ſend me letters diminiſhes my credit, which is to be maintained by all ceremonies, and ſultaun Khorone expected one as an honour to him.

"The ſuffering volunteers to paſs in your fleets is an extreme incommodity. How to diſpoſe of one here honeſtly, I know not. Aſſure yourſelves they are either ſome unruly youths, that want ground to ſow their humours, and are expoſed to be tamed, and may do you and me much prejudice in reputation. I have had a bitter experience of ſome taken by myſelf in good nature. Here is ſubject to practiſe all vice upon, and no virtue to be learned: Or elſe they are ſent at your charge to learn to diſcover the ſtraits and fitteſt places of interception of Indian goods for a future voyage, and to enable them by experience to do you miſchief, who bred them to it. I know many envy you this trade, and would be extremely glad to rob you of it; you cannot do better than keep all men in ignorance but yourſelves, or at leaſt as many as neceſſity does not oblige you to uſe.

"The Dutch are arrived at Surat from the Red Sea with ſome money and ſouthern commodities. I have done my beſt to diſgrace them, but could not turn them out without further danger. They come on the ſame ground we ſtand on, fear of their ſhips, againſt which, I ſuppoſe you will not warrant the ſubjects of this king. Your comfort is, here are goods enough for both.

"Concerning Perſia, the factors do not underſtand what they have undertaken. Jaſques is no port or place for ſale of goods, and thoſe they have ſent not ſaleable. In order to ſecure your ſafety and the Portugueze, there are but two ways, peace or compulſion. The firſt I have undertaken by means of a Jeſuit, but deſpair of ſucceſs. The next is force, which is always uſed to diſadvantage, when you are only upon the defenſive. My opinion is, that you give orders to all your fleets to make prize of them; and that as you now ride at Suali road

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to protect one ship, you would send that guard next year to ride before Goa, to brave or burn them, or at least to stop them that they may not put to sea in December; so you will make them lose their seasons, and one or two returns stopt would undo them. On my word, they are weak in India, and able to do your fleet no harm, but by supplies from Lisbon, where you must endeavour to have intelligence, and apply your strength accordingly. Thus you will add much reputation to your cause, and force them to that which their pride will never suffer them to see they want more than you, which is a quiet trade. For your traffic into the Red Sea, it is more important than all other projects: my counsel is, that one of your smallest ships, with the fittest English goods, and such others as this country affords, go yearly in company of the Guzerats, and trade for themselves for money, which is taken in abundance, and return in September with them to supply this place. The profit exceeds all the trades of India, and will derive this alone. The danger is rather a jealousy than substantial. When the Turks betrayed Sir Henry Middleton, our factories and courses in those parts were unknown to them; and doubtless we being strangers in that sea, were mistrusted for pirates. Experience has made us better known, and in company of the Guzerats, for their sake, whom they cannot spare, we shall be admitted. The king would write to the admiral to entertain our consort-ship, and they would be glad of it, and it were one of the best securities of our friendship. The Dutch have practised it this year to great advantage, and were all well received. Our own weariness might secure us. They must ride six months for winds, time enough to send all the goods ashore by parcels, and never trust above one or two factors, and a small quantity of goods at once. They will not declare their treachery for trifles, and I doubt not you may procure the Grand Seignior's command to meet them. If I have any judgment, there is not any matter for your profit of such importance. Port Pequenho in Bengala, you are misinformed in; there is no mart, or resort of merchants; it is traded to by the Portugueze from Pegu, with rubies, topazes and saphires, and returns cloth, which is fine, but you may be furnished nearer hand.

"I will settle your trade here secure with the king, and reduce it to order, if I may be heard; when I have so done, I must plead against myself, that an ambassador lives not in fit honour here. I could sooner die than be subject to the slavery the Persian is content with. A meaner agent would, among these proud Moors, better effect your business. My quality often for ceremonies either begets you enemies, or suffers unworthily. The king has often demanded an ambassador from Spain, but could never obtain one, for two reasons; first, because they would not give presents unworthy their king's greatness; next, they knew his reception should not answer his quality. I have moderated, according to my discretion, but with a swoln heart. Half my charge shall corrupt all this court to be your slaves.

POSTSCRIPT.—"The best way to do your business in this court, is to find some Mogul that you may entertain for a thousand rupees a-year, as your solicitor at court. He must be authorised by the king, and then he will serve you better than ten

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ten ambaſſadors. Under him, you muſt allow five hundred rupees for another at your port to follow the governor and cuſtomers, and to advertiſe his chief at court. Theſe two will effect all, for your other ſmaller reſidencies are not ſubject to much inconveniency.

"Concerning private trade, my opinion is, that you abſolutely prohibit it, and execute forfeitures; for your buſineſs will be the better done. All your loſs is not in the goods brought home; I ſee here the inconveniencies you think not of. I know this is harſh to all men, and ſeems hard; men profeſs they come not for bare wages: but you will take away this plea, if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from, but then you muſt make good choice of your ſervants, and uſe fewer."

A DISQUISITION *on the* PROPERTY *in the* SOIL, *from Mr.* COLEBROOK'S *Translation of the* DIGEST *of* HINDU LAW.

By JAGANNATHA TERCAPANCHANANA.

This is the intereſting Diſquiſition to which we referred in the *Third Chapter* of our Hiſtory of India, Page 8. We paſſed it over in our Review of the Digeſt, becauſe it was too long and extraneous to come within the compaſs of an Analyſis. We now preſent it entire to our Readers, that they may form their own Opinions on the important Queſtion which it diſcuſſes, and which it appears to us to decide.

Diſquiſition on Property in the Soil.

This earth, created by God, became the wife of Prit'hu; and afterwards, by marriage and otherwiſe, became the property of ſeveral princes.

Neraſinha purána:——Thrice ſeven times exterminating the military tribe, Paraſu Rama gave the earth to Caſyapa as a gratuity for the ſacrifice of a horſe.

By conqueſt, the earth became the property of the holy Paraſu Rama; by gift, the property of the ſage Caſyapa; and, committed by him to *Cſhatriyas* for the ſake of protection, became their protective property ſucceſſively held by powerful conquerors, and not by ſubjects cultivating the ſoil.

But annual property is acquired by ſubjects on payment of annual revenue: and the king cannot lawfully give, ſell, or diſpoſe of the land to another for that year. But if the agreement be in this form, "you ſhall enjoy it for years;" for as many years as the property is granted, during ſo many years the king ſhould never give, ſell, or diſpoſe of it *to another*. Yet if the ſubject pay not the revenue, the grant, being conditional, is annulled by the breach of the condition; and *the king* may grant it to another.

But if *no ſpecial agreement be made, and* another perſon, deſirous of obtaining the land, ſtipulate a greater revenue, it may be granted to him on his application. Here reaſoning muſt be adduced. For example, the following: it muſt of neceſſity be affirmed, that the cultivator has not an abſolute property in

in the land; otherwise the cultivator would take the fixth part of the produce of unclaimed land, which has been obtained as such by another.

Yájnyawalcya:—Let the king, receiving unclaimed property, give half to *Bráhmanas*: but a learned *Bráhmana* may keep the whole, for he is lord of all.

2. And the king shall receive a fixth part of unclaimed property occupied by any other person.

If the king himself receive unowned property any where situated, let him give half to Bráhmanas; for the word *dwija* or *twice-born* here signifies the Bráhmana, as is shown by the subsequent expression, "he is lord of all;" since no twice-born man, except the king and the Bráhmana, is lord of all; and Menu declares the dominion of the king and the priest over the human species. A learned Bráhmana, occupying unowned property, may keep the whole. But any other than a Bráhmana or king, occupying unowned property, must give a fixth part to the king, and may take the remainder himself.

Must the king, receiving from a subject the fixth part of unclaimed property, give half to the priest? The answer is, unclaimed property denoting a thing which has no owner, and, when it is occupied by a private person, the property by occupancy altering the condition of that thing, the king does not in this case receive unclaimed property; therefore half need not be given to the priest.

Since the word 'king' here denotes lord of the soil; and since the cultivator, being owner of that land, is *so far* equal to the king, he would be entitled to the fixth part of the unowned property occupied by him. *The answer is*, the word 'king' may be explained lord of the soil, to exclude another king: but a royal property is supposed in the use of the word; the cultivator has a subordinate usufructuary property, not a royal property: and Sri Crishna Tercálancára thinks there may be, in the same land, property of various kinds, vesting in the king, the subject, and so forth. It should not be objected, if that be the case, why cannot the king give the land to another in the same year *for which revenue is paid?* Because a seller or giver may, by sale or gift, annul his own property, and invest another with similar property, but cannot create property of another nature, namely (for a sale by a subject cannot create property of another nature, namely royal property;) therefore usufructuary property being raised by a conditional gift to the subject, the king cannot again create property *in the same thing*, by a gift to another.

But whence is it deduced that such property vests in the cultivator? There is no proof of it. His property is not by occupancy; for, the king being a more powerful owner, his occupancy cannot be maintained: it is not by sale; for no sale has been made: it is not by gift from the king on condition of revenue; for, were it so, his property would be equal to the king's.

If it be said, the king, satisfied with the receipt of revenue, does not oppose a property by occupancy; the answer is, in that case the property would remain, if the husbandman, not having surrendered that land, stay even in a distant country; and thus the land could not be taken by another person. It is

not fit that property being eſtabliſhed by occupancy while the king was ſatisfied, he ſhould, afterwards becoming diſſatisfied, have power to annul the occupancy or property; for occupancy, having created a property, immediately ceaſes *to be a mere occupancy*; and property cannot be annulled without the aſſent of the owner.

Some hold, that the ſubject is inveſted with ownerſhip by a gift from the king on condition of revenue. If he go elſewhere, and revenue be not paid, the gift is cancelled by the breach of the condition. It ſhould not be objected that his intereſt in the land would be equal to the king's; for the king's aſſent is not *given* in ſuch a form. Thus, the king aſſenting in theſe words, "let a ſubordinate uſufructuary property be held by thee, while my property remains in this land, which belongs to me;" ſuch property is created as is deſcribed by the terms of his aſſent. Nor ſhould it be objected that in this caſe property is not created, nor is effect given to an exiſtent property, but mere poſſeſſion as of a thing pawned. This would be inconſiſtent with the explanation of huſbandmen, as given by Chandéſwara and others; that is, "owner of the field." Nor ſhould it be objected, how can there be property in what is already owned, ſince property reſiſts a concurrent property? Srí Críſhna Tercálancára and others hold, that property prevents concurrent property of the ſame nature only: and, under the text which declares wealth common to the huſband and wife, the wife has property even while the huſband's title ſubſiſts. If it be argued, that in ſhort, property generally prevents a concurrent property; and the text, which declares wealth common to the huſband and wife, merely authorizes her ſubſtitution for the duties of hoſpitality and the like; and the difficulty being thus removed, there is not, in the caſe ſuppoſed, any property veſted in ſubjects: then the huſbandman would only receive half the produce of the ſoil, ſince the king would be entitled to enjoy the proportion to which *the owner of* the ſoil is entitled. If it be argued, that, obtaining the land by payment of revenue, as a wife is obtained by a nuptial gift, he who raiſes produce from his own ſeed, is entitled to that produce: even in that caſe, as a thing hypothecated to one perſon cannot be alſo hypothecated to another, ſo poſſeſſion of land, already poſſeſſed by one perſon, cannot properly be given to another. A ſpecific agreement ſhould be made, when the land is delivered, that it ſhall be enjoyed year by year, until a greater revenue be offered by another perſon.

Menu:—Having aſcertained the rates of purchaſe and ſale, *the length of* the way, the expences of food and of condiments, the charges of ſecuring the goods carried, and the neat profits of trade, let the king oblige traders to pay taxes *on their ſaleable commodities:*

2. After full conſideration, let a king ſo levy thoſe taxes continually in his dominions, that both he and the merchant may receive a juſt compenſation for their ſeveral acts.

3. As the leech, the ſuckling calf, and the bee, take their natural food by little and little, thus muſt a king draw from his dominions an annual revenue.

4. Of cattle, of gems, of gold and ſilver,

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silver, *added each year to the capital stock*, a fiftieth part may be taken by the king; of grain, an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth.

5. He may also take a sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, flesh-meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medical substances, liquids, flowers, roots, and fruit.

6. Of gathered leaves, pot-herbs, grass, utensils made with leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone.

7. A king, even though dying *with want*, must not receive any tax from a Bráhmana learned in the védas, nor suffer such a Bráhmana, residing in his territories, to be afflicted with hunger:

8. Of that king in whose dominion a learned Bráhmana is afflicted with hunger, the whole kingdom will in a short time be afflicted with famine.

9. The king, having ascertained his knowledge of scripture and good morals, must allot him a suitable maintenance, and protect him on all sides, as a father protects his own son.

10. By that religious duty which such a Bráhmana performs each day, under the full protection of the sovereign, the life, wealth, and dominions of his protector shall be greatly increased.

11. Let the king order a mere trifle to be paid, in the name of the annual tax, by the meaner inhabitants of his realm, who subsist by petty traffick.

12. By low handicraftsmen, artificers, and servile men, who support themselves by labour, the king may cause work to be done for a day in each month.

13. Let him not cut up his own root *by taking no revenue*, nor the root of other men by excess of covetousness; for, by cutting up his own root *and theirs*, he makes both himself and them wretched.

Let him levy taxes on traders, who subsist by purchasing commodities cheap, and vending them at an advanced price. What taxes? To this the legislator replies, having ascertained the rates at which commodities are purchased, and at which they are sold; and having ascertained the profit, with the charges of travelling, of subsistence, of transport, and of safeguard after importation, let him levy taxes; that is, let him take the due proportion of the sum which remains after defraying all charges. Raghunandana expounds the terms of the text *(yógacshéma)* transport of goods to be imported, and safeguard after importation. Let the king so act, that he also may receive benefit out of the profits of trade *which remain* after defraying charges, and that the merchant may receive just compensation for his labours.

Parasara:—Let the king gather blossom after blossom, like the florist in the garden; and not extirpate the plant, like a burner of charcoal.

As the florist in the garden plucks blossoms successively put forth, and does not eradicate the flowering shrub; so should the king, drawing revenue from his subjects, take the sixth part of the actual produce: but the maker of charcoal, extirpating the tree, burns the whole plant; let not the king so treat his subjects. MAD'HAVA.

The *Mahábhárata*:—Let the king gently draw *revenue* from his dominions, as the leech *takes its natural food by little and little*.

The fiftieth part, and other pro-

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portions of the profit gained by commerce, muſt be underſtood generally of all profit; for no diſtinction is mentioned.

Vrihaſpati:—Giving a ſixth part to the king, a twenty-firſt part to deities, and a thirtieth part to prieſts, a man offends not by applying himſelf to agriculture.

From the concurrence of this text, and no diſtinction being mentioned, this very rule muſt apply to the receipt of a part of the gain in all caſes: and Mád'hava places the text of Menu under the title of revenue in general.

"Of grain, an eighth part, a ſixth, a twelfth:" *three* rates, primary and ſecondary, for the difference of circumſtances. Conſequently a greater revenue is permitted in the exigence of diſtreſs. But never ſhall any tax be received from a Bráhmana learned in the *Védas*. Shall not the king prevent his cultivating land, and thus there will be no revenue to receive from him? The text declares it infamous, that ſuch a Bráhmana ſhould be afflicted with hunger. Therefore the king ſhould aſſign a ſuitable maintenance to a learned Bráhmana, who has not a maintenance already allotted to him. To confirm this, Menu himſelf adds: "the king, having aſcertained his knowledge of ſcripture and good morals, muſt allot him a ſuitable maintenance;" that is, ſuch a maintenance as may exempt him from falling into contempt. Do not the ſubjects pay a ſixth part as a token of reſpect, becauſe the king protects them? and, if the Bráhmana learned in the *Védas* pay not a ſixth part, ſhall not the king protect him? To thoſe who entertain this doubt, the ſage replies: "the king muſt protect him on all ſides," from thieves and others, not in words merely, but with *exertion of* mind and body, as a *father protects his* ſon.

To the doubt above-mentioned, founded on the miſtaken notion that ſuch a Bráhmana does not give a ſixth part, is it not anſwered, that he who raiſes produce, or buys and ſells things, gives a part of them; and as the Bráhmana learned in the *Védas* acquires merit, of which he gives a part, he alſo muſt neceſſarily be protected by the king?

The divine Cálidaſa:—The wealth of princes, collected from the four orders of their ſubjects, is periſhable: but pious men give us a ſixth part of the fruits of their piety, fruits which will never periſh *.

How does it follow that Bráhmanas learned in the *Védas* give the ſixth part required by the text of Vrihaſpati? The text cannot be well explained by the gift of a part of the fruits of piety; for that is inconſiſtent with the concurrent gift of a part to deities and prieſts. Some refer to the text others than a Bráhmana: but that is not the opinion of Mád'hava; for, immediately after that text, he mentions the mode in which agriculture may be practiſed by a Bráhmana, and quotes a text of Menu concerning the practice of huſbandry by *Cſhatriyas* and others. The difficulty may be thus briefly reconciled: if a Bráhmana learned in the *Védas*, for his own juſtification, voluntarily pay revenue, let the king receiving it appropriate it to the uſe of deities and prieſts; but, if he pay it not ſpontaneouſly, the king muſt not demand it.

The ſixth part is explained by Mád'hava, one part in ſix. By parity

* *Sacontalá*, p. 41, Calcutta edition.

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parity of reaſoning, the rule is the ſame in reſpect of the thirtieth part.

Menu:—A ſixth part of *the reward for* virtuous deeds, performed by the whole people, belongs to the king, who protects them; but if he protect them not, a ſixth part of their iniquity lights on him.

Under this text, which includes all claſſes, the king, who protects his ſubjects, receives a ſixth part of *the reward for* virtuous deeds performed by them, although they alſo pay revenue. What parity is there in compariſon with the Bráhmana learned in the *Védas*, ſince the people at large give part both of the wealth and merit acquired by them? It muſt be underſtood, that the contribution is equal, or even greater, ſince a virtuous Bráhmana learned in the *Védas*, acquiring great merit, gives *a part of a great reward for* many virtuous deeds. A Srótriya, or Bráhmana learned in the *Védas*, is thus deſcribed:

Dévala:—A prieſt who has ſtudied one *'sác'há* of the *Véda*, or one *'sác'há* with the law of ſacrifice, or with the ſix *angas* or bodies of learning, and who performs the ſix preſcribed acts, is named *Srótriya* learned in law.

The ſix *angas*, or bodies of learning, are *'sicſhà*, *calpa*, *vyàcarana*, *ch'handas*, *jyótiſh* and *niructi**. The preſcribed acts are declared in the following text:

Menu:—Reading the *Védas*, and teaching *others* to read them, ſacrificing and aſſiſting *others* to ſacrifice, giving *to the poor if themſelves have enough*, and accepting *gifts from the virtuous if themſelves are poor*, are the ſix preſcribed acts of the firſt-born claſs.

Let it not be ſuppoſed that an ignorant Bráhmana is not to be reſpected; for Menu, premiſing that a king, though in the greateſt diſtreſs, ſhould not provoke Bráhmanas to anger, declares the danger of provoking even an ignorant Bráhmana.

Menu:—A Bráhmana, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity; even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether conſecrated or popular.

"Let the king order a mere trifle to be paid" by the meaner inhabitants of his realm (inferior in rank to the prieſt,) who ſubſiſt by cultivation and other modes beforementioned, or by handicraft and the like not previouſly mentioned. Another contribution from handicraftſmen and artificers is mentioned in the ſubſequent text. Thus ſome expound the text. But in fact the term uſed in the text intends *petty* traffick, and the profeſſion of a ſinger and the like. In the ſubſequent text, labourers, ſuch as thatchers of houſes and others, and artificers ſubſiſting by work in cane and wood, are intended: as a diſtinction might be ſuppoſed between perſons ſubſiſting by labour or handicraft only, and perſons ſubſiſting by the ſale of the produce of their labour, both are mentioned; but in fact the terms are ſynonymous in the dictionary of Amera. "By theſe, and by ſervile men, the king may cauſe work to be done

* *'Sicſhà*, on pronunciation of vocal ſounds. *Calpa*, detail of religious acts and ceremonies. *Vyàcarana*, grammar. *Ch'handas*, proſody. *Jyótiſh*, aſtronomy. *Niructi*, on the ſignification of difficult words and phraſes. *Aſiatick Reſearches*, vol. i. p. 341.

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for a day in each month," employing handicraftſmen and artificers in thatching houſes, and in working on cane and wood, and employing Súdras on ſervile labour. It is neceſſary they ſhould contribute revenue: to lighten the labour, they may pay to the king an equivalent out of wealth gained elſewhere, and the king may hire others for the labour required. Thus, if the attendance of a multitude of artificers be inconvenient from the magnitude of the kingdom, he may levy taxes equal to the value of labour for twelve days in the year.

The king may levy taxes at ſuch rates; and theſe rates are directed by the law in times void of diſtreſs; therefore he may not exact a greater revenue: but the prohibition againſt receiving any tax from a learned Bráhmana, even in times of diſtreſs, implies that a greater revenue may be received from others in ſuch times. Let him not make himſelf wretched in the apprehenſion of tranſgreſſing the law, nor anticipating diſtreſs, or providing for his own gratifications, or deſirous of amaſſing wealth, make his ſubjects wretched. Let him not cut up his own root, that is, his life, *by taking no revenue;* nor the root of others, by exceſs of covetouſneſs: ſuch is the conſtruction of the text. The king ſhould preſerve himſelf for the benefit of others, for he himſelf protects others; and if he periſh, others would not be protected. On this expoſition, the receipt of greater revenue is improper; but in times of diſtreſs a greater revenue may be taken. Diſtreſs not being perpetual, if a ſixth part of the crop have been ſtipulated at the time of granting the land to the cultivator, no diſtreſs then exiſting, ſhould diſtreſs afterwards ariſe, it is fit that a greater revenue ſhould be exacted notwithſtanding that ſtipulation. Such is the induction of common ſenſe.

Menu:—A military king, who takes even a fourth part *of the crops of his realm* at a time of urgent neceſſity, *as of war or invaſion*, and protects his people to the utmoſt of his power, commits no ſin.

From the circumſtances of the times, if confidence cannot be placed in the ſubject, the value of a ſixth part, or other proportion *of the crop*, any-how aſcertained, may be taken, whether the actual produce be more or leſs than was eſtimated: this method is authoriſed by ſettled uſage, and is indicated *by the text.*

Others hold, that the king has no property in the ſoil, nor power to diſpoſe of the ſubject's abode, becauſe all have a right in the ſoil; ſince the earth was created for the ſupport of living animals, as expreſſed in the *Sri Bhágavatta:* "*The earth*, which God created for the abode of living creatures:" and becauſe Menu has *only* declared, that the ſubjects ſhall be protected by the king.

Menu:—Since the Lord of created beings, having formed herds and flocks, intruſted them to the care of the *Vaiſya*, while he intruſted the whole human ſpecies to the *Bráhmana* and the *royal Cſhatriya.*

Were it ſo, would it not be uncertain how many ſubjects ſhall be protected by what king? To this they reply, that each king ſhall protect the inhabitants of that country, whereof the inhabitants can be exempted from the dominion of every other perſon.

But, in fact, without property in the ſoil, there can be no certain rule for the protection of the ſubjects.

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Let it not be ſaid, that the rule above-mentioned ſuffices; namely, that the ſubjects are to be protected in ſuch an extent of country as can be withdrawn from the dominion of another: for, ſhould the poſſibility of excluding another authority be received as naturally included in the definition, a powerful king, who from tenderneſs omitted to ſeize another realm, would be criminal in not protecting the ſubjects of that realm, ſince he is able to poſſeſs himſelf of it. Nor ſhould it be argued, that the rule directs the protection of ſubjects in that country, from which other authority is actually excluded; for, other authority any-how ſubſiſting therein, it might be ſuppoſed that the king was not bound to protect the inhabitants of his own realm, ſo long as that authority was not exterminated.

If it be aſked, what is the rule on your opinion? And if it be argued, that the poſitive neceſſity of ſuppoſing a proprietary right, and the conſequent obligation on the king to protect the inhabitants of that country, of which he is proprietor, ſhould not be affirmed, becauſe ſuch property is not deduced from poſitive precept; *we anſwer*, the excluſion of every other authority is naturally implied, and it is poſitively required that there be "a right of property co-ordinate with the non-exiſtence of a determination not to exclude other authority." It ſhould not be argued, that the obligation of protecting the ſubject need only be ſuppoſed, for it is troubleſome to eſtabliſh another proprietary right. A king's gift of his realm is mentioned in the *Puránas* and in other works, ("he gave his ancient dominions to the performer of the ſacrifice:") conſequently a real ownerſhip is veſted in the king. It ſhould not be ſaid, the gift, in the inſtance quoted from the *Puránas*, means a gift of the revenue payable by the ſubjects of his ancient dominions. The gift could not take immediate effect; for the king's property has no foundation to reſt on, ſince the revenue is not yet paid. Nor ſhould it be ſaid, the property will ariſe at a future time, from the paſt exiſtence of the act of aſſenting, which has only a momentary duration*, as in the caſe of a corrody, where a future property is created. A gift of land by the king is mentioned in a text of Yájnyawalcya (Chap. IV. v. 34;) and Lord of the earth *(mehípati)* and ſimilar regal titles are *often* mentioned.

Is the earth unowned if the king have no property in it? If it be alleged that the ſoil is not unowned, ſince the ſubject has property by occupancy; it is aſked, cannot the king occupy land? The king may alſo have property in the land by occupancy. Therefore the right, both of the king and the ſubject, in the ſoil, is proved upon the concurrent opinions of Chandéſwara, Srí Críſhna, Tercálancára, and many other authors.

Property muſt be diſcriminated by occupancy: thus, if another invade the land occupied by ſubjects, the king oppoſes him, and land is occupied by ſubjects with the king's conſent. Kings were created by God to decide the various conteſts between ſubjects concerning occupancy and the like, and to maintain juſt proceedings: therefore the king, as lord of his ſubjects, is called lord of men *(nerapati.)* By his own power the king prevents

* This alludes to philoſophical reaſoning on the relation between cauſe and effect.

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others from ſeizing the land over which he has dominion; by his own power he legally ſeizes the land over which others reign: therefore he is not ſubordinate to the ſubject.

If a potent ſubject be able, independent of the king, to reſiſt invaders, and even to ſeize the lands of others; ſhall his property be deemed independent of the king? No; for that ſubject ought to be puniſhed by the king if he tranſgreſs the law: but if the ſovereign be not able to inflict puniſhment on him, even he is king.

Any king who pays tribute to a foreign prince, is nevertheleſs a king, if he do not ſurrender his regal power. But a perſon who receives a village from the king, undertaking to pay the revenue of it in the expectation of benefit to himſelf, is an intermediate owner between the king and the ſubject.

This earth therefore is the cow which grants every wiſh; ſhe affords property of a hundred various kinds; (inferior, if the owner need the aſſent of another proprietor; ſuperior, if his right precede aſſent;) while ſhe deludes a hundred owners, like a deceiving harlot, with the illuſion of falſe enjoyment; FOR, IN TRUTH, THERE IS NO OTHER LORD OF THIS EARTH BUT ONE, THE SUPREME GOD.

The ſubject's property in the ſoil is weaker than the king's, for the ſubject is weaker than the king; but it is founded on the reaſon of the law, and on ſettled uſage; therefore the land of one ſubject ought not to be ſold by the king to another. But how can this ſale be ſale without ownerſhip, ſince the king is owner of the land, as well as the ſubject? It ſhould not be affirmed, that the ſale made by one who holds not ſuch property as is conveyed by the ſale, is ſale without ownerſhip; for this is inconſiſtent with the opinion of thoſe who contend for a property in the ſubject dependent on a grant from the king. Thus, according to that opinion, the ſubject's property is founded on a grant from the king as ſuperior lord. But, what difference is there in the effect of a gift or ſale? According to the opinion, wherein it is contended that the ſubject's property depends on the gift of the king, ſo long as the inferior property is not granted, the land has only one owner: afterwards, a double property ariſing, an owner may annul his own property, but not the property of another perſon; elſe, why could not the ſubject annul the king's property by ſelling his own land? Accordingly the ſpecific aſſent of the owner being the cauſe of annulling property of the ſame nature, the king cannot annul an inferior property: and this very maxim may be maintained on the opinion even of thoſe who contend for a property by occupancy, on the authority of the text which deſcribes the earth as the abode of living creatures. According to this opinion, wherein property by occupancy is maintained, if any ſubject, occupying land, after ſome time go to a diſtant country without ſurrendering the land, can no other perſon take the land; ſince, without his ſurrender of it, his property is not annulled? The meaning of the text which deſcribes the earth as the abode of living creatures, is poſitively this; the property is his who uſes the land where he reſides, and while he uſes it: and thus, when land belonging to any perſon is ſold by the king, it is a ſale without ownerſhip.

On the POPULATION *of* BENGAL,

By a Gentleman now reſiding in that Country, whoſe intimate and minute Acquaintance with its whole internal Affairs and political Economy, as well as his deep Knowledge in the Laws and Literature of the Hindus, give great Weight to his Opinions.

[*Never before publiſhed.*]

In India, no bills of mortality, nor regiſters of births, marriages, and burials, afford data for calculation. The arguments by which we are convinced of the great population of Bengal, ariſe on the reſults of various ſpeculations.

The inhabitants of Bengal are certainly numerous in proportion to the tillage and manufactures which employ their labour. Former computations carried the population to eleven millions; and to theſe a late publication ſeems to allude, in mentioning the number of twenty millions for the inhabitants of our territorial poſſeſſions in India; the populations of our dominions in the Deccan being eſtimated at nine millions.

An inquiry, inſtituted in 1789, requiring from the collectors of diſtricts their opinions on the populations of their reſpective juriſdictions, founded an eſtimate of twenty-two millions* for Bengal and Bahar. Sir William Jones has hinted a higher eſtimate, and though he has not mentioned the grounds of his opinion, it may be admitted that he has not hazarded a vague and unfounded eſtimate. We think with him that twenty-four millions† is at leaſt the preſent number of the native inhabitants of Bengal and Bahar; and ſhall ſubjoin arguments which might lead us to compute the population at thirty millions. We cannot therefore heſitate to ſtate twenty-ſeven millions for the whole population, including the zemindary of Benares.

1ſt. An actual aſcertainment‡ found 80,914 ryots holding leaſes, and 22,324 artificers paying ground rent in 2,784 villages§ upon 2,531 ſquare miles. Allowing five to a family, it gives more than 203 to a ſquare mile; and for the whole of the Dewanny provinces, at that proportion, gives a population of 80,291,051, or including Benares, 82,987,500. For the area of Bengal and Bahar is 149,217 ſquare miles, and with Benares not leſs than 162,500.

The diſtrict in which this aſcertainment was made, is not among the moſt populous of Bengal; but is more populous than the greateſt number. In ſome parts of Bengal conſiderable tracts are almoſt wholly waſte; if a fourth of the area were excluded on this ground, the proportion

* Quoted from memory.

† Preface to the tranſlation of the *Al Sirájiyyah*.

‡ The reſult of an official inquiry in the province of Purnea.

§ Mauzas. In the ſame mauza ſeveral villages or hamlets may ſtand, and on the contrary the ſame village will ſometimes include ſeveral mauzas. The common ſize of mauzas may be judged from the following aſcertainment:

In diſtricts of Bengal, 21,996 mauzas 18,028 ſquare miles.

Eſtimates have been attempted from the number of inhabitants found in a few villages, as an argument applicable to the whole number of mauzas. The inquiries have been too limited to afford ſtrong grounds of argument. But the reſults which have come to our knowledge give 179 inhabitants to each village, 92 males and 87 females.

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portion of population on a ſquare mile, reſulting from an aſcertainment in the diſtrict alluded to, might be taken for three-fourths of Bengal.

But it muſt be remembered, that many and numerous claſſes do not pay rent, or contribute directly to the revenues. Some profeſſions are exempted from ground-rent; ſome claſſes are excuſed for poverty; others from reſpect. The tenants of alienated lands are not included in the aſcertainment above-mentioned: yet the free lands are equal to an eighth of the whole area of the diſtrict alluded to; and they do not bear a leſs proportion to the lands of all Bengal. No city, or conſiderable town, was included in the aſcertainment; which, for that further reaſon, may be acknowledged moderate. Upon the whole, we may adhere to the average firſt ſuggeſted, of 200 to a ſquare mile.

2d. General meaſurements are occaſionally undertaken for entire pergunnahs, and for larger diſtricts. In the regiſters of ſuch ſurveys the land in tillage, the land appropriated to ſpecial purpoſes, the waſte and barren lands, and the ground covered by lakes, are diſtinguiſhed. Many ſuch ſurveys * have been examined, and the following proportion is grounded on them, making an allowance for great rivers.

Rivers and lakes (an eighth) ..	3
Deemed irreclaimable and barren (a ſixth)	4
Scite of towns and villages, ways, ponds, &c. (a twenty-fourth)	1
Free lands (an eighth)	3
Liable for revenue.	
In tillage (three eighths)	9
Waſte (a ſixth)	4
	24

If a fourth of the area of Bengal be excluded, as before, for tracts nearly or wholly waſte; three eighths of the remainder give 45,703 ſquare miles; or (omitting Benares) 41,967 ſquare miles, equal to 81,238,112 begahs of land in tillage and liable for revenue; and if half the free lands be cultivated, the whole tillage is 94,777,797 begahs, or 31,331,499 acres.

In ſome diſtricts, an inquiry undertaken in 1790, aſcertained the quantity of land tenanted by near ſeventy thouſand cultivators; and it gave an average of leſs than eighteen begahs each in *actual* tillage: for the cultivators paying rent for no more than their actual cultivation, the aſcertainment comprehends no lays or fallows.

At this proportion the whole tillage of 94,777,797 begahs muſt be uſed by 5,265,432 tenants; and adding for artificers and manufacturers,

* For ſpecimens of theſe ſurveys take the following abſtracts from ſeveral pergunnahs in circars, Shereefabad, Madarum, &c. meaſured in 1786, and in circar Tajepoor, meaſured in 1788:

Waſte but reclaimable, as well as foreſt and ſteril lands, - -	449,986
Ponds - - - - - - - -	41,805
Free lands - - - - - - -	298,275
Productive (including ſcite of buildings) - - - - - -	524,909
Begahs of 80 cubits ſquare - - -	13,14,975

Pergunnahs in circar Tajepoor, meaſured in 1788.	
Waſte but reclaimable - -	161,225
Barren - - - - - - -	123,747
Ponds and roads, &c. - - -	24,122
Free lands - - - - - -	143,042
Cultivated - - - - - -	301,131
Total begahs - -	753,267

Theſe meaſurements are excluſive of rivers.

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turers, &c. at the proportion ſuggeſted by the aſcertainment of 80,914 huſbandmen, and 22,324 artificers in the diſtricts alluded to in another place, we have 6,718,154 perſons paying land rent and ground rent. If each of theſe be deemed the head of a family, the population at five to a family might be eſtimated at 33,590,770.

But ſeveral rents are not unfrequently paid by the ſame family; for this reaſon, the number of huſbandmen maybe thought over-rated, as in the rent-rolls which were abſtracted, tenants holding from more than one land-holder, or paying two rents to the ſame proprietor, muſt unavoidably have ſtood for two perſons. The exceſs in the eſtimate ariſing from this cauſe is perhaps not fully balanced by the various claſſes not contributing directly to the rental.

3d. The ſame objection occurs to an eſtimate from the average rents of tenants; it may nevertheleſs be proper to view the reſult of a calculation on this ground.

On the rent-rolls examined for the quantity of land as mentioned above, the payments appeared at 478,020 ſicca rupees on 68,647 leaſes to cultivating tenants: or nearly ſeven rupees each.

In the firſt year of the permanent ſettlement the revenue realized to government was current rupees 3,06,98,255, or ſicca rupees 2,64,64,094. The aſſeſſment was calculated to leave an income to the proprietor equal to a tenth.

Land revenue	2,64,64,094
Proprietor's income	26,46,409
	2,91,10,503

Charges of collections and management, as actually allowed in ſome inſtances, and deemed a very moderate allowance; 20 per centum on the groſs produce .. 72,77,626

Groſs rents, or actual payments by tenants	3,63,88,129
Add for free lands in the ſame proportion as before 1 to 6	60,64,688
Payments by tenants, ſicca rupees	4,24,52,817

At the rate already ſuggeſted of ſeven rupees each, theſe payments ariſe from 6,064,688 tenants; and aſſuming their families at five, the population would be 30,323,440.

As ground-rents are of ſmall amount in proportion to the land-rents, the average of ſeven rupees for each tenant might have been reduced on this account. This, with the omiſſion of numerous claſſes not paying a direct rent, may be deemed equivalent for the repetition of names in rent-rolls: and the near coincidence of 30,323,440 with the number of 30,291,051, reſulting from other grounds, ſupports the computation.

4th. Remains to compare the eſtimated population with the conſumption.

The diet of an Indian is very ſimple; the diet of one is the diet of millions, ſplit pulſe, and ſalt relieving the inſipidity of plain rice. Two ounces of ſalt, two pounds of ſplit pulſe, and eight pounds of rice, is the uſual daily conſumption of a family of five perſons in eaſy circumſtances, whence we have the average conſumption of ſalt in a year at 9lb. a head.

The annual ſales of ſalt, an article monopoliſed by government, are 35,34,944 maunds of 80 ſicca weight, but the whole quantity is not conſumed in Bengal. A proportion not inconſiderable is exported.

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On the other hand, the lower claſſes in the weſtern provinces ſeldom taſte ſea-ſalt; theſe, and the mountaineers from Rajemahl to Palamow, uſe rock ſalt imported from weſtern countries, a bitter ſalt extracted from aſhes, or impure ſalt obtained from the mother of nitre. The latter is much uſed by the venders of ſalt in adulterating ſea-ſalt: and generally ſpeaking no *ſea ſalt* is allowed to cattle.

If the ſubſtitutes for ſea ſalt be equivalent to the exportation of that ſalt, it will require a population of 32,228,989 perſons to conſume 35,31,944 maunds of ſalt.

5th. From what has been ſtated as the daily conſumption of a family, an average of nine maunds a-head ariſes for the annual conſumption of grain. The uſe of wheat and barley in ſome provinces will not affect the calculation, but millet and other ſmall grains, which conſtitute the principal food of the poor, and which are not equally nouriſhing with white corn, will increaſe the average.

Several ſorts of pulſe are grown for cattle, but bear a ſmall proportion to the general tillage: for the cattle are moſtly ſupported on paſtures and on ſtraw.

Corn is imported from ſeveral of the countries, which border on Bengal; but the exportation from Bengal exceeds the import; we therefore eſtimate the produce, from the conſumption of the ſuppoſed population, at 270 millions of maunds; and at 300 millions after adding grain for cattle, to this add a ſeventh for ſeed reſerved, and the whole produce in grain will be 34,28,57,140 maunds; a very moderate produce for the tillage eſtimated at 9,47,77,797 begahs.

But the Indian huſbandry, mixing in the ſame field with corn, other articles of a very different nature; to compare the produce to the quantity of land, every article muſt be included in the computation, and for that purpoſe the grain muſt be ſtated at its money value; which we take from the average of many inquiries, in which the cheapeſt and deareſt provinces have been conſidered.

Maunds.	*Rupees.*
15,00,00,000 of rice, wheat, and barley, at 12 annas.....	11,25,00,000
6,00,00,000 millet, &c. at 8 annas....	3,00,00,000
9,00,00,000 pulſe, at 10 annas.....	5,62,50,000
	19,87,50,000
4,30,00,000 ſeed reſerved	2,83,80,000
	22,71,30,000
Oil ſeeds	12,000,000
Sugar, tobacco, cotton, &c.	70,000,000
Sundries	20,000,000
Groſs produce of land	329,130,000

which is more than ſeven* rents, if the

* The groſs payments of the huſbandmen are greater; probably not leſs than the fourth of the groſs produce: which was conſidered under the latter adminiſtration of the native government as the juſt due. Another occaſion will occur of examining this ſubject more fully, and explaining the appropriations of the groſs collections. The difference, though it break the conſiſtency of the argument, is in favour of the moderation of our eſtimate. It is explained by the circumſtance of the aſcertainment before quoted, having been made in a diſtrict where the net revenue bears a very large proportion to the groſs collections, and where the huſbandmen are eſtimated on the rental to pay a ſeventh only. The net revenue bears a leſs proportion to the groſs revenue,

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the rents have been well eſtimated at rupees 42,452,817, and a produce of three rupees and a half a begah on the tillage, eſtimated at 94,777,797. In a ſubſequent inquiry we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew this a very moderate produce, in proportion to the expence of huſbandry.

The ſpeculations in which we have now indulged, cannot avail to determine accurately the population of theſe provinces, but make it probable that it has been underrated. It is undoubtedly adequate to undertake greater tillage, and more numerous and extenſive manufactures, than now employ the labour of our Aſiatic ſubjects: but, wanting a vent for their produce, they have no inducement for greater induſtry. If more produce were obtained, its market being barred, induſtry would be unrewarded. The neceſſaries of life are cheap, the mode of living ſimple; and though the price of labour be low, a ſubſiſtence may be earned without the uninterrupted application of induſtry. Often idle, the peaſant and manufacturer may nevertheleſs ſubſiſt. A few individuals might indeed acquire wealth by diligent application; but the nation at large, doomed to poverty by commercial limitations, can apply no more labour than the demand of the market is permitted to encourage. If induſtry be rouſed, the preſent population is ſufficient to bring into tillage the whole of the waſte lands in Bengal and Bahar; and in moſt diſtricts improvement may be expected whenever new channels of trade are opened to take off more, or new produce. In all it may ſoon follow the event, if Europeans intereſt themſelves in undertakings for the reclaiming of waſte tracts.

Of this we are convinced, aware however that the culture muſt require a conſiderable proportion of labour, for in the common huſbandry the field yields ſeveral crops within the year. But requiring no manure except for ſome articles, and for theſe manured without labour or expenſe, the ſame quantity of land ſhould need fewer hands in Bengal than in England, ſince the labours of the huſbandman ſuffer leſs interruption from the inclemency of ſeaſons.

The improvements to be expected from a better and more diligent huſbandry may be appreciated after reviewing the preſent ſyſtem of agriculture.

That the revenue moſtly follows a proportion to the area of the diſtricts, may be ſhewn by a compariſon to the revenue of 1784, which diſtant period is taken becauſe diſtricts having been new modelled, their area under late diſtributions is not aſcertained.

Diſtricts.

revenue, in moſt diſtricts; and in theſe the peaſants pay more than a fourth. This does not affect the computation; for had we uſed materials obtained from diſtricts where the groſs payments were greater in proportion to the net revenue, or had we included all the payments not brought on the rental, the average payment of each tenant would be found proportionably higher. In ſome the huſbandmen pay more than a fourth of their groſs produce: in others they nominally pay more than half. On the other hand, in frontier diſtricts, particularly on the eſtates held upon Ghatwali tenure, they pay leſs than a ſeventh.

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Diſtricts.	Reſerved as nearly waſte.	Square miles according to Rennel.	Revenue of 1794.
Beerbhoom		3,858	6,11,321
Biſhenpore		1,256	3,86,707
Chittagong, Iſlaamabad, and Tipperah Lowlands, Tipperah-woods, (the laſt nearly waſte)	5,250	4,317	6,79,197
Dacca		15,897	31,62,386
Dinagepore		3,519	14,60,444
Kiſhenagur (Nuddea)		3,115	10,27,427
Midnapore		6,102	8,89,941
Purneah		5,119	10,00,479
Rajemahl and Boglepore (Curruckpore and Curruckdee, nearly waſte)	5,453	5,034	5,47,600
Rajeſhahy		12,909	24,00,000
Silhet		2,861	2,33,824
Sarun and Bettya		5,106	13,12,721
Tirhoot and Hajypore		7,815	7,01,234
Baha Proper, Rotas and Shahabad		12,129	24,59,807
Burdwan		5,174	43,58,026
Pachete, Chuta, Nagpoor, Palamow, and Ramghur	16,732	5,000	1,61,216
Sunderbunds, Cooch-Behar and Rangamatty, nearly waſte	10,114		
Diſtricts, the diſtribution of whoſe area is not aſcertained, including the productive diſtricts of 24 Pergunnahs, Hoogly, town of Calcutta, and Murſhedabad		12,921	61,66,670
Total	37,549	149,217	2,75,59,000

The cultivated tracts in the diſtricts reſerved as nearly waſte are fully compenſated by the waſte tracts in diſtricts ſtated as well cultivated: hence the argument, on which a fourth of the area has been excluded as waſte. The average of revenue on the whole area is current rupees 184 per ſquare mile; on three-fourths of the area well cultivated, it is 246 per ſquare mile. The revenue of moſt diſtricts compared to their area falls between thoſe limits. No aſcertainments have been admitted in the preceding computation, but thoſe obtained within the diſtricts marked, where the revenue is nearly 200 current rupees per ſquare mile: which circumſtance ſhews them to be in a middle claſs between the depopulated and waſte, and the populous and highly cultivated diſtricts.

In the preſent diſtribution of diſtricts, the deareſt and moſt productive are Burdwan, 24 Pergunnahs, Nuddea, and town of Calcutta; the cheapeſt and leaſt productive are Ramghur, Silhet, Cooch Behar, and Tipperah. We uſe no information from theſe diſtricts in computing the prime coſt of productions and price of labour.

On

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On the present State of HUSBANDRY *in* BENGAL.

By the Same.

[*Never before published.*]

The regular ſucceſſion of periodical rains, followed by a mild winter, which exempt from froſt, is almoſt as free from rain; and this ſucceeded by great heat, refreſhened occaſionally by ſhowers of rain and hail, affords its proper ſeaſon for every production of tropical and temperate climates. Few are altogether unknown in Bengal. Thoſe which actually engage the induſtry of the huſbandmen are numerous and varied. Of theſe rice is the moſt important. Corn in every country is the firſt object of agriculture, as the principal food of the inhabitants; in this, where animal food is ſeldom uſed, it is eſpecially important.

The natural ſeaſons of rice are aſcertained from the progreſs of wild rice. It ſows itſelf in the firſt month of the winter; vegetates with the early moiſture at the approach of the rains; ripens during that period; and drops its ſeed with the commencement of the winter.

A culture calculated to conform to this progreſs is practiſed in ſome diſtricts. The rice is ſown in low ſituations when nearly deſiccated; the ſoil hardening above the ſeed gives no paſſage to early ſhowers; the grain vegetates at the approach of the rains, and ripens in that ſeaſon, earlier or later according as the field is overflown to a leſs or greater depth.

This method is bad, as it expoſes the ſeed to injury during a long period in which it ſhould remain inert; the practice is not frequent. Common huſbandry ſows the rice at the ſeaſon when it ſhould naturally vegetate, to gather a crop in the rains; it alſo withholds ſeed till the ſecond month of that ſeaſon, and reaps the harveſt in the beginning of winter: and the rice of this harveſt is eſteemed the beſt, not being liable to early decay.

In low ſituations, where the progreſs of deſiccation is ſlow, and on the ſhelving banks of lakes which retain moiſture till the return of the rains, a ſingular cultivation, ſows rice at the end of the rains, and, by frequent tranſplanting and irrigation, forces it to maturity in the hot ſeaſon: and in ſituations nearly ſimilar, ſows in the cold ſeaſon for an early harveſt, obtained by a ſimilar method at the commencement of the rains.

In almoſt every plant the culture, in proportion as it is more generally diffuſed, induces numerous varieties. But the ſeveral ſeaſons of cultivation, added to the influence of ſoil and climate, have multiplied the different ſpecies of rice to an endleſs variety, branching from the firſt obvious diſtinction of awned and awnleſs rice. The ſeveral ſpecies and diverſities, variouſly adapted to every circumſtance of ſoil, climate and ſeaſon, might exerciſe the judgment of ſagacious cultivators: the ſelection of the moſt ſuitable kinds is not neglected by the huſbandmen. There is room, however, for great improvement, from the future light to be thrown on this ſubject, by the obſervations of enlightened farmers.

Other corn is more limited in its varieties and its culture. Of wheat and barley, few ſorts are diſtinguiſhed. All ſown at the commencement of the winter, and reaped

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ed at the beginning of the hot ſeaſon.

A great variety of different ſorts of pulſe finds its place in the occupations of huſbandry. No ſeaſon is without its appropriate ſpecies: but moſt ſorts are ſown or ripen in the winter. They conſtitute a valuable article in huſbandry, as thriving on the pooreſt ſoils and requiring little culture.

Millet and other ſmall grains, though bearing a very low price, as the food of the pooreſt claſſes, are not unimportant: ſeveral of theſe grains, reſtricted to no ſeaſon, and vegetating rapidly, are uſeful, as they occupy an interval after a tardy harveſt, which would not permit the uſual courſe of huſbandry.—Maize, which may be placed in this ſecond claſs of corn, is leſs cultivated in Bengal than in moſt countries where it is acclimated. For common food, inferior to white corn, it has not a preference above millet to compenſate the greater labour of its culture.

The univerſal and vaſt conſumption of vegetable oils is ſupplied by the extenſive cultivation of muſtard, linſeed, ſeſame, palmachriſti, &c. The firſt occupy the winter ſeaſon; the ſeſame ripens in the rains.

Among the moſt important of the productions of Bengal, rich in proportion to the land they occupy, valuable in commerce and manufactures, are tobacco, ſugar, indigo, cotton, mulberry, and poppy.—Moſt of theſe require land ſolely appropriated to the reſpective culture of each; they would here deſerve full notice, with ſome other articles, if we were not in this place limited to a general review of the uſual courſe of huſbandry, and the implements and methods it employs.

The arts and habits of one country elucidate thoſe of another. The native of the north may deem every thing novel in India; but if he have viſited the ſouthern kingdoms of Europe, he will find much ſimilarity to notice.

The plough, the ſpade of Bengal, and the coarſe ſubſtitute for the harrow, will remind him of ſimilar implements in Spain. Cattle treading out the corn from the ear, will recal the ſame practice in the ſouth of Europe: where alſo, he has already remarked the want of barns and of incloſures, the diſuſe of horſes for the plough, the buſineſs of domeſtic economy conducted in the open air, and the dairy ſupplied by the milk of buffaloes.

The plough is drawn by a ſingle yoke of oxen, guided by the ploughman himſelf. Two or three pair of oxen aſſigned to each plough, relieve each other, until the daily taſk be completed. Several ploughs in ſucceſſion deepen the ſame furrows, or rather ſcratch the ſurface; for the plough wants a contrivance for turning the earth, and the ſhare has neither width nor depth to ſtir a new ſoil. A ſecond ploughing croſſes the firſt, and a third is ſometimes given diagonally to the preceding. Theſe frequently repeated, and followed by the ſubſtitute for the harrow, pulveriſe the ſurface, and prepare it for the reception of ſeed. The field muſt be watched for ſeveral days, to defend the ſeed from the depredations of numerous flocks of birds. This is commonly the occupation of children, ſtationed to ſcare the birds from the freſh ſown field.

After the plant has riſen, the rapid growth of weeds demands frequent weedings; particularly in the rainy ſeaſon. For few indigenous herbs vegetating in the dry ſeaſon, weeding is little, if at all required, for plants which are cultivated,

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tivated in the abſence of rain.—Viewing the labours of the weeders, the eye is not eaſily reconciled to ſee them fitting to their work. The ſhort handled ſpud, which they uſe for a hoe, permits no other poſture: but however familiar that poſture may be to the Indian, his labour is not employed to advantage in this mode of weeding.

The hook (for the ſcythe is unknown) reaps every harveſt. In this alſo much unneceſſary labour is employed; not merely from the want of a more expeditious implement, but from the practice of ſelecting the ripeſt plants, which, taught by the harveſt of different plants ripening ſucceſſively, the Indian extends to the harveſt of a ſimple crop. Yet ſuch is the contradictions of cuſtom, that while the peaſant returns frequently to one field to gather the plants as they ripen, he ſuffers another to ſtand long after the greateſt part of the crop has paſſed the point of maturity. He juſtifies his practice upon circumſtances which render it impracticable to enter theſe fields to ſelect the ripe plants without damaging the reſt; and upon the inferiority of crops which mix, with ripe corn, a conſiderable proportion not fully ripened. Though his excuſe be not groundleſs, his loſs is conſiderable, by the grain which drops before the harveſt, in ſo great a quantity, that if the field remain unſown, it will afford a crop by no means contemptible *.

The practice of ſtacking corn intended to be reſerved for ſeed, or for a late ſale, is very unuſual. The huſk which covers rice preſerves it ſo perfectly, that, for this grain, the practice would be ſuperfluous: and the management of rice ſerving for the type of their whole huſbandry, it is neglected by the peaſants for other corn. A careleſs ſtack which waits the peaſant's leiſure to thraſh it out, ſerves for a convenient diſpoſition, rather than as a defence from the inclemencies of weather. With the firſt opportunity his cattle tread out the corn, or his ſtaff thraſhes the ſmaller ſeeds. The grain is winnowed in the wind, and ſtored in jars of unbaked earth, in baſkets, or in twiſted graſs formed into the ſhape of baſkets.

The want of roads, which indeed could not poſſibly be provided to give acceſs to every field, in every ſeaſon, does not leave it in the option of the farmer to bring home all his harveſts by cattle; but the general diſuſe of cattle in circumſtances which would permit this mode of tranſport is among the facts which ſhew a great diſproportion between the population and the huſbandry.

Irrigation is leſs neglected than facility of tranſport. In the management of forced rice, dams retain the water on extenſive plains; or reſerve it in lakes, to water lower lands as occaſion requires. For either purpoſe much ſkill is exerted in regulating the ſupplies of water. For the ſame culture, ridges ſurrounding the field retain water raiſed by the ſimple contriv-

*. Of this, inſtances are frequent: the remarkable reſult of one inſtance deſerves to be mentioned. An early inundation covered a very extenſive tract before the rice had been ſown: the landlord remitted the rents, but claimed the ſpontaneous crop; and he profited by the accommodation, realiſing from this harveſt a greater amount than the rents he remitted; although, in addition to the common expenſes, he was at conſiderable coſt to watch the crop, and was probably defrauded of a large proportion of the harveſt.

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ance of a curved canoe ſwinging from a pole. In other ſituations ridges are alſo raiſed round the field, both to ſeparate lands, and to regulate the water on conſiderable tracts. In ſome provinces water raiſed by cattle, or by hand, from wells, ſupply the deficiencies of rain. Each of theſe being within their compaſs, is the undertaking of the peaſants themſelves. More conſiderable works, not leſs neceſſary, are much neglected. Reſervoirs, water-courſes, and dykes, are more generally in a progreſs of decay than of improvement.

The ſucceſſion of crops, which engages ſo much the attention of enlightened cultivators in Europe, and on which principally reſts the ſucceſs of a well conducted huſbandry, is not underſtood in India. A courſe, extending beyond the year, has never been dreamt of by a Bengal farmer: in the ſucceſſion of crops within the year, he is guided to no choice of an article adapted to reſtore the land impoveriſhed by a former crop. His attention being fixed on white corn, other cultivation only employs the intervals of leiſure, which the ſeaſons of white corn allow to the land and to labour; with an exception however to ſugar, ſilk, and other valuable productions, to which corn is ſecondary; but which grown on appropriate lands, belong not to the conſideration of the courſe of crops. In this, which is not regulated by any better conſideration than convenience of time, it would be ſuperfluous to ſpecify the different courſes which occur in practice; as little would it tend to any uſeful purpoſe to develope the various combinations of different articles, grown together on the ſame field, or in the ſtubble of a former harveſt, or ſown for a future crop before the preceding harveſt be gathered.

A competent notion may be formed of this practice, by conceiving a farmer eager to obtain the utmoſt poſſible produce from his land, without any conſideration for the impoveriſhment of the ſoil; able to command, at any ſeaſon, ſome article ſuited to the time, and not content to uſe his field ſo ſoon as the harveſt makes room for ſucceſſion, but anticipating the vacancy, or obtaining a crop of quick vegetation, during the firſt progreſs of a ſlower plant.

It may be judged that his avidity diſappoints itſelf, both as the ſeveral articles deprive each other of the nouriſhment, which would have afforded a more abundant crop of either ſeparately; and as the land impoveriſhed makes bad returns for the labour and ſeed. In moſt ſituations the land racked in this huſbandry ſoon requires time to recruit; the Indian allows it a lay, but never a fallow. This would be well judged, if the management of ſtock gave to the lay all the benefit which belongs to this method; and if the inefficacy of the plough, which muſt be preceded by the ſpade, did not greatly increaſe the expence of opening old lays.

The abuſe of dung, employed for fuel, inſtead of being applied to manure, muſt have concealed from the huſbandman the benefit of well managed ſtock: elſe, in his practice of paſturing his cattle in the ſtubble of his harveſt, and in fields, of which the crop has failed, he could not omit to notice the advantage of a farm well ſtocked. For want of perceiving this benefit, the cattle for labour and ſubſiſtence are moſtly paſtured on ſmall commons, or other paſturage, intermixed with arable lands, or fed at

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home on ſtraw or cut graſs; and the cattle for breeding, and for the dairy, are grazed in numerous herds on the foreſts and downs. Wherever fed, the dung is carefully collected for fuel.

Cultivation ſuffering very conſiderably by the treſpaſſes of cattle, through the wilful neglect of the herdſmen, it is a matter of ſurpriſe that encloſures are ſo much neglected. For a reaſon already mentioned, cattle cannot be left at night unattended: but, in the preſent practice, buffaloes only are grazed at night; cows and oxen are paſtured in the day. For theſe, encloſures would be valuable, and even for buffaloes would not be uſeleſs; and the farmer would be well rewarded, by ſuffering the cattle to fertilize all his arable lands, inſtead of reſtricting the uſe of manure to ſugar-cane, mulberry, tobacco, poppy, &c.

Few lands unaſſiſted are ſufficiently fertile to raiſe theſe productions; the huſbandman has yielded to the neceſſity of manuring for them. On the management of it little occurs for particular notice in this place, except to mention, that khully, or oil-cake, is occaſionally uſed as manure for the ſugar-cane. A courſe of experiments would be requiſite to aſcertain whether the methods actually employed be better ſuited to the ſoil and climate, than others which might be, or have been ſuggeſted from the practice of other countries, or from the varying practice of different parts of Bengal.

For a ſimilar reaſon the conſideration of other produce, (of which the culture is now general, or which might be generally diffuſed, as cotton, indigo, arnotto, madder,) may alſo be deferred. Enough has been ſaid to ſhew that huſbandry in Bengal admits of much improvement; or rather that the art is in its infancy.

An ignorant huſbandry, which exhauſts the land, neglecting the obvious means of maintaining its fertility, and of reaping immediate profit from the operations which might reſtore it; rude implements, inadequate to the purpoſe for which they are formed, and requiring much ſuperfluous labour; this again ill divided, and of conſequence employed diſadvantageouſly, call for amendment.

The ſimple tools which the Indian employs in every art, are ſo coarſe, and apparently ſo inadequate, that it creates ſurpriſe he ſhould ever effect his undertaking; but the long continuance of feeble efforts accompliſhes, (and moſtly well,) what, compared to the means, appears impracticable; habituated to obſerve his ſucceſs, we cannot ceaſe to wonder at the ſimplicity of his proceſs, contraſting it to the mechaniſm employed in Europe. But it is not neceſſary that the complicated models of Europe ſhould be copied in India. A paſſion for the contrivances of ingenuity has adopted intricate machinery for ſimple operations. The economy of labour in many caſes juſtifies the practice, whether an effect be produced at a ſmaller expenſe, or more be performed at proportionate expenſe, but with leſs labour. In Bengal the value of money, and the cheapneſs of labour, would render it abſurd to propoſe coſtly machinery; but is no objection to ſimple improvements, which, adding little to the coſt of the implements, would fit them to perform, more effectually, and with leſs labour, the object undertaken. The plough is among the implements which ſtand moſt in need of ſuch improvements.

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The readineſs with which he can turn, from the occupation in which he has been accuſtomed, to another branch of the ſame art, or to a new occupation, is characteriſtic of the Indian. The ſucceſs of his earlieſt efforts, in a novel employment, is daily remarked with ſurpriſe. It is not ſo much a proof of ingenuity and ready conception, as the effect of ſlow and patient imitation, aſſiſting a verſatile habit neceſſarily acquired where the diviſion of labour is imperfect; and though its performance may ſurpaſs expectation, it muſt ever fall ſhort of the expeditious and finiſhed performances of the expert mechanic, whoſe ſkill is formed by conſtant practice in a more circumſcribed occupation.

The want of capital, employed in manufactures and agriculture, prevents, in Bengal, the diviſion of labour. Every manufacturer, every artiſt, working for his own account, conducts the whole proceſs of his art from the formation of his tools to the ſale of his production. Unable to wait the market, or anticipate its demand, he can only follow his regular occupation, as immediately called to it, by the wants of his neighbours. In the intervals, he muſt apply to ſome other employment in immediate requeſt: and the labours of agriculture, ever wanted, are the general reſource. The mechanic finding himſelf as fully competent, as the conſtant cultivator, to the management of common huſbandry, is not diſcouraged from undertaking it at his own riſk. Every labourer, every artiſan, who has frequent occaſion to recur to the labours of the field, becomes a tenant. Such farmers are ill qualified to plan or conduct a well judged courſe of huſbandry, and are idly employed, to the great waſte of uſeful time, in carrying to market the paltry produce of their petty farms.

If Bengal had a capital in the hand of enterpriſing proprietors, who employed it in huſbandry, manufactures, and internal commerce, theſe arts would be improved; and, with greater and better productions from the ſame labour, the ſituation of the labourers would be leſs precarious, and more affluent; although the greateſt part of the profit might reſt with the owners of the capital.

Capital is certainly not leſs deficient to the internal commerce of Bengal, than to manufactures and agriculture. The ſmall capitals now employed require large returns. Bleſſed as Bengal is, beyond any country, with an extenſive internal navigation, the want of roads (though a great evil) would not ſufficiently account for the very limited intercourſe of commerce at preſent exiſting. But the large profits, which ſmall capitals require, explain the want of intercourſe.—This conſpires with the deficiency of capital in manufactures and huſbandry to depreſs Bengal: for in agriculture particularly, which is the baſis of proſperity to a country, the want of capital is a bar to all improvement. Under a ſyſtem of government which neither drained its wealth, nor curbed rational enterpriſe, Bengal could not fail to revive; the employment of capital in huſbandry would introduce large farms; and from theſe would flow every improvement wanted; and which muſt naturally extend from huſbandry into every branch of arts and commerce.

Without capital and enterpriſe, improvement can never be obtained. Precept will never inculcate a better huſbandry on the humble unenlightened

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lightened peasant. It could not, without example, generally engage a wealthier and better informed class. Positive institutions would be of as little avail. The legislator cannot direct the judgement of his subjects; his business is only to be careful lest his regulations* disturb them in the pursuit of their true interests.

In Bengal, where the revenue of the state has had the form of land-rent, the management of finances has a more immediate influence on agriculture than any other part of the administration. The system which has been adopted, of withdrawing from direct interference with the occupants, and leaving them to tenant from landlords, will contribute more than any of the remediary † regulations which have been promulgated, to abuses and evils which had rendered the situation of the cultivator precarious. But not yet having produced its effect, it requires us to review the system of finances, under which abuses had grown, and placed the occupant in a precarious situation, as discouraging to agriculture as any circumstance yet noticed: for without an ascertained interest for a sufficient period, no person could have an inducement to venture a capital in husbandry.

OBSERVATIONS *on* PROPERTY *in the* SOIL.—RENTS *and* DUTIES.—TENURES *of* FREE LANDS, *and of Lands liable for* REVENUE, *in the Province of* BENGAL.

By the Same.

[*Never before published.*]

We shall examine this subject ascending from the first occupant.

A new settler becomes a ryot if he tenants; but if he assists in husbandry, as a labourer only, he is in another class of cultivators. For the term of ryot, though properly intending a subject generally, is restricted to mean citizens contributing directly to the revenue of the state, whether as tenants of land paying rent, or as traders and artificers paying taxes.

The new settler may occupy the whole, or a part, of the land abandoned or deserted by his predecessor; or land surrendered or resigned; or land which has lain one or more years. If it has lain for a period of three or more years, according as custom may have regulated, it becomes waste, or forest land: and

* A strong instance of such ill advised institutions occurs in a local regulation, which prohibited farms exceeding fifty begahs.

† Regulations on this, and other subjects, have copied too closely the notions and forms of European nations. Though they have been framed by persons well informed of the customs and prejudices of the natives, a predilection for the maxims of European societies has introduced rules, which, if not incompatible with the disposition of the Indian, have at least been pressed with too eager haste; not allowing time to the natives to accommodate themselves to new forms, and to innovating maxims. The provisions of new laws, not easily apprehended by the natives, are to them the more obscure, being framed in a foreign language, from which translations cannot assimilate to the idiom of their own tongue. Hence the best intentions have not yet produced good effects. The people have received no material relief, no considerable benefit; the only consequence is, that their understandings are confounded, and their minds alarmed.

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from this, a progreſs of years, regulated by cuſtom, or by local circumſtances, reſtores it to the firſt claſs of arable land.

The ryot, unleſs content to pay, by the cuſtom of the country, and expoſe himſelf to exactions under falſe conſtructions of the cuſtom, muſt take out a pateh or leaſe; executing at the ſame time a counterpart.

Patehs may be for payment in eaſh, or in kind; this latter may be for a ſpecific quantity of grain, or for an adjuſtment on the crop by an actual partition, or by eſtimation. The tenure for payments in caſh is either for ſpecific rent, or for an adjuſtment ſubſequent to cultivation; the firſt may be for aſcertained farms, or for ſpecified quantities of land; and it might be for a term, or perpetual. The tenure may be regulated for an adjuſtment ſubſequent to cultivation, by fixed rates, or by aſcertained rules. But in ſome tenures of this claſs no certain rules are diſcoverable.

Under the firſt tenure, the ryot is held by engagement, or by cuſtom, to render a certain weight or meaſure of grain for his farm, which is aſcertained by its meaſure or its bounds.

In the ſecond, the crop is divided when gathered; the uſual proportion is half produce; other proportions are known, but are more uſual in the third tenure. Whatever the proportion be, it is moſtly nominal; for deductions are made from the groſs crop before the partition, or from the aſſigned ſhares after the partition, and theſe deductions ariſe from arbitrary impoſts.

The third tenure for payment in kind is by eſtimation of the crop. This is performed by meaſuring the field, eſtimating its produce by inſpection, or by ſmall trials, calculating the ſhares according to the rule for the partition, and valuing the landlord's * ſhare at the market price, which value the tenant pays in caſh. It is uſual to indulge the tenant by a favourable meaſurement, and a moderate evaluation; for which reaſon he prefers this tenure to an actual partition, which the landlord is alſo deſirous of avoiding, as it is very liable to frauds. In the rule for dividing the crop, whether under ſpecial engagements, or by cuſtom, three proportions are known:

Half for the landlord,	Half for the tenant,
One-third ditto,	Two-thirds ditto,
Two-fifths ditto,	Three-fifths ditto.

Theſe proportions, and others leſs common, are all ſubject to taxes and deductions ſimilar to thoſe of other tenures; and in conſequence another proportion, engrafted on equal partition, has in ſome places been fixed by government in lieu of all taxes: as, nine-ſixteenths for the landlord, and ſeven-ſixteenths for the tenant.

Under this tenure the peaſant may not reap his crop without his landlord's permiſſion †; but by the landlord delaying to attend for the partition or eſtimation, the harveſt may ſuffer. For this reaſon, or to defraud his landlord, the ryot ſometimes privately gathers the harveſt. On theſe occaſions it becomes neceſſary

* To avoid circumlocution and obſcurity, we ſpeak of the ryot as a tenant paying rent, and of his ſuperior as a landlord or a landholder. But properly his payment was a contribution to the ſtate, levied by officers ſtanding between the ryot and government. They never were landlords paying taxes to the ſtate, and leaſing their lands to tenants, until placed in that ſituation by the Britiſh government.

† A fee for this permiſſion was levied.

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ceſſary to meaſure the fields, and eſtimate the produce which has been embezzled, according to the fertility preſumed on a compariſon to the lands in the neighbourhood. If the uſual evaluation for different articles of produce were reduced to a table of rates, and the value in kind turned into money rates, by a reference to the average prices of common ſeaſons, it would acquire the ſame form with the tenure, for a rent to be aſcertained ſubſequently to cultivation according to fixed rates; and is the probable origin of that tenure: which may be deemed the payment in kind commuted for a modus.

The rates ought to be uniform, as far as circumſtances permit, and the rents of all tenants within the village or diſtrict be regulated by one table. As the ſoil, however, muſt be unequal, the rates vary, not only according to the articles of produce, and number of harveſts gathered off the ſame field within the year, but according to the ſoil and ſituation: as ſandy, expoſed to inundation, or to drought; annually overflown, adjoining to, or remote from the village, &c. All theſe variations, whether by the produce or ſoil, conſtitute the rates which compoſe the table. Other variations are admitted for ſubdiviſions of diſtricts and of villages. But in ſome places the rates do not vary by the ſoil and produce; on the contrary, one uniform rate is applied to the whole land occupied by the tenant.

A pateh for an adjuſtment after cultivation, by the general table, need not ſpecify the rates. It need only contain the term of the leaſe, the reſervation of eſtabliſhed taxes, the meaſure to be uſed for the land, an obligation to pay all additional taxes impoſed generally, and the periods of payment.

The term ſpecified in a pateh of this nature is commonly the year for which they are granted. A ryot has a little of occupancy, in right of which he may retain his land, ſo long as it continues to pay the rent in conformity to the cuſtom of the country, or to his particular engagement. Of this more hereafter.

The ſum of the rates applied to the meaſurement, conſtitutes the original rent, in contradiction to additional taxes arbitrarily impoſed, or required for ſpecial purpoſes.—They commonly fall under ſeveral heads, taxes generally, charges, exchange, impoſts, and contributions, and fees under their particular denominations. All eſtabliſhed taxes ought to be brought on a table ſhewing the amount of the taxes, and their proportion to the original rent. But notwithſtanding the table ſo conſtructed, a reſervation in this, and other tenures, for taxes to be generally impoſed, and the practice of impoſing them without ſuch expreſs ſtipulation, rendered the ſituation of the tenants precarious. It little availed, that the general conſent of the ryots was deemed neceſſary to the impoſition of a tax, not authoriſed by government, a few leading ryots, gained by indulgence, eaſily led the multitude.

The meaſurement is by a begah *, which contains twenty cottas. It is a ſquare meaſure on a ſide of twenty cottas, but the cotta varies from three and a half to nine cubits. A pole of the eſtabliſhed length ought to be depoſited in the public office of the diſtricts, ſealed at both extremities with the official ſeal;

* Other denominations of land meaſure are known in ſome diſtricts. But the begah is by far the moſt prevalent.

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and the measurement is made with a pole of that length, or with a rope of twenty poles. In either mode, the tenant has been commonly defrauded by keeping the middle of the pole elevated, or by withholding a part of the rope. So great has been the fraudulent cuſtom, that ryots have been known to conſent to double their rates, for the ſtipulation of a fair meaſurement.

The periods of payment are ſeldom ſpecified; they are regulated by cuſtom, founded on the eſtimated value of the crops of different ſeaſons; and the demand is made in the cuſtomary proportions. But if inſtallments are ſpecified, it is by a reference to a ſeparate engagement delivered with the counterpart of the leaſe.

The tenures did not univerſally conform to the table of rates. Indulgence was allowed to ſuch as by rank or religion were precluded from perſonal labour. The reduced rates allowed them ought to be ſpecified in the leaſe; and where the reduction of rates by abuſe has become general, every leaſe to ryots muſt in like manner ſpecify the rates of each, though the individual's rates may not have been reduced.

The ſimple tenure on rates is for an annual adjuſtment on the actual cultivation. But in many places the ryot is bound to make good the ſame amount as in the preceding year, and pay the exceſs, if any. This becomes a different tenure; and the ſtipulation ought to be expreſſed in the leaſe.

A reduction of rates obtained on a promiſe of raiſing the total amount of rent, has unneceſſarily given name to a particular tenure.

Some tenants have been indulged with leaſes for rates for an indefinite term. Theſe, commonly, are not liable to the taxes generally impoſed; and their leaſes contain a clauſe to that effect.

Out of the adjuſtment, after cultivation, has ariſen another form. After the meaſurement made, the ſeparate account of each tenant becomes a record; and the annual meaſurement is frequently omitted in conſideration of a compromiſe; or is partially executed, meaſuring the new cultivation, and adhering to the record for the arable of the preceding year. Upon this is founded the tenure on the record of a general ſurvey, becoming the rule by which the occupant is to pay, until a new meaſurement be undertaken to equaliſe or correct the aſſeſſment.

Among the tenures, we have not mentioned that of paying for the number of ploughs employed, inſtead of the quantity of land occupied: it is not maintained in Bengal, but is the origin of a tenure known in the northern provinces, and which has become vague and precarious. The limits of the farm are aſcertained, but without a ſurvey of the quantity of land. The tenant occupies it in the ſeaſon of cultivation, adjuſting the rent when the crop is on the ground; and if the landlord and tenant cannot agree on an equitable rent, reference cannot now be had to any certain rule. The farm is transferred to the higheſt bidder; and the diſpoſſeſſed farmer receives the reimburſement of his expenſes.

None of the tenures of Bengal are ſecure, except thoſe where the rent of an aſcertained farm or field, or of a ſpecified quantity of land, is fixed by a leaſe previous to cultivation, for a ſpecific term, or for perpetuity, or for permanency, expreſsly

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preſsly ſtipulated; leaſes for an indefinite period being not uncommon.

In the other tenures, great confuſion has ariſen. Meaſurements long omitted, without a rule by record ſubſtituted in their place, and former ſurveys forgotten, or their rates * become obſolete, leave no certain rule for adjuſting the rents. It is endeavoured to obtain from the tenant an undertaking for the current year; but, having to diſpute arbitrary impoſts, he ſeldom conſents. The landlord, eſtimating the amount of his wants, diſtributes it at pleaſure on his tenants, and endeavours to levy this aſſeſſment. In the confuſion of diſputed demands, no documents paſs; the tenant refuſes, the receipt becauſe ſtoppages have been made, which he does not acknowledge to be juſt; the landlord refuſes a releaſe, ever claiming more than he has realiſed. The confuſion increaſing, the ſole object of one party is to extort, and of the other to withhold, as much as poſſible. Hence that ſcene of violence which long diſgraced Bengal, while the peaſant was literally ſubject to the laſh of the extortioner.

Weakneſs will ever oppoſe fraud to oppreſſion. This reſource has been very ſucceſsful in the hands of the peaſantry of Bengal. The power of compulſion taken from the landlord, leaves them no future oppreſſion to apprehend from the vague tenures by which they hold; but they are not willing to relinquiſh the future gain by frauds, which thoſe vague tenures enable them to practiſe. It is from theſe cauſes that little progreſs has been made in the adjuſtment of rents on definite terms; and a long period may probably

* The ſtandard for the regulation of rates has been loſt. We learn from Mr. James Grant, in his Obſervations on the Revenues of Bengal, that the aſſeſſment was limited not to exceed in the whole a fourth of the actual groſs produce of the ſoil. The ancient method of eſtimating the aſſets from the produce is explained in the Ayeen Akbery, vol. 1ſt, page 381. See alſo vol. 2d, page 9. In early times the demands of the Hindu ſovereigns were more moderate. The Mahábhárata mentions, that the prince may levy a fiftieth of the increaſe of the cattle, a fiftieth of the produce of mines, and a tenth of the corn. Hindu authors diſtinguiſh the cultivator occupying the land of right, or cultivating land which had belonged to another cultivator, who is become unable to cultivate, or has expatriated, or has removed to other land, from the cultivator, who enters on the land without permiſſion of the former occupant. The former occupant may reclaim the land, and have the produce, repaying the cultivator his expenſes; or he ſhall have an eighth annually for eight years, and, at the expiration of that period, reſume the land without payment of charges. The cultivator is to pay the ſame to the prince as to the former occupant. Other authorities direct, that the cultivator ſhall pay to the former occupant a tenth of the produce of lands which were waſte having lain five years, an eighth for land which had lain eight years, and a ſixth for land which had lain one year, and the ſame to the prince. The inſtitutes of Akber inform us, that former monarchs of Hinduſtan exacted the ſixth of the produce of lands (Ayeen Akbery, vol. 1ſt, page 347.); under Akber, the revenue was ſettled at a third of the produce of lands cultivated for every harveſt, or opened after a ſhort lay, allowed, in order that the ſoil may receive its ſtrength; but for lays of three or five years much leſs was required. For example, for land which had lain three or four years, and was greatly injured, the payment in the firſt year was two-fifths of the ſtandard, or two-fifteenths of the produce, ſecond year three-fifths of a ſtandard, third and fourth year four-fifths, and in the fifth year as for land regularly cultivated. The rates for land which had been waſte, were in the firſt and ſecond year inconſiderable, the third year a ſixth of the produce, the fourth year a fourth of the produce, and after that period as land which had been regularly cultivated. Theſe rates apply to corn only. Indigo, poppy, &c. paid in ready money at proportionate rates.—*Vide* Ayeen Akbery, vol. 1ſt, page 356, 361, and 364.

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probably elapſe before they acquire regularity. In the mean time, the peaſant employs, in the purſuit of diſhoneſt advantage, that attention which he ought to give to the improvement of his farm.

Beſides the variety of tenures we have noticed, a difference ariſes from other circumſtances. A tenant, cultivating in the lands of a diſtant village, cannot be placed on the ſame footing with one who uſes land in the village where he reſides. Indulgence in his rent is allowed to encourage the diſtant cultivator; and the inconvenience of remote cultivation makes it neceſſary he ſhould be at liberty to relinquiſh, at any time, the land he employs: and conſequently, his own continuance being precarious, he cannot have a title of occupancy, precluding the landlord from transferring the land to a reſident cultivator deſirous of undertaking it. Another diſtinction ariſes on the practice of tenants under-letting their lands to other cultivators. This claſs of middle men is numerous. Some are authoriſed, by the nature of their tenure, where the rent and farm are aſcertained and fixed; others have an expreſs permiſſion inſerted in their leaſe; moſt have no juſtification for this practice, which has grown by abuſe, and is highly detrimental. Their under-tenants, depreſſed by an exceſſive rent in kind, and by uſurious returns for the cattle, ſeed, and ſubſiſtence advanced, can never extricate themſelves from debt. In ſo abject a ſtate they can never labour with ſpirit, earning a ſcanty ſubſiſtence without hope of bettering their wretched ſituation. Wherever an intermediate tenantry ſubſiſts, the peaſant is indigent, the huſbandry ill managed. Its baneful influence is no-where more obvious than in Bengal.

Such are the principal known tenures of ryots; but of whom do they hold? This queſtion has been much agitated.

In the unquiet times, which preceded the Company's acquiſition of the Dewanny, arbitrary power reſpected neither preſcriptive rights nor eſtabliſhed uſages. The management, firſt adopted under the Britiſh authority, had no tendency to reſtore order; and, when the ſervants of the Company undertook to conduct the detail of internal adminiſtration, they found the whole ſyſtem embarraſſed and confuſed.

Anxious to ſecure for their employers all the available reſources of their new acquiſitions, but without intending a wrong to individuals, they entered on inquiries with a degree of diligence which was not rewarded with adequate ſucceſs, in unravelling the intricacies of the revenue, by aſcertaining local uſages, and in tracing, by a reference to its inſtitutes, the ſyſtem of adminiſtration eſtabliſhed under the Mogul government.

Theſe inquiries were ſuggeſted by a queſtion which was early ſtarted, "of what nature was the landed property of Bengal, to whom it belonged, and what privileges appertained to other claſſes?" Various opinions were entertained.—Some attributed to the ſovereign the lordſhip of the ſoil; but reſtricted this property, by admitting that the peaſantry, as holding immediately of the prince, had a permanent intereſt in the land by immemorial uſage. Others were of opinion *, that the zemindars enjoyed a proprietary right in the land, of an hereditary nature, and conſidered the peaſantry as having no

* See Rous on the Landed Property of Bengal.

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no positive right to retain the land against the will and approbation of the immediate superior. Many could perceive no proprietary right in any, but the peasant occupying the soil; they held him to be the natural proprietor of the land, but bound to contribute to the support of the state from which he had protection.

In one point of view, the zemindars, as descendants of ancient independent rajahs, or as the successors of their descendants, seemed to have been tributary princes. In another light they appeared only officers of government. Perhaps their real character was mixed of both; and they might, not inaptly, have been compared to kings, nominated by the Roman Republic, to administer the internal affairs of conquered kingdoms.

This cannot obviously apply to any but to the rajahs of great zemindaries. Numerous landholders, subordinate to these, as well as others independent of them, cannot evidently be traced to a similar origin.

In examining the question, it was presupposed that a property in the soil, similar to that which is vested of right, or by fiction, in the sovereign, or in some class of his subjects, in every state of Europe, must vest in some class of the inhabitants of Hindustan, either sovereign or subject. If it were denied to the zemindar, (a denomination which readily suggested the term of landholder for its equivalent,) the sovereign has been thought the only member of the state to whom that property could be attributed.

Besides the presumption arising on the literal interpretation of the name, the hereditary succession to zemindaries pointed out these for the real proprietors. And although the succession had not followed the rules of inheritance established by law for landed property, and admitted in practice for landed estates of which the revenue had been granted away by government; and although the hereditary succession to office of accounts* was as regular and as familiar as to zemindaries; the zealous advocates for the rights of zemindars deemed the argument conclusive, or appealed to humanity in support of it. For, perceiving no competitor but the sovereign for the lordship of the soil, it escaped them, that the rights of more numerous classes might be involved in the question, and that the argument to humanity might well be retorted.

However insufficient the arguments might be in themselves, yet, assisted by considerations of expediency, they decided the question; and government acknowledged the zemindars proprietors of the soil.

But it has now been admitted by a very high authority †, that the sovereign was superior of the soil; that the zemindars were officers of revenue, justice, and police; that the office was frequently, but not necessarily hereditary; that the cultivator of the soil, attached to his possession with the right to cultivate it, was subject to payments, varying according to particular agreements and local customs; that, in general, he continued on the spot, but that the proportion to be paid to the state was to be judged of by the zemindar; and that the rights of the ryot have been gradually abridged, &c.

As this corresponds nearly with our opinion, it is the less necessary to offer argument and proof. The ryot certainly had a title by occupancy,

* Cannungoes. † See View of Plans for British India.

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pancy, in right of which he might retain the land, without reference to the will and approbation of a ſuperior; but ſubject to contributions for the ſupport of the ſtate: to aſſeſs and collect which, regulated however by local cuſtoms or particular agreements, but varying at the ſame time with the wants of the ſtate, was the buſineſs of the zemindar, as a permanent, if not as an hereditary officer. For the due execution of his charge he was checked by permanent and by hereditary offices of record and account.

In recogniſing a proprietary right in zemindars, the adminiſtration of Bengal can have intended no more than to diſclaim all pretenſions on the part of the ſovereign to a property in the ſoil; not to abridge or annul the rights and privileges of other claſſes. But the unqualified declaration requires a particular vindication of every right which clathes with the property acknowledged, and tinctures, with apparent inconſiſtency, the regulations which maintain incongruous rights. The ſucceſſion of occupants will gradually afford to the zemindars, as landholders, the opportunity of limiting the tenures: leaſehold farmers will ſucceed to privileged ryots; and the rights of other claſſes will be abridged.—Perhaps the certainty of ſtipulated rent may compenſate the loſs of permanent poſſeſſion.

The rent, or revenue, regulated by the tenures deſcribed, was not ſufficiently certain, and does not include all the direct payments required from ryots. The intricacy of multiplied demands ſeems to have been ſtudied, as it facilitated frauds and exactions. Many collections of the nature of land rents were ranked among the ſayer or internal duties; eſtabliſhed fees, and cuſtomary preſents, as well as occaſional contributions, were not brought on the regiſter of the revenue; and ſtoppages were made for ſpecial purpoſes. None of theſe properly formed a part of the land revenue; and have been therefore reſerved for ſeparate conſideration.

The ſayer, of the nature of land rent, conſiſts of ground rent for the ſcite of houſes and gardens, revenue drawn from fruit trees, paſtures and math, and rent of fiſheries. Other articles of ſayer, within the village, have been aboliſhed, as tolls and perſonal taxes.

The fees were the perquiſites of putwaries, mundles, cannungoes, zemindars, and other officers; cuſtomary preſents, ſome reſembling fines on renewal, were payable to the officers of the revenue. Occaſional as well as eſtabliſhed contributions were for works of general utility; as dams, dykes, reſervoirs, and bridges.

Stoppages were moſtly for charitable uſes, ſometimes for perquiſites to zemindars, cannungoes, and other officers; occaſionally for public works.

Ground rents were not uſually levied on ryots engaged in huſbandry. They enjoyed an exemption for their houſes, and in ſome places for their gardens and orchards; but this immunity laſted no longer than while they cultivated: and if they changed their habitation, they could not remove their huts without paying the value, or, in ſome diſtricts, an eſtabliſhed modus. In many places, however, the cultivating ryots paid ground rent; in ſome, it was brought on the record of the land revenue. Generally ſpeaking, ground rent was paid by reſidents not engaged in huſbandry, for the ground employed by their manufactures, as well

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well as for their houſes. It was not uſually regulated by the quantity of ground they occupied, but was proportioned to the means of different deſcriptions of traders and artizans. From motives of reſpect to brahmans and to perſons of rank, they were commonly exempted. Some alſo were exempted on account of poverty; others * as they give without reward a portion of their labour for the benefit of the public, or for the ſervice of their ſuperiors. In many places traders and artiſans paid no direct ground rent, being ſufficiently aſſeſſed to other taxes.

The revenue of fruit-trees, is either in kind, by a ſhare of the produce, or is paid on a numeration of the trees. In ſome inſtances it is brought on the record of the land revenue.

In ſeveral diſtricts the huſbandmen enjoy the benefit of a common paſture, in others they hire reſerved paſtures; moſtly they pay for paſturage in the form of a tax impoſed upon individuals, or regulated by the number of cattle maintained by each.

The revenue of math may be regulated in the ſame manner as paſturage; or the graſs lands be reſerved, and the graſs cut and ſold on the landholder's account.

The revenue of fiſheries is obtained by occaſionally drawing the fiſhery on the landholder's account, after which, any perſon may fiſh as a gleaner; or fiſhermen are licenſed to fiſh for fixed ſums, or for a proportion of the produce, regulated by rates, or by expreſs agreements. In general, fiſheries, as well as reſerved paſtures and graſs lands, were let in farms.

Other ſayers were tolls on ſhops, on weighing merchandize, or on verifying ſcales and weights, on imports and exports, on purchaſes and ſales, on tranſport by land or water; and on ferries; and perſonal taxes, anciently levied as a capitation † on Hindus, lately, as a tax on profeſſions. Some of theſe rolls and taxes, payable in the villages by ryots contributing alſo to the land revenue, were commuted for a modus. Moſt were levied at markets, and the tolls aſſumed the forms of duties and cuſtoms, at the principal marts, and conſiderable markets.

Theſe ſayers have been aboliſhed. To examine the rules by which they were levied, would now be ſuperfluous; it might gratify curioſity, but could anſwer no uſeful purpoſe. The rules were not ſufficiently certain; this circumſtance added to the multiplicity of various collections, ſubjected commerce to undue exactions. Abuſes might have been rectified; but the meaſure of aboliſhing theſe collections was preferred. Wanting the regulation and protection received from the officers of the ſayer, markets have declined; and many have been totally diſuſed ſince the abolition of ſayers. This is undoubtedly an evil. It is inconvenient, and waſtes valuable time, that the peaſant muſt travel far to ſupply his wants, or diſpoſe of his produce. The peaſant's and the trader's convenience

* As potters, bound to ſupply travellers gratis. And the unpaid labour of many claſſes for their zemindar's benefit, and for other public officers.

† A poll-tax, called jaziych, was impoſed by the khalif Omar, on all perſons not of the muſſulman faith. The mahommedan conquerors of Hinduſtan impoſed it on the Hindus, as infidels. It was remitted by the emperor Akbar. Nevertheleſs, perſonal taxes were levied under the ſame appellation, at ſo modern a period as the late abolition of ſayers in Bengal; but the inſtances were rare, and it was only another name for the profeſſional tax paid by Hindu artiſans.

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venience equally requires a place of known reſort, for the ready interchange of commodities. Numerous * markets, by promoting intercourſe, contributed to general proſperity. The diſcontinuance of many markets in the ſhort ſpace of four years, and the decline of the exiſting marts, is an alarming circumſtance.

Nor has trade received any greater relief by the abolition, than might have been afforded by the regulation of ſayers. A large proportion of their amount has been impoſed in another ſhape, as a fund for a police eſtabliſhment. And it may be queſtioned by thoſe who have not adopted the wild doctrines of the economiſts, whether it would not have been more adviſeable to continue under regulations, and even to raiſe the internal duties, reducing the land-tax proportionably.

Fees, contributions, and ſtoppages require no detailed explanation. It has been already mentioned, that fees were the perquiſites of public officers; occaſional contributions were for work of general utility, and ſtoppages were moſtly for charitable purpoſes, ſome times for official perquiſites, occaſionally for public uſes.

Improvements benefitting the lands of a ſingle tenant muſt be undertaken by himſelf on his own account, for his own advantage, as hedges, ditches, and wells. For greater undertakings of leſs limited advantage, the tenants intereſted unite in a common concern, as for dams and ponds; but public works, as dykes, roads, canals, reſervoirs, and bridges, muſt be undertaken by the landlord for the common benefit of himſelf and tenants, or by himſelf or ſome other perſon from motives of public ſpirit. This has been a common motive; for, to require re-payment was unpopular; but ſometimes the landlord would be reimburſed by direct payments, and it is equitable he ſhould, if the improvement be for lands already tenanted. This could only be obtained by an immediate ſubſcription, or by raiſing the rents; and in the prevailing tenures, the rents could only be raiſed by a ſpecial tax or contribution. The taxes on tranſport were perhaps (like our turnpike tolls,) originally eſtabliſhed to provide funds for making and repairing the roads. The funds were miſapplied, and theſe taxes having been now aboliſhed, no funds exiſt for making or repairing the highways. The general prohibition of impoſing new taxes or contributions, precludes any fund being raiſed in that form, for roads or other public works. Univerſal poverty prevents the undertaking from motives of public ſpirit. And nothing is applied to ſuch works from the revenue levied by the ſtate. Remains of ſtupendous cauſeways, ruins of bridges, and of magnificent ſtairs on the banks of rivers, not replaced by ſimilar undertakings of a modern date, ſuggeſt melancholy reflections on the decline of the country.

The contributions and ſtoppages not applied to public works were for charitable purpoſes; or, together with fees, ſupported the public officers.

The charitable purpoſes included the maintenance of helpleſs poor, with the ſupport of prieſts and mendicants, and the endowments of temples and colleges. Beſides eſtabliſhed contributions, in money, or in kind, levied on the authority of patents, or of the written conſent of the inhabitants, and beſides allowances

* Not fewer than 12,000 in *Bengal* and *Behar*; but now greatly reduced in number.

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ances paid from ſtoppages made upon a ſimilar authority, the revenue of diſtricts was charged for the penſions and cuſtomary alms, or was alienated as a fund for theſe purpoſes.

The public officers had alſo a proviſion in free lands, beſides allowances charged on the revenue, and the fees and perquiſites received from the people.

Numerous are the diſtinctions of allowances, according to the periods of payment, the forms in which they were levied, or the fund whence they iſſued, the appropriation of the allowance, or the motive from which it was granted: a uſeleſs nomenclature, undeſerving the attention of thoſe whom official duty does not require to learn the terms.

Free lands are equally diſtinguiſhed according to their appropriations, for brahmans, bards, devotees, prieſts, and mendicants; or, for a proviſion to the ſeveral public officers *; or deſcribed by terms of a general import, but in a reſtricted acceptation. Theſe alſo, it would be ſuperfluous to ſpecify; one however deſerves attention, as it throws ſome light on a general ſubject.

The ſerſhican was held upon a patent from an officer of the ſtate, but that patent was grounded on the written conſent of the inhabitants of the diſtrict, who agreed to a repartition on themſelves of the revenue of the lands alienated.

To underſtand this, it is neceſſary to advert to the record † of the aſſeſſment of the revenue diſtributed on the villages, which was formed at an early period under the Mogul government, and by which it was that the collection of the revenue was regulated. When lands were granted by the ſovereign, the revenue was alienated according to this record; and transferred with the lands from the revenue office to the grand almoner's or the vizier's office, according as the appropriations were for charitable and religious uſes, or for civil or military purpoſes. There they became a fund ‡ applicable to theſe purpoſes, at the diſpoſal of the ſovereign, through the

* It deſerves notice, that the proviſion in money and kind, for zemindars and cannungoes, bore the ſame denomination (naukar.) If the zemindars had been proprietors of the ſoil, paying fixed land tax, why had they a proviſion? or if they were not officers as cannungoes, why did their proviſion bear the ſame denomination?

† Firſt formed by the celebrated Rajah Tudar Mahl. He did not live to complete it for the whole of Bengal Proper. For this province, the *tucsim* of the tumár was finally formed at a modern period. The tucsim of the jumma in dams was completed in Akbar's reign.

‡ The pecuniary allowances alſo formed a fund, on which the ſovereign made grants; but the ſubordinate officers had more influence in the diſpoſal of theſe allowances, than in the diſtribution of alienated lands: the fund of the province was increaſed by an authoriſed grant; or many ſeparate funds were eſtabliſhed by allowances aſſigned on the land and ſayer revenues of diſtricts and villages, or by grants authoriſing private impoſts. The ſcrutiny into the authority by which theſe allowances are held, has been ſtricter than on the tenures of free lands. The fund has been greatly reduced, and the few allowances confirmed, will lapſe at no very diſtant period. In a general view, the diſcontinuance of ſuch appropriations is no evil to the public. The expenſe of public worſhip, and the maintenance of prieſts and others devoted to a religious life, may well be left to be defrayed by voluntary contributions of the people concerned. So many evils ariſe from a public proviſion for the poor, that the beſt arguments recommend that theſe ſhould be left to find ſupport from ſpontaneous charity. But colleges of learning need patronage, and need public foundations. Hoſpitals alſo are a neceſſary eſtabliſhment, which can ſeldom be inſtituted and maintained on private contributions. Theſe were among the appropriations of charitable funds in money and land; and are much wanted, where wealth, generally diffuſed, does not ſupply the place of a foſtering government.

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the channel of thoſe offices, when the land lapſed or eſcheated.

The ſubordinate officers of government conſequently had not the power of alienating the revenue of lands; but to make grants, they had recourſe to the expedient of obtaining the conſent of the inhabitants of the diſtricts for a re-partition, on their lands, of the revenue recorded for the lands to be granted; and as the record carried the diſtribution no further than to the village, they aſſumed the power of granting waſte land within the village: and theſe grants would be the moſt frequent, as the general conſent to a ſettlement might not eaſily be obtained.

Accordingly the greateſt part of the free lands of Bengal Proper were granted from the waſte of the village. The recorded revenue of few villages has been alienated. In the confuſion which intervened between the decline of the Mogul, and the riſe of the Britiſh influence in Bengal, ſome entire villages were granted by the ſubahs and their ſubordinate officers; and they alſo diſpoſed of the lands on the alienated fund. But as the Mogul, reſerving for the exchequer the revenue of Bengal Proper, had never aſſigned in it any lands to the civil and military fund *, and little to the charitable fund, few entire villages, and very few extenſive tracts are alienated; and moſt of the free lands are in portions too inconſiderable to employ many tenants.

However, the more extenſive tracts of free lands are ſufficiently numerous to have offered to obſervation the compariſon of their proſperous condition, contraſted to the lands paying revenue. The free tracts are gardens; the others comparatively a waſte. And this obſervation, which cannot eſcape any perſon traverſing Bengal, might lead to the concluſion that the land rents are too heavy, and diſcourage induſtry. But it muſt alſo be noticed, that the regular mode of management for eſtates, which for both is ſimilar, has been in one abuſed.

Every village is ſuperintended by an officer or public ſervant, whoſe buſineſs it is to aſſign land to new ſettlers, and receive the rents or revenue of occupants, by whatever rule they are adjuſted; and in this he is checked by another officer, who is to keep a regiſter of every payment, and a record of every tranſaction; as well as to prepare accounts of the rent or revenue due from each occupant according to agreement or uſage, and generally to conduct all the buſineſs in which writing is required; while the former has the duties of a land bailiff. But the ſignature of both is neceſſary to the authenticity of every document, whether ſanctioning occupancy, or as a receipt or an acquittance of revenue, or an adjuſtment of account. They were not however amenable to the ſame ſuperior: the one ſubordinate to the office of record and account for the whole diſtrict; the other accountable to the perſon entitled to receive the revenue. The cannungo, who had the office of record alluded to, kept a regiſter of every revenue tranſaction, and of every regulation of government, and a record of the uſage of the diſtrict. He was a check on the officers of revenue; and the control might be effectual, while he had the nomination of the accountants at the villages. But though the cannungo in ſome provinces be ſtill conſulted in the

* Excepting only the proviſion in land for the officers and eſtabliſhments immediately employed in the adminiſtration and protection of the province itſelf.

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the nomination of the accountants, these have become officers of the collections, and their control has ceased since the introduction of a system of farming the revenue.

Of this practice no trace appears in the Ayeen Akbery. There the officers of government are instructed to collect from the husbandman, and remit their collections to the treasury. At what period the persons charged with the collections became responsible for the amount to be levied, does not appear; but so early as the reign of Aurungzeeb, we find the dewans required to send amins, and qoris to each pergunnah at the proper season, and the business of the amin is described * to be "that going from village to village, he ascertains circumstances and the cultivation of the pergunnahs, and with due consideration for the advantage of government, and ease of the ryots, adjust the revenue in due season; and annually send to the superior office the usual books of the revenue, with the agreements of zemindars, and with the engagements for collection under the crori's seal: these agreements containing specified instalments. And he is thoroughly to examine before the ryots, the crori's accounts, and give the ryots credit accordingly."

Here the zemindar, as regular collector, or the crori in a temporary trust, is required to engage for specified instalments: although the revenue they are to receive is adjusted by another officer, and that they are to account for their receipts.

This would scarcely be intelligible, had we not seen, in modern practice, the person entrusted with the collections made answerable for the revenue expected, without being allowed to benefit by a surplus beyond his fixed salary and authorized emolument.

The practice seems to have been adopted to enforce diligence and attention, and to prevent defalcations on frivolous pretences. It must be understood that the officer of collections would be exonerated, if he could make it appear that the deficiency was unavoidable: but from the difficulty of obtaining justice, when it had the form of indulgence, he would rather desire, as a compensation for the risk of loss, to obtain a sanction for profits; and which would the more readily be allowed, as the excess must have usually been embezzled, where the superior, having assumed a standard for expectation, would not strictly scrutinize the accounts of an officer who had fulfilled that expectation. And thus, probably, the officer entrusted with the collections became a farmer of the revenue. The transition was easy from the selection of an officer who was to become responsible for the revenue, or from the responsibility required from the permanent officers of collection, to the acceptance of the tenders of farmers to be entrusted with official authority,

This system, which cannot be too much reprobated, did not become universal, nor were its ill consequences fully felt, until employed among other expedients by Cossim Ally Khan, to obtain a sudden and large increase of revenue, that he might satisfy the craving demands of the British government. Unable to realize the revenue for which they engaged, while they adhered to the rules by which the payments of occupants were regulated; the farmers disregarded usage

* In the patents for the office, which for this, as for all other offices, contains a general instruction on the duties of the offices.

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and engagements, and impoſed taxes * at pleaſure, which they enforced by corporal puniſhment. Occupants had recourſe to the deſperate remedy of deſertion. Their harveſt and private property were confiſcated, and the practice of aſſeſſing on the remaining cultivators, the deficiency ariſing by deſertions became general.

Huſbandmen, diſcouraged by oppreſſion, relinquiſhed, or reduced their cultivation. To induce them to reſume it, farmers allowed every indulgence they aſked; advanced money to thoſe who needed indulgence, and granted every ſtipulation which they required; but, as ſoon as the harveſt was on the ground, forgetting every promiſe, they eaſily found pretences for annulling agreements made with ſimple unguarded peaſants, or ſhamelefsly infringed engagements without a pretence but their own wants. Hence that habitual breach of faith, of which the remains are yet perceivable; and the general diſregard of uſage and agreements rendered uſeleſs the officers of account and control: their authority has never been reſtored.

When government turned its attention to check theſe abuſes; and without diſcontinuing a farming ſyſtem, or relinquiſhing a high revenue, regulated the conduct of the farmers, and held them to a ſtrict adherence to exiſting engagements with occupants and cultivators; the farmers, controlled in avowed oppreſſions, recurred to indirect methods. Favouring a few leading cultivators, through the influence of theſe, they obtained general agreements to authorize exactions and impoſts. Ryots themſelves became farmers of revenue, with the view of granting, on their own authority, reductions in the revenue of the lands to be occupied by themſelves; and they continue to farm, that they may perpetuate their abuſive advantages. The peaſants at large are depreſſed by a racked rent: and the favoured few do not uſe to the beſt advantage the lands they hold, but form that claſs of intermediate tenantry mentioned in another place †.

It would be endleſs to deſcribe all the abuſes which have grown, and which are ſo numerous, that permanence is now inſufficient to excite the landlord to the arduous undertaking of rectifying abuſes, and regulating the rents: diſcouraged as they are by the difficulty of diſcriminating the juſt rights of the tenantry from advantages colluſively obtained, and controlled by the litigiouſneſs of tenants who contest every point, and avail themſelves of every advantage, which the forms of judicial proceedings afford.

The farming ſyſtem not adopted by the proprietors of free lands, or at leaſt, where adopted, not purſued to a rack rent, and of courſe not followed by the long train of ill conſequences we have indicated, is one probable cauſe of that manifeſt ſuperiority of free lands over lands aſſeſſed by the ſtate. Having a permanent intereſt in the land, and being in no neceſſity to levy a ſpecific ſum, whether the tenants can afford it or not, the proprietors of free lands have not had the ſame inducements to rack-rent their eſtates, as thoſe who have come under engagements to government, whether as zemindars, or as temporary farmers. The

* A ſtrong inſtance occurred in one diſtrict, where, in the fifth month of the year, a general ceſs of 50 per centum was impoſed. The revenue fell in ſucceeding years far below the former ſtandard, and has never been fully retrieved.

† See page 58.

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The farmers of the rents of free lands, engaging for a moderate revenue, proportioned to the dues regularly demandable from the tenants, have not been led to the ſame violent, or to the ſame indirect methods of oppreſſion; nor have the ſame abuſes ariſen from frauds oppoſed to oppreſſion. The rents of the tenants continue leſs intricate and leſs unequal. The average aſſeſſment on the tenants of free lands, may perhaps not be much inferior to the average on the lands aſſeſſed for public revenue; but not being ſo unequally diſtributed, the peaſants at large are not depreſſed: we ſtate this on the reſult of long and familiar obſervation.

It is confirmed by a compariſon to tracts for which farmers obtained perpetual leaſes, whether themſelves, zemindars of the diſtrict, or only farmers of the ſub-diviſions of large zemindaries, or of diſtricts comprehending leſs conſiderable zemindaries, not originally aſſeſſed more moderately than other lands, but become a permanent poſſeſſion before the long continuance of the farming ſyſtem had introduced all the abuſes which have now grown, they exhibit ſuperior culture; which we do not ſo much attribute, in theſe, or in free lands, to the encouragement of lower rents, (although this opinion be generally received,) as to equal and uniform aſſeſſment. For we have had frequent opportunities of remarking, on theſe poſſeſſions, that the average rate of rents exceeded that of neighbouring lands in the common adminiſtration.

Among the lands aſſeſſed to the revenue, the condition of large zemindaries is more deplorable than that of eſtates of moderate extent. The zemindary of one * individual, comprehended thirteen thouſand ſquare miles. The eſtate we allude to has been conſiderably reduced, but yet continues a wide property; and ſeveral others are very extenſive. Many are too great to be ſuperintended by the proprietors themſelves. At the ſame time the magnitude of the ſum for which the proprietor is engaged, deters him from delegating the ſuperintendance to irreſponſible ſervants. He is willing to divide his riſk by underletting to farmers; and prefers this management, ſanctioned by modern practice, to an attempt at regulation and reform; which, from the long prevalence of abuſes, would now aſſume the appearance of innovation and hazardous experiment.

The ſame conſiderations muſt have ſome influence with the proprietors of ſmaller eſtates; but having their whole property within the reach of their own ſuperintendance, minutely acquainted with the circumſtances of every part of the eſtate, if they do not altogether diſuſe the practice of underfarming, they at leaſt exerciſe judgement in the conduct of it, and moſtly give ſome attention to remedy abuſes.

If conſiderations of general welfare ought to ſuperſede our feelings for the individual loſs of property, the preſent rapid diſmemberment of large properties might be deemed a fortunate circumſtance. Regulations which encourage the ſubdiviſion of landed eſtates among heirs, according to the common laws of inheritance, are for the ſame reaſon well judged; but this muſt be taken with limitation.

An inferior and ſubordinate claſs of proprietors hold petty eſtates.

* Zemindary of Rajeſhahy.

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In the western provinces, where the office of the first* receiver of rents has in some instances become hereditary, the class of inferior proprietors may have had their origin in the succession of heirs being admitted to the subordinate offices of collection under the zemindar. But this certainly is not the origin of the petty properties in the eastern districts of Bengal. These seem rather to have been an extension of the rights of occupants, from vague permanence, to a declared, hereditary, and even transferable interest. They all bear a fixed quit-rent for portions of land to be inherited in regular succession; and some were understood to authorize the transfer by sale or gift, and consequently conferred every right which constitutes a real property. Others, not authorising a transfer by sale or gift, conferred an imperfect and dependent property, which nevertheless was inheritable in regular succession. But both, by abuse, became liable to variable assessment, in common with the lands of other occupants.

The untransferable properties still however remained a little superior to the common right of occupancy which ceased with possession, whereas the hereditary title authorized the talookdar or his heir to resume possession, though his actual occupancy had been interrupted.

These properties were rated to the assessment of the village, as it stands on the record already † mentioned, at first as a specification of the revenue to be paid; of late, only as a designation of the property: in the intermediate period, it served to regulate their actual assessment, by adding to the recorded assessment the cesses in the same proportion at which their superior zemindars were rated. The transferable properties mentioned comprehend nearly the whole of the properties which have been separated (under the name of talooks ‡,) from the jurisdiction of superior landholders; while the other properties, we have mentioned as prevailing in the eastern districts, continue subordinate to the zemindars; but in both, the assessment has long ceased (by the general confusion which had grown in the revenue,) to be regulated by any certain rule. Many, however, have preserved the advantage of a quit-rent, fixed in perpetuity.

Estates, originally small, subdivided according to the rules § of inheritance of the Hindu or Mahommedan law, soon split into minute portions, so inconsiderable, that the public accounts exhibit independent talookdars assessed with an annual revenue of a few pence; yet, attached to their possessions, the heirs limit their industry to their paltry properties; or even content themselves indolently to attempt maintaining, on the income of a subdivided

* The mocuddim, or mundle.

† See Page 63.

‡ Some talooks seem to have been the zemindary tenure subdivided; others, not entitled to be deemed independent, were no better than permanent leases in farm.

§ Estates of mussulmans are more rapidly subdivided than those of Hindus. The law of family partnership preserves the unity of the estates held by Hindus. This, however, is not the most material difference. The Hindu law divides property in equal shares among heirs of the same degree, but without admitting the participation of females. In general, these only inherit in default of male heirs. The Arabian law assigns to several relations their specific portions as allotted by the crown; and divides the remainder of the inheritance among the residuary heirs; giving equal shares to all males of the same degree, and half the portion of males, to females in the same degree of consanguinity.

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vided patrimony, the unprofitable idleneſs of an affluent predeceſſor.

Induſtry cannot be worſe directed, than while limited to force the maintenance of a family from an inadequate portion of land. Petty poſſeſſions are almoſt an irreſiſtible inducement to this laborious idleneſs, but ſufficient ſecurity in leaſehold tenures, and the experienced advantage of larger farms, would induce petty proprietors to extend their induſtry beyond the limits of their properties. As for idle indigence, it finds in ſome degree its own remedy, but at the expenſe of population. The more numerous the claſs of unprofitable citizens, the greater the preſent evil. The juſtice and policy of limiting the ſub-diviſion of landed property may be queſtioned; but certainly a government ſhould not encourage it to a minute degree of ſub-diviſion.

It may even be doubted whether ſub-diviſion of property in arable land be not an evil, though it were not carried further than may afford to the proprietor an humble ſubſiſtence. The Indian, by nature inactive, is too much diſpoſed to reſt ſatisfied, in indolence, on the produce of his land, neither applying to huſbandry on his own land, nor to any other occupation to aſſiſt his income. Straitened in his circumſtances, he exacts the utmoſt rent from his tenant. The huſbandman who uſes the land, compoſing ſuch petty properties, whether a tenant, or himſelf the proprietor, is in a wretched and indigent ſituation, compared to the tenants of more conſiderable proprietors. Theſe proprietors, unleſs impelled by the difficulties of an exceſſive contribution to the revenue, purſue their intereſt in allowing to their tenants favourable terms. A claſs of wealthy citizens contributes to the proſperity of the ſtate, by their encouragement of elegant arts; though the greateſt proſperity of the nation is found in the conſumption of the people at large, when general eaſe permits the general conſumption of more than the mere neceſſaries of life. In Bengal neither general nor particular wealth exiſts, to add to the conſumption of the commonalty, or encourage elegancies in a ſuperior claſs. The conſumption of the mere neceſſaries of life, by a claſs of unemployed proprietors, contributes nothing to general proſperity; it ſhews only an unprofitable population.

This claſs of proprietors is numerous. The income intended to be left to proprietors of lands aſſeſſed to the revenue, amounts to 26,46,409. Their actual income is greater, but a conſiderable proportion appertaining to the owners of larger eſtates, the remainder, diſtributed amongſt more than 60,000 proprietors, does not afford an average of 80 rupees each, which is inſufficient to maintain the family of the pooreſt labourer.

The preſent ſituation of the proprietors of larger eſtates does not permit them to allow the indulgence and accommodation to their tenants which might be expected on eſtimating their income. Reſponſible to government for a tax profeſſedly equal to ten-elevenths of the expected rents of their eſtates, they have no probable ſurplus above their expenditure to compenſate riſk. In any calamity, a moderate tax muſt leave to the proprietor ſome income. On the contrary, a ſmall calamity muſt bear down one who is aſſeſſed with ten-elevenths of his receipts. Any calamity, any accident, even a delay in his recoveries, involves a zemindar in difficulties from which no economy or

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attention can retrieve him. Every jail * filled with proprietors confined for arrears, every gazette with advertisements of lands to be sold for revenue, prove the difficulties of their situation: sufficiently obvious on the spot, it will become more evident to a remote inquirer by a comparison to Europe.

The landlords rents in the British islands are fivefold of the nett revenue of government. In Bengal, the revenue exceeds the whole land rent, according to some estimates. The land revenue alone is nearly equal to four-tenths of the gross rents of land; it is certainly more than four-tenths of the gross rents of land liable for revenue. Pursuing the comparison to gross produce, the disproportion is less, though this circumstance be no alleviation to the land-holder. The gross land produce in the British islands exceeds two hundred millions, from which is paid thirty millions, including, with the gross revenue of the state, poor's rates and tythes, excepting, however, lay tythes, which rather constitute a co-ordinate property in the rents, than an impost on the people. The gross land produce of Bengal we estimate at thirty-three millions sterling, and the contributions of every nature at a fourth of that sum.

It should appear from this general view, that the situation of the people at large, in so far is worse than in Great Britain, for they contribute nearly in the proportion of a fourth of the land produce; in Great Britain a seventh; and from the mode in which it is required in Bengal, a great hardship is felt by particular cases. The consumption of the commonalty is the wealth of the nation; and the country may be deemed flourishing in proportion as the people at large are in an easy condition. The general mode of life, compared to what may be deemed reasonable wants, will shew whether the people at large are well or ill supported; considering, at the same time, the reward of labour, to determine whether voluntary deprivation, or real poverty, refuses them the gratification of their wants.

Substantial buildings are altogether wanting. This, indeed, cannot be solely ascribed to general poverty: it is partly chargeable to manners and habit; but the neatness and convenient shelter of the straw huts and sheds of those, whose circumstances are comparatively easy, shew that the Indians are not indifferent to their lodging. Turning from these to the miserable hovels which hide, rather than shelter, the peasantry at large, we find the peasants, and even the inhabitants of cities, crowded in narrow huts, which are neither secured from intrusion, nor from weather, and are formed of materials which a wealthier class would refuse even for fuel. We cannot but conclude that, to their own feelings, they are ill lodged.

That animal food should be reserved for festivals, seems a circumstance of national manners; but that a large proportion of the people should use unnutritive grains and pulse instead of white corn, cannot be ascribed to spontaneous austerity. Salt is eagerly desired by the Indian: his vegetable diet requires it; but the most numerous classes cannot afford to season their food with it. Observe the peasants meal; a pinch of salt on a leaf stands by his plate of rice; a few grains at a time deceive his palate, while he swallows several mouthfuls of

* Since this was written, the regulation for confinement of proprietors in arrear has been rescinded.

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of insipid food. His abstemiousness in respect to this, and other condiments, for which his predilection is known, is not voluntary. He is sensible that he is ill fed.

The dress of the Indians, rich or poor, is simple. The intercourse with mussulmans has introduced some variety in vesture, but the original Hindu dress prevails. A scarf on the shoulders, and another falling from the waist, with sandals on the feet, clothe the men; a longer scarf is the whole of the female dress: when rain or cold require it, a woollen or a quilted mantle is the only additional covering. But though the form of dress be similar, the materials employed constitute a considerable difference. Cloths of a good fabric are within the reach of few; a coarse and ill struck cloth of the same texture as that known to the trade as wrappers in packages, is the dress of the more numerous classes; while many are content with sack-cloth. For warmer covering foreign woollens are preferred, but attainable by few; the middle class are dressed in quilted chintz, or in plain quilts; while the poorer sort have recourse to the rugged covering of a home-made blanket. The peasant decked in his sack-cloth and blanket can hardly deem himself well clothed.

View the inside of his dwelling; a coarse matt his bed, the ground his chair and table, cow-dung his fuel, unglazed earthen pots his furniture, a leaf his plate: he cannot be thought well provided.

It will naturally be asked, whether the price of labour could afford a better subsistence? It cannot, if we justly estimate the average earnings of a family at no more than three rupees per mensem, which can barely maintain them in the lowest form of subsistence. We have intimated, that the price of provisions (that is of white corn,) is to the price of labour in Bengal, in no greater proportion * than the price of an equal weight of meat and bread, to the price of labour in England, in both a third. As this circumstance ill agrees with the preceding inference, it is necessary to examine more particularly the earnings of country labour, which, from the mode in which it is conducted, cannot be considered separately from the detail of husbandry.

On the PROFITS *of* HUSBANDRY *in* BENGAL.

By the Same.

[*Never before published.*]

We have described the peasants as applying the labour they give to husbandry, solely to land used on their own account, and have mentioned a class of tenantry monopolizing land, to re-let it to the actual cultivator at an advanced rent, or for half produce; but it must be understood that, though this too generally describes the whole tenantry, peasants are not wanting who superintend the culture of their lands performed by the labour of servants or hired labourers: re-

* In England a pound of meat costs eight-pence, the same weight of bread four-pence, together two-thirds of the average price of day-labour taken at seventeen-pence. In Bengal, the hire of day-labour is estimated at one anna, (about four-pence,) and the price of coarse rice the third of an anna.

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ſtrained by prejudice from perſonal labour, or permitted by their circumſtances to content themſelves with ſuperintending the management, or at leaſt calling in the aſſiſtance of hired labour in aid of their own. Reference had to the quantity of land tenanted, perhaps the greateſt part is held by tenants who hire labour. But their ſervants and labourers uſing land alſo on their own account, the peaſants, in reſpect to number, were truly deſcribed as labouring unaſſiſted on the lands they uſe.

A cultivator employing ſervants, entertains one for every plough, paying monthly wages, which on an average do not exceed one rupee per menſem; in a cheap diſtrict, we have aſcertained the monthly wages ſo low as eight annas. But the taſk, on a medium of a begah a day, is completed by noon. The cattle is then left to the herdſman's care, and the ploughman follows other occupations the reſt of the day, moſtly the cultivation of ſome land on his own account; and this he generally tenants at half produce from his employer. The quantity of land, commonly uſed by the ploughman, is aſcertained by the uſage of ſome diſtricts, which authorize a ſpecific quantity of land to be underlet by tenants, namely two begahs per plough, equal to three* begahs of the ſtandard to which we reduce the variable meaſures of land.

If the herd be ſufficient to employ one perſon, a ſervant is entertained; and receives in money, food, and clothing, to the value of one rupee and a half per menſem. The ſame herdſman, however, generally tends the cattle of ſeveral peaſants, receiving per head a monthly allowance equal to about half an anna. One herdſman can tend fifty oxen or cows.

Where ſeveral ploughs are kept, the peaſant uſually has a pair of oxen particularly aſſigned to the implement which ſupplies the purpoſe of a harrow: for this is thought to require ſtronger cattle than are ſufficient for the plough.

A plough complete coſts leſs than a rupee. The price of a grooved beam, uſed as a harrow to break and level the ground, is yet more inconſiderable. The cattle employed in huſbandry are of the ſmalleſt kind: they coſt on an average not more than five rupees† each.

The price of this labour may alſo be taken on the uſual hire of a plough, which we ſtate on the medium reſult of our inquiries at two annas per diem.

The ſame cattle work an implement which bears ſome reſemblance to the harrow, but is uſed for rice and ſome other cultures to thin a luxuriant vegetation, and diſperſe the plants equally in the field, ſerving at the ſame time to remove the weeds.

For a hand weeding the labourers are very generally paid in grain inſtead of money. The uſual daily allowance is from two to three ſeer of grain. They bring their own hoes, which are ſmall ſpuds, and of which the coſt is very trifling.—Twenty labourers may weed a begah a day.

For tranſplanting, the allowance and the labour performed are nearly the

* At half produce, and cultivated ſolely by the perſonal labour of the ploughman, three begahs cannot pay that labour with more than ſeven rupees per annum: to be added to the monthly rupee paid by his employer.

† The average price of cattle for huſbandry throughout Bengal, might perhaps be taken ſtill lower than five rupees, for they are bought in the vicinity of Calcutta at five and ſix rupees a head, fatted for the butcher.

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the ſame. No tool is required for tranſplanting rice, the whole operation being performed by the hand; but for other cultures, where a tool is requiſite in planting, an implement reſembling a hoe, on a long handle, or one like a chiſſel, alſo on a long handle, is employed.

For hand-hoeing, the large hoe which in Bengal ſerves the purpoſe of a ſpade, is employed. It is wide and curved, and ſet on the handle at an acute angle, which compels the labourer to ſtoop low to his work. The ſame tool ſerves for clearing old lays, preparatory to opening them with the plough, and for other purpoſes for which a ſpade would be uſeful. The pay for digging, and generally for all country labour, is on the ſame allowance, as already mentioned, of two to three ſeer per diem.

But reaping is generally performed by the piece, the reapers being hired at a ſheaf in ſixteen, or if they alſo carry in the harveſt, at a ſheaf in eight; but the whole expenſe of gathering the harveſt may be paid with one meaſure of grain in ſix, which provides for the labour of reaping, carrying, winnowing, meaſuring, and ſtoring the crop.

The thraſhing is not included, for corn is not thraſhed, but trodden out by the cattle of the farm.

Though rice and pulſe may find a market in the huſk, and the buſineſs of huſking rice and ſplitting pulſe generally belong to the firſt purchaſer, yet, not unfrequently employing the peaſants leiſure, it may be counted among the labours of the cottage.

It is executed with a wooden peſtle and mortar, or rice is huſked under a beater of ſimple contrivance, worked by a pedal.—When the huſk has been removed by long beating on the dry rice, it is preferred for home conſumption. If previouſly ſcalded it is better adapted for preſervation, and has been preferred for foreign commerce. As the expenſe of fuel is nearly equal to the economy of labour, the allowance of huſking rice is nearly uniform at a contract for returning, in clean rice, five-eighths of the weight delivered of rice in the huſk. The ſurplus, with the chaff or bran, pays the labour.

We ſhall not have formed a juſt notion of the reward of country labour, without comparing the price of labour to what remains to the cultivator on half produce; in this compariſon it will be unneceſſary to notice the ſmall deductions uſually made from the whole produce before partition. Some are favourable to the cultivator, as they pay ſome of his ſmall expenſes; others unfavourable, as they are taxes for the meaſurement of the produce, or for religious appropriations. The advantage and diſadvantage may be nearly balanced, and we conſider him as obtaining no more than an exact half of the produce to reward his labour and defray his expenſes.

Ten maund of rice is a large produce from one begah in rice, and is a return of fifteen for one.

				Mau.	Sc.	Ch.
Cultivator's ſhare,				5	0	0
Seed which the proprietor advanced, returned with 100 per cent. for intereſt	0	26	10			
His labour of reaping, &c. at the rate of a ſixth, on the whole crop	1	26	10			
Ditto of weeding twenty days at 2½ ſeer	1	10	0			
				3	23	5
Carry over				1	16	11

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	Brought over	1	16 11
Ditto of huſking, with the waſtage at ¼ per ſeer		0	21 4
		0	35 7

Thirty-five ſeer ſeven chittacks of clean rice, at the average rate of twelve annas per maund, is eleven annas nearly, which does not pay the labour of plonghing, &c. at two annas per diem for eight days.

The peaſant cultivating for half produce, is conſequently not rewarded for his labour ſo well as hired labourers; and if it be further conſidered, that in the neceſſity of anticipating his crop for ſeed and ſubſiſtence, and of borrowing for both, as well as for his cattle and for the implements of huſbandry, at the uſurious advance of a quarter, if repaid with the ſucceeding harveſt, and of half if repaid later, we cannot wonder at the ſcenes of indigent diſtreſs which this claſs of cultivators exhibit; nor that they are often compelled, by an accumulating debt, to emigrate from province to province.

It is obvious that, where the produce is greater in proportion to the ſeed and to the quantity of land, the ſum of labour remaining the ſame, this partition of crop may leave to the peaſant full payment for his labour; on the other hand, where it is leſs, it may be abſolutely unequal to afford the ſimpleſt neceſſaries. The latter extends ſo far, that in a conſiderable part of the lands, the cultivation for this proportion of produce is utterly impracticable. We therefore took a higher produce, and eſtimated leſs labour than the general average ſuggeſted. But this muſt be now noticed, with the requiſite return of profit on the expenſe advanced, to compare produce with money rents.

In the huſbandry of corn and ſmall grains, it has been already ſtated, that a conſiderable proportion of the land yields ſeveral crops in the year; much indeed yields only one; and on the other hand, the practice explained of crowding crops ſeems ill-judged, and returns leſs in proportion to labour and expenſe than ſucceſſive cultivation. We may therefore aſſume, as the middle courſe of huſbandry, two annual crops on each field; one of white corn, and another of pulſe, oil ſeed, or millet. Not that, on a medium, land actually produces two annual crops, but the greater expenſe of cultivating two ſeparate portions, for their reſpective crops, at two different ſeaſons, is nearly compenſated by the profit of obtaining, in ſome inſtances, more than two crops from the ſame land where circumſtances permit, at the ſame time that the quantity of land actually uſed, is more than would be required if all land uniformly yielded two crops.

A plough, with the uſual yoke of two or three pair of oxen aſſigned to it, is equal in common management to the full cultivation of fifteen begahs of land; and the expenſe eſtimated at twenty-two rupees eight annas, averages one rupee and a half per begah.

Ploughman, at one rupee per menſem ..... *Rupees*	12	0
Allowance to the herdſman (ſay for five oxen, at half an anna each), two annas and a half per menſem, or per annum	1	14
Paſture annually two annas a head	0	10
Carry forward	14	8

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Brought forward	14 8
Intereſt on thirty rupees, the coſt of the cattle, and on two rupees, the coſt of the plough, &c. at two per cent. per menſem, including the wear and tear of the plough, and the replacing of cattle	8 0
	22 8

On the medium aſſumed of two crops per annum, the produce * may be taken at ſeven maunds of rice in the huſk, and three and a half maunds of pulſe, or of other grain at the ſecond harveſt.

Seven maunds equal to four maunds and fifteen ſeers of clean rice, at 12 annas ..... Rs.	3 4½
Three and a half maunds at 10 annas	2 3
	5 7½
Seed repaid a twelfth; and expenſe of reaping, &c. a ſixth	1 6
Labour of ſowing, weeding, &c. equal to two weedings, or forty day-la-	
Carry forward	1 6
Brought forward	1 6
bourers, at two and a half ſeers, 2 md. 20 ſrs. at 8 ans.	1 4
Labour of cattle for the plough, &c.	1 8
Rent, a fourth of the groſs produce, including all payments to the landholder or his officers ..	1 6
	5 8

The peaſant does not conſequently derive from corn cultivation the very humble maintenance we ſuppoſe, unleſs his family ſhare in the labour for which we calculate him to pay, or apply their leiſure to other occupations, or unleſs we take into account his profit from the land under-let to his ploughmen at half produce.

And in fact, it is not upon the cultivation of grain that the peaſant depends for profit, or even for comfortable maintenance. In grazing diſtricts it is the dairy, in others it is the culture of ſome more valuable produce, which aids the corn huſbandry. In grazing diſtricts, the occupying of arable land is neceſſary to entitle the peaſant to paſture in the foreſt and downs

* In the firſt volume of the Ayeen Akbery, page 356, is a table of the mean produce of land regularly cultivated. It is calculated on a medium of three years. To compare this with our eſtimate may be curious.

The begah noticed by the Ayeen Akbery is of 3,600 ſquare Ilahee guz, and the maund is of forty ſeers, each ſeer weighing thirty dams. The begah for which our eſtimate is formed, contains 1,600 ſquare yards, and the maund is of forty ſeers, containing eighty ſicca weight, 3,600 Ilahee guz are equal to 3,025 ſquare yards, and thirty dams to forty-three ſicca weight.

	Produce of a begah of 3,600 Ilahee guz in maunds and ſeers of 30 dams.		The ſame produce reduced to the begah of 1,600 ſquare yards in maunds of 80 ſicca weight to the ſeer.	
Clean rice, average of three ſorts	16 33 0	—	—	4 35
Wheat and barley, - - - - -	12 38 8	—	—	3 30
Peaſe, vetches and other pulſe, average of eight kinds - -	7 8 0	—	—	2 0
Millet, average of two kinds -	9 27 0	—	—	2 35
Seeds yielding oil, average of three kinds - - - - - -	6 16 0	—	—	1 35

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downs, a proportionate herd of cattle. And the culture of corn, though not equally profitable, ſerves to alleviate the riſk of other cultures, which ſeem precarious in proportion to the greatneſs of profit. On the failure of his mulberry or ſugar cane, the peaſant, had he no corn, muſt ſuffer the extremities of want; but raiſing, in corn and other grain, a ſufficiency for mere ſubſiſtence, he can wait the ſupply of his other wants, from the ſucceſs of other culture; or make a reſerve from the ſucceſsful year, to meet the difficulties of another.

The price of corn, which, in Bengal, varies * in much wider limits than in Europe, though it has a conſiderable influence on † the price of moſt other articles, cannot regulate the price of all. The nature of a monopolizing commerce, placing the demand in few hands, enables the purchaſer to regulate a fixed price. The price of raw opium is fixed by government.—The purchaſe of ſilk is almoſt entirely in the hands of the Company's agents. This, and the commerce of cloths, though leſs monopolized, give uniformity to the price of the raw material. Indigo weed muſt alſo of neceſſity be at a fixed price. All theſe articles bear a price nearly uniform, at leaſt their price is affected but diſtantly by the abundance of produce.

A peaſant who placed his principal dependence on the culture of ſuch productions, felling a ſcanty crop at no higher rate than abundant harveſts, at the ſame time that corn bore a very advanced price, muſt experience abſolute want; but uſing a ſufficient proportion of corn land, the high or low price of corn cannot deprive him of food. From this and other culture, he can ſeldom fail of being enabled to diſcharge his rent, though he may be much ſtraitened for the ſupply of his various wants, beyond mere nutriment.

But the profits of ſtock are leſs precarious; they conſiſt in the increaſe of ſtock from kine, and in the milk of buffaloes. Kine are uſually fed near home on reſerved paſtures, or on the waſte lands of the village: buffaloes needing richer paſtures, and thriving on rank vegetation, do not find ſufficient paſturage in populous diſtricts. The herds of this cattle are moſt numerous in the northern and weſtern provinces, where, in the rainy ſeaſon, they find paſturage on the downs, and, in dry ſeaſon, on the foreſt lands, which are moſtly inundated during the rains. A great proportion of the buffaloes travel, in the dry ſeaſon, into the foreſts of the countries which border on Bengal.

Black cattle are grazed at a very ſmall expenſe. It does not exceed eight annas per head for buffaloes, and four annas equally for cows. A herdſman for fifty cows, or for twenty-five to thirty buffaloes, at wages in grain-money and clothes, amount-

* Without famine or ſcarcity, we have known corn, at the firſt hand, four times dearer in one year, than in the preceding. In a cheap diſtrict, rice in the huſk had as low a market as eight maunds for the rupee. In the following year it was eagerly purchaſed at two maunds per rupee.

† When the crops of corn are very abundant, corn is not only cheap, but wants a ready market; as the payments of rents are regulated by the ſeaſon of harveſt, rent is in immediate demand, though the produce want a vend. To anſwer the demand, and for other diſburſements which the tenant has occaſion to make, he muſt diſpoſe of other more ſaleable produce, and even anticipate the harveſt. The eagerneſs of the ſellers exceeding the demand of the purchaſers, reduces the price of other articles in conſequence of corn wanting a ready ſale. For ſome ſuch reaſon the price of corn ſeems to have a greater influence on the general market in Bengal than in other countries.

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amounting to one rupee and a half per menſem, (or leſs if the average be taken on grazing diſtricts,) charges half an anna to each cow, and leſs than one anna to each buffalo; but the average of paſturage, which has been taken for all Bengal, being too high for grazing diſtricts, the whole annual expence incident to ſtock, cannot there exceed ſeven annas for each buffalo, and three annas for each cow.

The profits of the dairy ariſe from the ſale of milk, of curds in various forms, and of clarified butter. As the laſt is the produce which bears tranſport to a diſtant market, we calculate the profit as if the whole milk underwent this preparation.

The buffalo cow daily ſupplies the dairy with two to three ſeer of milk. Upon an eſtimate of milch cows, in the proportion of two-thirds of the whole herd, throughout the year, (in which allowance is made for the ſuckling of the calves,) the produce is nearly fifteen maund of milk for each cow of the herd.

The dairy man will contract without wages to deliver two ſeers and a half of clarified butter for a maund of milk. At this rate the proprietor ſhould receive thirty-ſeven ſeers and a half of clarified butter for fifteen maund of milk, and may diſpoſe of it for ſeven rupees and a half, from which a deduction muſt be made for tranſport from the dairy to the market; for the cattle being uſually grazed in wild countries, the temporary hut which ſerves for a dairy is remote from the market. This, however, with the expenſes eſtimated at ſeven annas per head, will hardly reduce the annual profit much below ſeven rupees for each buffalo cow, or thirty-three per cent. on the capital, valuing the buffalo on an average at twenty rupees, and ſuppoſing that the increaſe of ſtock fully compenſates the loſs by mortality and accident. We make no account of the few male calves reared for ſacrifices, nor of thoſe reared for labour; buffaloes in Bengal Proper being rarely employed for burden, or for the labours of huſbandry.

The profits of kine by the increaſe of ſtock, are nearly in the ſame proportion to the capital which purchaſed them. They certainly amount to thirty per centum.

Cattle are the peaſant's wealth, and the profits of ſtock would be greater, did the conſumption of animal food take off barren cows and oxen which have paſſed their prime. This indeed can never happen where the Hindus conſtitute the great maſs of the general population: but moſt tribes of Hindus have no objection to the uſe of other animal food. At their entertainments animal food is generally introduced. But meat (mutton and goat's fleſh,) being more than double of the price of vegetable food, it could not be afforded as a common diet upon the uſual earnings of labour. Whether this circumſtance has much influence, or whether abſtinence from animal food be not rather aſcribable to moral cauſes, may be queſtioned. Probably both have influence, though the laſter has the greateſt. From whatever cauſe it be, the conſumption of animal food is not ſo conſiderable as to render the ſtock of ſheep an object of general attention. Their wool ſupplies the internal conſumption of blankets, but is too coarſe, and produces too ſmall a price to afford any conſiderable profit on this ſtock. The valuable articles of produce, ſugar, tobacco, ſilk,

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silk, cotton, indigo, and opium, as the principal dependence of the peasant for the supply of conveniencies, and for accession of wealth, are well deserving of particular consideration. Deriving a further importance as the objects of external commerce, each would separately merit the amplest detail on their present management, and on the commerce which respects them. But precluded from undertaking the disquisition in the whole extent which the subject embraces, we may be content with hazarding on each topic such observations as occur most material for notice.

Opium, it is well known, has been monopolized by government in the British dominions of Bengal. Contractors for the opium of Bengal, Bahar, and Benares, engage for the provision at a stipulated price, and the opium they provide is sold in Calcutta at public sale. From many circumstances a monopoly of opium seems less exceptionable than a monopoly of any other article. And it is a rational object of police to discourage the internal consumption of it. It must not however be concealed, that by the effect of the monopoly, Bahar has lost the market of the western countries, which formerly were supplied from thence, but now furnish some opium to the British provinces. Nevertheless, if the first grower receive from the monopolist, as equitable payment as the competitor of free trade could afford him, the monopoly cannot be deemed a public injury; it only takes as revenue to the state, what otherwise would give employment to a chain of merchants and traders moderately numerous.

The payment to be made to the first grower is regulated by the contract made with government. The contractor makes advances to such peasants as are desirous of undertaking the culture, and receives the raw juice of the poppy at the rates fixed by his contract. On a medium of these rates, adverting to the quantity estimated on each rate, the raw opium is bought at the rate of one rupee for ten chittacks, or one pound and a third.

A learned and very ingenious inquirer * estimated the produce from one acre at sixty pound of opium; but we think he must have been misled by the result of inquiries on lands of extraordinary fertility in a fortunate season. Our own inquiries have led us to estimate four seer or eight pound of opium from a begah reduced to the standard of four cubits to the pole; and the cultivator also reaps about seven seer of seeds, which sold for food, or for the oil to be expressed from it, may produce eight annas.

This produce, from a plant which requires the best soil, well manured, is by no means equal to the production of similar soils in other valuable produce. At the same time it requires more labour and attention; and, in fact, that it is less profitable, is apparent from the circumstance of the peasants not ambitioning this culture, except in a few situations particularly favourable. They mostly engage with reluctance, or from motives † very different from the expectation of profit.

Many cultivators obtain from poppy-land a garden crop, or some other early produce, before the season

* Dr. Kier.

† To obtain, by accepting advances, an immediate supply of money when urgently wanted; or for the aid and convenience of the contractor, if they have any point to contend or litigate.

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ſon of ſowing the poppy. It is reckoned a bad practice; whether it be or not, the labour of the cultivator is not diminiſhed by having taken an early crop. The poppy-land muſt be thoroughly broken and pulveriſed; for which purpoſe it muſt be ploughed twelve or fifteen times: this labour is ſucceeded by that of diſpoſing the field for irrigation; ſeveral weedings, a dreſſing of manure, and frequent watering employs much labour: but the greateſt labour is in gathering the opium, which for more than a fortnight employs ſeveral perſons in making inciſions in each capſule in the evening, and ſcraping off the exuded juice in the morning. If the greater labour be conſidered, the produce of a begah of poppy, computed at ſeven rupees, eight annas, is not more advantageous than the corn cultivation.

But in the culture of opium, there are circumſtances which might render it alluring. In computing the medium produce, we adverted to the accidents of ſeaſons, to which this delicate plant is particularly liable, from inſects, wind, hail, or unſeaſonable rain. The produce ſeldom ſquares with the true average, but commonly runs in extremes; while one cultivator is diſappointed, another reaps immenſe gain; one ſeaſon does not pay the labour of the culture, another peculiarly fortunate enriches all the cultivators. This circumſtance is well ſuited to allure man, ever confident of perſonal good fortune.

The preparation of the raw opium is under the immediate ſuperintendance of the contractor. It conſiſts in evaporating, by expoſure to the ſun, the watery particles, which are replaced by oil of poppy ſeed, to prevent the drying of the reſin. The opium, formed in cakes, is covered with the leaves of the poppy flower, and when ſufficiently dried, is packed in chefts with the chaff of poppy ſeeds.

This preparation, though ſimple, requires expert workmen, able to detect the many adulterations which are practiſed on raw opium. The adulteration of prepared opium is yet more difficult to aſcertain. It is ſuppoſed to be commonly adulterated with an extract from the leaves and ſtalk of the poppy, and with the gum of acacia; other foreign admixture have been conjectured, cow-dung, gums, and reſins of various ſorts, and parched rice.

The facility of adulterating opium is one of the circumſtances which ſeems to palliate the monopoly. In a free commerce, the quality might probably be more debaſed, to the injury of the export trade.

Tobacco requires as good a ſoil as opium, and as well manured. Though not limited to the ſame provinces, its culture prevails moſt in the northern and weſtern diſtricts. It is thinly ſcattered in the ſouthern and eaſtern provinces. In theſe, it is ſeldom ſeen but upon made ground; in thoſe it occupies the greateſt part of the rich land, interſperſed among the habitations of the peaſantry.

Its culture is laborious, requiring the ground to be thoroughly broken by repeated ploughings. The tobacco, though tranſplanted, needs one or two weedings, and a hand hoeing. It is frequently viſited by the labourer to break off the heads of the plants, and pick the decayed leaves. But the crop is gathered with little labour, and to dry the tobacco does not employ much time: it is dried by expoſure to the open air, on beds of dry graſs, or ſuſpended on ropes, but removed under ſhelter during the

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the great heat of the day, and the heavy dews of the night.

The whole expenſe to be charged to the culture upon an average of the diſtricts where it moſt prevails, and which are amongſt the cheapeſt of Bengal, does not exceed four rupees per begah, although tobacco be rated at a high rent. The produce eſtimated at five and a half maunds from a begah of the ſtandard of four cubits to the pole, and this produce valued at one rupee per maund, ſhews tobacco to be a very profitable culture. It is accordingly eagerly purſued, although the cultivators do not acknowledge ſo large a profit. Upon the reſult of direct inquiries, we might have ſtated the produce at no more than three maunds and a half, and the actual diſburſements for labour and rent were eſtimated on the ſame information at no more than two rupees and a half. But on a compariſon to other cultivation of leſs labour, the expenſe ſeemed greatly under-rated. At the ſame time we were led by ſmall trials to doubt the information on the produce. An accident, affording the opportunity of aſcertaining the quantity of tobacco actually produced from a conſiderable quantity of land, ſuggeſted the correction which has been adopted.

Though it require an excellent ſoil, tobacco might be produced in the greateſt abundance to ſupply the conſumption of Europe. Raiſed cheaply it would yield a conſiderable profit to the exporter, upon moderate freight. Small experiments have been made. Of their ſucceſs we are not accurately informed; but have reaſon to ſuppoſe that the tobacco of Bengal was not of the quality, or had not the preparation, deſired by the European conſumer.

But it cannot be doubted, that under the immediate directions of perſons informed of the quality preferred in foreign markets, tobacco might be raiſed to ſuit them, at no greater expenſe than in the preſent management, and, provided purpoſely for exportation, it would be inveſted with a leſs advance on the original coſt, than it can have been yet procured at a market remote from the place of growth, after paſſing through the hands of intermediate dealers trading on ſmall capitals.

Tobacco might be ſhipped for one current rupee and a half, or including every charge for home duties and agency at leſs than two current rupees per factory maund.

One ton, or 80 factory maunds, at two current rupees per maund ..... Cur. Rup.	60	0	0	£.	6	0 0
Freight at four pounds					4	0 0
Intereſt and inſurance, ſay 15 per cent. on ..	10	0	0		1	10 0
Port and warehouſe charges, brokerage and other charges in Europe, at 15 per cent. on	11	10	0		1	14 0
Coſt and charges, ...					13	4 6
Sold at $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ per lb. or 21*s.* per cwt. excluſive of cuſtoms and exciſe, ...					21	0 0
Profit				£.	7	15 6

On the high freight of 15*l.* per ton, a loſs would be ſuſtained.

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The manufacture of indigo appears to have been known to India from the earliest periods. From this country (whence the dye obtains its name *), Europe was anciently ſupplied; until the produce of America ſuperſeded its market, and the indigo of India was reduced to the home conſumption. Within a very late period, the enterpriſe of a few Europeans has revived, for Bengal, the exportation of indigo, which they have manufactured themſelves. The nicety of the proceſs, by which the beſt indigo is made, demands a ſkilful and experienced eye. It is not from the practice of making ſome pounds, from a few roods of land, that competent ſkill can be acquired. But this was the management of the natives. Every peaſant individually extracted the dye from the weed he had cultivated on a few cottahs of ground; or the manufacture was undertaken by a dyer, as an occaſional employment connected with his profeſſion. The better management of America in this reſpect, rather than any eſſential difference in the intention of the proceſs, transferred the market to the indigo of America; for it is now well aſcertained that the natural quality of Bengal indigo is ſuperior to that of North America, and equal to the beſt of Southern America. And although ſome labour be waſted in the proceſs employed by the natives, or at leaſt, though the labour was not ſo well applied as in manufactures on a larger ſcale, the cheap price at which the natives nevertheleſs afforded it, would have preſerved the market, had not the ſuperior quality of indigo, made at large manufactures, given to this a decided preference.

The ſpirited and perſevering exertions of a few individuals has reſtored this commerce to Bengal, ſolely by the ſuperior quality of their manufacture: for no material change has been made in the culture, from the practice of the natives.—Ground of no particular ſoil, but ſecure from probable inundation, is prepared as in the common huſbandry, and ſown in the broad caſt, during the latter months of the hot ſeaſon, and at the commencement of the rains. It ſhould be weeded twice or oftener; and, with no further labour, the early plant is ready to cut in the beginning of Auguſt, and the fields ſucceſſively arriving at maturity, ſupply the works until the commencement of October.—Other management has been tried, by throwing the land into furrows, and by ſowing in drills, but without much ſucceſs. One improvement however deſerves notice, as it extends the ſeaſon of indigo; ſowing early in the hot ſeaſon upon low lands, for a crop at the commencement of the rains before the inundation, or ſowing late in the rains for an early crop in the following year.

This has been introduced in the weſtern diſtricts, where circumſtances admit of experiments. In the ſouthern provinces, the manufacturers plant little themſelves, but purchaſe the plant from the neighbouring peaſantry, and the plant ſeldom yields produce beyond the year in which it is ſown; while rattoons or lay-overs are preſerved in the weſtern provinces to the ſecond and even to the third year.

Of the expenſe and produce it is not eaſy to determine an accurate eſtimate, many factories purchaſing the plant by meaſure, others paying

* Indicum.

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ing for the quantity of land, and others planting their own indigo. The produce in different ſeaſons is moſt widely unequal, and in the ſame ſeaſon equal quantities of the plant afford very diſproportionate quantities of the dye.

However, it may be ſtated, that four rupees per begah does not ill pay the rent and culture; and the manufacturer need not be diſſatisfied if he obtain ſix pound of the dye from each begah; at an expenſe of manufacture, including his ſubſiſtence, little exceeding the coſt of the plant.

The profit of the manufacturer depends on the quality of the indigo; and this is very unequal, proportioned to the ſkill of the manufacturer. Excluding from the conſideration indigo of very ſuperior quality, the medium price of indigo ſold for exportation cannot be taken higher than current rupees 140, or ſicca rupees 120 per maund, which affords to the manufacturer a mere ſubſiſtence, from a ſpeculation in which the expenſe is certain and the returns precarious. The fact confirms the eſtimate*, for it is well known that little has hitherto been gained by the ſpeculation. The ſucceſsful planters are few; the unſucceſsful numerous.

The manufactory is nevertheleſs purſued with ſpirit: and not unreaſonably; for experience may be expected to correct the errors unavoidable in new undertakings.—The ſagacity of ingenious men has greatly improved the proceſs, which is ſtill in the progreſs of improvement, for determining the moſt advantageous ſize and proportions of the ſteepers and batteries, for aſcertaining with preciſion the period of ſufficient fermentation and agitation, for drying the indigo by artificial heat, and ſubjecting it to a proceſs to prevent injury by worms, and for an arrangement to conduct the proceſs with the utmoſt cleanlineſs, and with economy of labour, and without waſtage.

From an inconſiderable production, it has grown through individual exertions to an object of great magnitude, which by improved proceſſes may be expected to reward the enterpriſe which has eſtabliſhed it.

When indigo had been introduced by private enterpriſe, it attracted the attention of the India Company as an object of emolument to themſelves; but after ſome years, the controlling authority declared a more liberal policy. In purſuance of this profeſſed intention, ſome relief was afforded in reſpect to duties; and the terms upon which the Company advanced funds for the proviſion of indigo were made more favourable. But ſtill they are ſo diſadvantageous to the manufacturer, that none accept them unleſs urged by neceſſity in the default of other funds.

But in the confidence of the profeſſed intention of encouraging this pro-

* Eſtimated thus on a manufactory calculated for 150 maunds of indigo, which may be ſuperintended by one perſon.

Intereſt, and wear of the works and ſtock valued at 12,000 rupees at 25 per cent.	3000
Two thouſand begahs, at four rupees,	8000
Expenſe of the manufacture, including tranſport, and ſervants of the works	4000
Subſiſtence of the manufacturer	3000
Sicca Rupees	18,000

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production, numerous manufactories have been eſtabliſhed in every diſtrict in Bengal. Not that the manufacturers ſo much expected particular aid, as they relied that, where encouragement was profeſſed, they might confidently expect to be undiſturbed in the free exertion of their induſtry, and that general reſtrictions which might have prohibited the undertaking, were become obſolete, or at leaſt, were ſuperſeded by the profeſſed intention of encouraging a production which they well knew could not be raiſed by the ſole induſtry of the natives: and conſequently they inferred, that encouragement to Europeans was in the contemplation of government.

They reaſonably looked to be relieved from ſome reſtrictions which were ſtill enforced to their diſcouragement, but the event has contradicted expectation.

A VIEW *of the* POLITICAL STATE *of* BENGAL, *comprehending an Examination of the English Government and Policy in that Country, previous to the Year* 1780. *By* GHOLAUM HOSSEIN KHAN, *a Native of Hindustan; taken from his Historical Work, intitled* "Sëir Mutakharin, *or*, A View of Modern Times."

[In the third volume of our Regiſter (*Characters*, *p.* 28.) we gave an account of this ſcarce and valuable work, together with a life of the author, written by himſelf. We now proceed to give a faithful tranſlation of a very curious and intereſting chapter of that work.]

THE great extent of Hinduſtan, the diverſity of climates which prevail in it, the peculiar fertility of its ſoil, and the ſingular character of its inhabitants, combine to render it the moſt extraordinary country in the world. Whether we contemplate the manners and cuſtoms of the Hindus, or the inſtitutions and maxims by which they are regulated in civil life, they are found to be totally diſſimilar from any other people. The delicate configuration of their bodies, and their great deficiency in mental energy, have fitted them for the yoke of foreign conquerors, and rendered them, in all ages, an eaſy prey to every invader of their country. Nevertheleſs, they have been ſo remarkably tenacious of their religious tenets, as well as of their civil uſages, which are, indeed, interwoven with them, that their conquerors at laſt found themſelves under the neceſſity of aſſimilating the regulations of government to the habits of the people. As ſoon as the Muſſulman conquerors had completely eſtabliſhed themſelves in Hinduſtan, they aboliſhed that ſyſtem of violence and extortion which conqueſt had introduced, and turned their thoughts towards quieting the minds of the Hindus, and protecting their families and their property *. It was the practice of the emperors of Delhi to call in the

* Our author here betrays a very undue partiality towards the Muſſulman princes of Hinduſtan. According to Feriſhta, whoſe authority on this point is unqueſtionable, the Hindus were treated generally with a ſyſtematic rigour, and often with the moſt barbar-

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assistance of all the men of abilities in the country, not only in framing new regulations, but in carrying on the ordinary operations of government. Men of merit thereby acquired that weight and consequence which nature designed them to possess: and, as every individual, high or low, had a free access to the *durbar*, or court of audience, those princes who were endowed with penetration, used to converse familiarly with them, and by that means discovered the capacities and knowledge of each, and always employed them accordingly. Men of superior talents, after a sufficient trial had been made of their integrity, were advanced to offices of trust and dignity. Hence those princes lived amongst their people like kind parents amongst their children. They did not allow themselves to be swayed by unjust partialities, but promoted men according to their merit, and were kind and liberal to all. They looked upon all their subjects, whether Mussulmen or Hindus, with an equal eye; so that during several ages, down to the reign of Shah Jehan, a great degree of harmony and good order prevailed throughout Hindustan. It is only since the time of Aurengzeeb, a prince who united a warlike and ambitious genius to a cruel disposition, that any serious grievances crept in upon us. Yet these evils were comparatively light; for such was the great abilities of that celebrated prince, and the rigid manner in which he administered the affairs of government, that the established institutions were but slightly infringed. The principal evil of that reign arose from the prince assembling the ecclesiastics about his person, in order to hold out to the community the semblance of a religious sanction to his enormous wickedness, particularly to the murder of his brothers. The influence which the ecclesiastics thereby acquired was attended with the most pernicious consequences to the state: for those hypocrites no sooner found themselves possessed of the confidence of the prince, than their insatiable avarice introduced a train of practices so corrupt and so subversive of public morals, that their effects are still felt in these countries. In the reign of Firoh-Siur, who was a man of no character at all, matters became still worse. At that time Ratancand, dewan to Seid Abdollah Khan, was created vizier, and in that station obtained such entire sway over his sovereign, that he governed the whole empire, and drove from the court those very omrahs and ministers, who, in the reign of Aurengzeeb, had contributed so largely to support its splendour and glory. It was this Ratancand who introduced the pernicious custom of farming the revenues, and of letting out on lease, to the highest bidder, the different offices of the finance department. He likewise made it his habitual practice to bribe men into a compliance with his wishes; and there were not wanting

barbarous cruelty, from the first invasion of Hindustan by Mammood of Gizni, in the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian æra, till the accession of the emperor Balin to the throne of Delhi, in A. D. 1265. Nor were the remedial regulations, introduced by that illustrious prince, of any long duration. His immediate successors, Feroze and Alla, both enforced and enlarged them; but from the death of Alla to the elevation of sultaun Baber, a period of 180 years, every tolerant and generous principle of public policy was abandoned, and the most gloomy and unrelenting tyranny universally prevailed.—T.

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wanting ſluggiſh ſycophants, who, addicted to eaſe and luxury, thought it a good thing to become at once poſſeſſed of ſo much money, and who, therefore, made no ſcruple to ſacrifice the intereſts of the people to the rapacity of leaſe-takers, tax-gatherers, and contractors. It is from that time that the decreaſe of huſbandry, the diſtreſs of the people, and their deteſtation of their rulers, muſt be dated. Theſe evils continued to increaſe from day to day, till at laſt even the high office of cazy, or judge, was ſet up to public ſale. Hence eminent practical lawyers, and men ſkilled in the ſcience of juriſprudence, diſappeared in the country. Hence crimes went unpuniſhed, and vice became altogether unreſtrained. The attainment of wealth, by whatever means, was the object of which all ranks were the moſt ambitious, and which, therefore, they unceaſingly purſued. Amidſt this general depravity, the avarice and venality of lawyers were particularly conſpicuous. In this ſtate of the empire there aroſe a ſet of men, who, after having amaſſed great riches by the moſt iniquitous means, held up an example of vicious luxury, ſo infamous and ſhameleſs, but at the ſame time ſo dazzling and alluring, that it was thought honourable rather than criminal to follow it. From amongſt theſe men the public officers of government were chiefly taken; ſo that all the important truſts were held by ſenſeleſs, ignorant, and ſlothful ſenſualiſts. It was then that the ſun of juſtice and equity, which had already paſſed the meridian, ſo rapidly deſcended, and at laſt entirely diſappeared in the clouds of civil war. It was then that public corruption and general immorality arrived at a height which precluded the poſſibility of a remedy: and hence the wretched inhabitants of Hinduſtan were reduced to that ſtate in which even life itſelf became oppreſſive and diſguſtful.

Amongſt the events which theſe revolutions produced, the introduction of Europeans into the heart of the empire is the moſt important and extraordinary. The wiſe men of Europe had long looked on Hinduſtan with a wiſhful eye; and the conqueſt of the country, which was the object of their ambition, has now, in part, been attained. In ſeveral provinces they have acquired an abſolute dominion. But ſuch is the total diſſimilarity between our manners and cuſtoms, and thoſe of the Engliſh, and ſuch the ignorance of the Engliſh governors reſpecting our laws and civil inſtitutions, that all their well-meant endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the people has hitherto proved ineffectual. Beſides theſe circumſtances, it may with truth be affirmed, that ſuch is the averſion which the Engliſh ſhew for the ſociety of the natives, and ſuch the diſdain with which they treat them, that there is little likelihood of that mutual confidence and cordiality taking place between the governors and the governed, which is ſo eſſential to the well-being and proſperity of every nation. From the character of the Engliſh, therefore, and the policy they have adopted, there ſeems leſs reaſon to expect a favourable change in the face of public affairs, than that the diſtreſſes which univerſally prevail will be aggravated and increaſed. In ſupport of this opinion twelve cauſes may be adduced, and theſe I ſhall now proceed to unfold.

The firſt cauſe is, that our new rulers are altogether unacquainted with the ſyſtem of our civil policy,

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both in respect to the mode of estimating the revenue, and to the manner of collecting it. The province and duties of the zemindar they cannot well comprehend, for in England there is no such person. In that country subahdarries, foujdarries, khalsas, and jaghiers, are unknown. There the public treasures are not supplied from the produce of the soil. From the information which I have received from some intelligent Englishmen, it appears that in their country the money for defraying the public expenses, as well as for the king's use, is chiefly raised by levying duties on the windows of houses, on coaches, on gold and silver plate, and on various articles of merchandise. I am also informed, that the mode of paying the servants of government, as well as of punishing their misdemeanours, is essentially different from the practice of Hindustan. Insomuch, that there are some trespasses finable in this country that are accounted harmless in England; and some, that are thought trivial here, that are considered as great offences there. In short, it may be said, in general, that in almost every custom and institution, there is a wide and striking difference betwixt the two nations; that this difference is of such a nature, as renders it a matter of great difficulty to reconcile; and that to introduce the usages of the English into Hindustan, which they wish, and think so easily attainable, I hold to be utterly impossible.

The second cause is, that the slight knowledge which our English governors have obtained regarding the institutions of this country, appears to be little more than what they have learned from their own native writers, who, being beardless and unexperienced, and having nothing in view but their own benefit, are solely solicitous to please their masters, without respect to truth, and, therefore, mislead them, by giving such information as accords with their mistaken notions. Those writers, though extremely illiterate and superficial, have, nevertheless, a semblance of knowledge, and are moreover so very plausible, that one unacquainted with their true character would certainly be inclined to credit them. It is not, therefore, surprising that the English should listen to their advice, and take their specious accounts for accurate information.

Yet such is the good sense and benevolent disposition of the English, that they have, of their own accord, abolished some institutions which they considered as oppressive. Of this the following fact is an instance:

The first Mussulman sovereigns disapproved of licencing public concubines, and especially of their being procurable on a *Friday*, the day set apart by Mahommed for sacred and holy purposes. Those princes considered fornication on that day as extremely criminal, and accordingly enacted that no person should keep concubines in their houses without having them previously consecrated by the rites of religion, so that they might thereby be bound to abstain from fornication on the day of devotion. Several degrees of punishment were imposed for the violation of this law, which to the guilty appeared very rigorous. In order to enforce this law, and to regulate its operations, a daroga was appointed in every town to take an account of the number of professed prostitutes, to levy from them a general fine, and to inflict punishment on such of them as should be found guilty of trespassing

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reſpaſſing on Fridays. Public muſicians were alſo put under this officer's inſpection; and he was veſted with the power of deciding all differences amongſt them, and of puniſhing their miſdemeanors. The intention of putting this claſs of people under the authority of the daroga, was to reſtrain the extravagance and prodigality which prevailed at feaſts and marriages, and to prevent any individual from having a greater number of muſicians, at ſuch entertainments, than was ſuitable to his fortune and condition; ſo that on the one hand, men of rank would have no cauſe for jealouſy or diſcontent in this reſpect; and on the other, merchants and people of low birth, would not be ſuffered to ruin themſelves by endeavouring to ſurpaſs their ſuperiors in the ſplendor and magnificence of their appearance. But for this ſome time back public officers of ſordid diſpoſitions have totally perverted the original purpoſe of this inſtitution, and it has become a ſource of the moſt corrupt practices. The Engliſh governors, ſeeing the pernicious conſequences that reſulted both from the tax on concubines, and the regulations reſpecting muſicians, aboliſhed them in the provinces under their dominion. From this circumſtance I am led to infer, that if the Engliſh, who are for the moſt part endowed with much diſcernment, and a high ſenſe of juſtice, were made acquainted with the infamous arts which are now practiſed under the maſk of inſtitution and cuſtom, they would certainly endeavour to ſuppreſs them. With a view to aſſiſt their efforts in this reſpect, I ſhall aſſume the taſk of explaining to them the original ſcope and reaſon of ſome of the principal inſtitutions and cuſtoms of Hinduſtan; not doubting, that I ſhall thereby be able to impreſs on the minds of men of ſenſe, correct notions of thoſe important ſubjects, at preſent ſo miſunderſtood.

The duty of cazy, or judge, was to try criminals, and to decide differences, according to the ordinances of the law, without favour and without partiality. A regular ſalary from the treaſury, and a jaghire from the emperor, amply ſupplied all his wants, ſo that he was placed above all temptation of bribery. If ever any judge was found capable of ſuch infamy, he was adjudged guilty not only of diſhonouring the law, but the Muſſulman religion, and was accordingly diſmiſſed from his office, and made an object of general reproach. Wherever he went, the ſcorn of the multitude purſued him; and he was conſidered infamous and accurſed both in this world and in the next. But theſe ſalutary regulations, ſo neceſſary to preſerve the dignity and virtue of that high office, are now totally neglected. The office of judge, like every other office in the country, is now put up to public ſale, and often let upon leaſe; a practice which was never before heard of, in any nation, however debaſed. Hence cazies are every day ſeen, who, not only ignorant of the common principles of Mahommedan juriſprudence, but more vicious in their habits of life than the moſt profligate atheiſts, take leaſes of what they call the cazy's rights, and openly ſub-let theſe again to others. Yet theſe rights are entirely of their own creation, and have been invented with no other view than to extort money under a legal pretext. Theſe abominable practices have become ſo general, and are ſo deeply rooted in the minds of thoſe

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interested men, that they must be displaced, for it would be impossible to reclaim them.

I shall advert more particularly to one of the abuses by which these abandoned men tarnish the laws and the religion of Mussulmen. When a Mussulman of the poorer sort dies, his relations, who are accustomed to consider the cazy as their instructor, have been taught to believe, that the spirit of the deceased will not quit the house, until a fee shall have been given to one of the cazy's substitutes. This infamous absurdity has been impressed so forcibly on the minds of the poor people, that when a very indigent family is unable to pay the fee, they and their dependents are considered as impure; their neighbours and acquaintance not only refuse to eat and drink with them, but altogether avoid their company; until at last the wretched people, driven to despair, sell the little hovel in which they live, together with their cooking utensils, and even their clothes, in order to raise a sum of money sufficient to exonerate them from the heavy malediction which they believe has been entailed upon them.

A similar sort of imposition is practised by the cazies, upon boys and girls, with regard to the ceremonies of circumcision and marriage. If their parents should be unable to pay the exorbitant fees exacted by the cazy, the boys are debarred from the rites of circumcision, and the girls from the comforts of marriage. Hence a vast number of young people of both sexes, thus deprived of their legal rights by oppressive exactions, become dissolute and abandoned, and contribute to the general depravity.

It were tedious to enumerate in detail, all the vexatious practices that prevail; but I shall notice a few more, which will be sufficient to give a distinct notion of the present state of society in these provinces, both in regard to morals and government.

The sadr-ul-sudur, or sadr of sadrs, and the other sadrs of every subah, and every circar, were originally established for the purpose of ascertaining the actual circumstances of people possessed of *amlacs*, and other lands, appropriated to pious uses, and likewise for watching over the moral conduct as well as the legal decision of the cazies. It was besides the duty of these officers to receive for the princes such of the consecrated lands as might by the death of the devout persons on whom they were bestowed, fall into the hands of unworthy people. It was their duty too, to protect the persons as well as the property of those devotees; to prevent them either from making encroachments on each other, on the jaghire lands, or on the portions of land appropriated to the khalsa, or exchequer office: But the office of sadr has now become a source of the most grievous oppression; and in the hands of that atheist Zehor-Ullah-Beg, it has ruined thousands of industrious, but necessitous families. That man is now dead; and he has carried with him to his grave the groans and execrations of an oppressed people. Happily, however, for the country, the words of the Koran, *(the sun is in the middle of the day)* have been literally verified in the person of Governor HASTINGS, who no sooner heard of the oppressions committed by the sadrs, and of the grievances which possessors of charity lands so justly complained of, than he immediately shewed

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ſhewed his deteſtation of theſe ſhameful and ſordid actions, by diſmiſſing, with every mark of ignominy, thoſe ſadrs who had thus diſgraced and polluted the ſacredneſs of their functions; and at the ſame time he reduced the fees to the rates at which they were originally fixed, and reſtored the whole office to its priſtine purity. May God reward the enlightened benevolence of this governor, for having reſtored the happineſs of ſo many afflicted families! and may God inſtruct future governors, in imitation of Mr. Haſtings, to allot a certain portion of their time every day, towards acquiring a knowledge of the various cuſtoms and inſtitutions of Hinduſtan! and, like him, to appropriate one day in the week for the ſpecial purpoſe of hearing complaints and redreſſing grievances, according to the ancient uſage of the country, and the uniform practice of the moſt renowned of the Muſſulman emperors. Let it be the glory of the Engliſh nation to relieve the inhabitants of Hinduſtan from the oppreſſions and exactions by which they are ſo ſeverely aggrieved.

The office of daroga of the adaulut, that is, auditor of the court of juſtice, was originally eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of affording immediate relief to ſuch defenceleſs indigent people as were unable to reſort to the emperor or his miniſters. The daroga was provided with a ſalary and a jaghire ſuitable to his ſtation. It was his duty to ſit in his tribunal from day-break to three in the afternoon, and to give an attentive, patient ear to the voice of complaint. If the defendant, in any cauſe, happened to be a man of conſequence, or one whoſe dignity did not admit of his being ſummoned into court, his agent or repreſentative was deſired to appear for him, unleſs the magnitude and importance of the cauſe rendered his perſonal appearance indiſpenſable. In ſlight caſes, it was cuſtomary to compromiſe the difference by the mutual conſent of the parties. But, in affairs of conſequence, facts were aſcertained and proved, by a careful examination of witneſſes on oath. The whole proceedings were taken down in writing, and afterwards drawn up, as a judicial narrative, which, together with the names of the plaintiff, defendant, and witneſſes, was tranſmitted by the daroga, through the foujdar, to the emperor, who regularly ſat once a week, for the ſpecial purpoſe of hearing and deciding ſuch matters. If the cauſe was not determined at one ſitting, it was referred to a ſecond, and after the fulleſt examination, it was decided according to truth and juſtice. Such was the practice of former times. But now the dignified office for diſpenſing juſtice is converted into a means of making the private fortunes of individuals. The ſtation of daroga, which, from the ſmall emoluments appertaining to it, many perſons often declined, has now become an object of rivalſhip and ambition: men make intereſt, and give preſents to obtain it; and it is generally beſtowed on the moſt favoured, rather than on the beſt qualified candidate. The ſalaries of the darogas, as well as of their officers and retinue, are paid out of the fines which they exact, and as there is no perſon appointed to check or control them in levying thoſe fines, nor any inquiry made into the perquiſites of office, which they claim, the means of amaſſing immenſe ſums of money are entirely in their own power.

As litigations about property were

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were chiefly tried by the darogas, and as their conſciences were therefore held reſponſible to God, for errors and miſconceptions, few men of piety and knowledge could be found who would venture to undertake ſo great a truſt; nor could the prince and his miniſters prevail upon ſuch men, but by dint of entreaties, to accept of the office. The prince always beſtowed more of his attention on this part of the adminiſtration of his government than upon any other. He took ſpecial care to have men of character appointed to all the ſubordinate departments of this office; and he cauſed ſuch a ſtigma to be affixed on thoſe who were found guilty of extortion or bribery, that to call one a *bribe taker*, was accounted the greateſt reproach and opprobrium; and men of virtuous principles conſidered bribery in the ſame light as infidelity or apoſtacy in religion. But ſuch is the change in the ſentiments of the Muſſulmen inhabitants of Hinduſtan, that they now conſider bribery as a very laudable practice, and ſkill in the art of money-making, as one of the higheſt endowments. In former times, it was ſo very eaſy for the pooreſt people to get acceſs to the emperor, and to obtain redreſs of their grievances, that when any oppreſſive acts were committed by the officers of government, it was cuſtomary for thoſe who ſuffered by thoſe acts to come for two or three months to the royal reſidence, to be admitted to the preſence, and make known their complaints; and the moſt indigent peaſant in the country was always ſure to receive, from the juſtice of his ſovereign, the moſt ample compenſation for the injury he had ſuſtained.

But ſince the country has been under the government of the Engliſh, our ſituation in this reſpect is worſe than ever; for, owing to the peculiar habits of that people, it is exceedingly difficult even for men of rank to gain admittance to the governor and his ſubordinate officers. To obtain juſtice therefore in ſuch grievances as have been alluded to, is impracticable; for there is no one to whom we can make our complaints. If one of us ſhould, by particular favour, chance to be admitted to the preſence of any of the Engliſh officers of government, it avails nothing; for in conſequence of their being conſtantly engroſſed by a variety of public and private affairs of importance amongſt themſelves, they have no time to ſpare for the concerns of the people of this land. It ſeems a peculiarly hard lot, that after being ſubjected by Providence to the yoke of theſe ſtrangers, we ſhould find them ſuch inattentive rulers as not to think it worth their while to attend to the welfare of their proſtrate ſubjects, but to leave them at the diſpoſal of their ſervants and ſubſtitutes. Nothing ſhould be ſo important to a ſovereign, as to ſee juſtice duly adminiſtered amongſt his ſubjects, and he never ſhould loſe ſight of the Indian adage, "*Do not refer his complaint to your dewan, for his complaint is probably againſt that very dewan.*"

Amidſt ſuch oppreſſion on the one hand, and inattention on the other, we ought upon the whole to thank God, that the office of daroga of the court of juſtice has now been transferred to the Engliſh; for by this change the ſufferings of the people have been ſomewhat alleviated. But unfortunately, it muſt, at the ſame time, be obſerved, that the native officers they employ, are men of no character, and always prone to ſacrifice juſtice to their own private

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rate intereſts; and that as all the details of the office are entruſted to them, and all matters previouſly paſs through their hands, it is perfectly evident, that the benefit which this change was deſigned to operate, will at leaſt be of a partial, if not of a temporary nature. But let us return from this digreſſion, to conclude our account of the origin and purpoſe of the public offices which were inſtituted by our moſt renowned ſovereigns, in the moſt flouriſhing periods of our hiſtory.

The muhtaſib, or clerk of the market, was eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of inſpecting weights and ſcales, of detecting the artifices of corn merchants, and ſcale-men, and of fixing the price of grain and other commodities. He had a large ſalary and ſome fees allowed him; but the fees were very ſmall, and were permitted, with a view to make him active in the exerciſe of his duty, and particularly in preventing diſputes between the buyer and ſeller. He had the power of puniſhing ſuch diſorderly people as raiſed diſturbances in the market-place, as well as any of the ſellers of goods who were inſolent to their cuſtomers. It was likewiſe his buſineſs to protect modeſt women (who are ſometimes under the neceſſity of croſſing the market place,) from any inſult or indecency, either by the hand or voice of the profligate or the thoughtleſs. But the manner in which the buſineſs of this office is now conducted is far different. The muhtaſibs demand perquiſites to which they are not entitled; and in order to ingratiate themſelves with the corn merchants, from whom they are in the habit of receiving large bribes, they do not fix the price of grain at any general ſtandard, but permit the merchants to demand whatever they think proper; ſo that in the ſame city, nay, even in the ſame market-place, the price varies at every ſtall; and with regard to weights and meaſures, the varieties in the ſcales and veſſels, and the rogueries that are practiſed, are inconceivable. In addition to theſe circumſtances of miſconduct, the market-places are filled with diſorderly houſes, and thronged with diſorderly people; at the corner of every ſtreet are to be found drinking ſhops and brothels, the reſort of various deſcriptions of low people, but particularly of native ſailors and ſoldiers, and of ſervants belonging to the Engliſh, who having leſs buſineſs, and much more wages, than any other ſervants in the country, and availing themſelves of the reſpect due to the men in power to whom they belong, they do and ſay whatever they pleaſe without fear of puniſhment. In ſhort, the ſtreets contiguous to the market-places, and within the juriſdiction of the muhtaſibs, are for the moſt part ſo filled with riotous people, that there is no gaining acceſs to the market without being inſulted.

The vacaanuviſs, or remembrancer, the ſavaanuviſs or recorder, and the harcarrah, or ſpy, were appointed to each diſtrict in the empire, for inquiring into, and writing down all the events that happened private as well as public. They lived chiefly in thoſe cities and towns in which the principal officers of government reſided, in order to watch the conduct of thoſe officers; to write down, at an early hour every morning, the occurrences of the preceding day, while they were yet freſh in the memory, and to tranſmit an accurate ſummary of the events of each day to the emperor. There were regular poſts eſtabliſhed throughout the country to carry thoſe diſpatches with

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with the utmoſt ſpeed to court, where a daroga received and inſpected them; after which he reduced them to a ſtill more conciſe form, which compendium, together with the original detail, he preſented to the emperor. But ſuch of thoſe diſpatches as were addreſſed perſonally to the emperor were ſacred, and the ſeal could not be broke by any other hand than his own. By theſe means the emperor was minutely informed of the private affairs of every man in the country. He knew exactly what a man had done to his neighbour, at twelve hundred miles from the court; as well as all the private diſputes, animoſities, and intrigues that occurred amongſt the various claſſes of the people. He alſo knew the intentions of ſuch as had expreſſed a wiſh to petition for a redreſs of grievances, before they had themſelves began to prepare their petition; and the aggrieved had often the ſatisfaction to find their wiſhes anticipated. All the intelligence thus ſecretly communicated, was intended ſolely for the emperor; for if, at any time, it appeared that the remembrancer, or any other public officer, had communicated the information to the princes or grandees of the court, or men in high ſtations, the officer who had been ſo guilty was immediately diſmiſſed from his place. And the emperor Aurungzeeb, in order to prevent any thing of this ſort, appointed an additional officer to aſſiſt in diſcharging the duties of the office of intelligence, and to be a check on the other three officers. This officer was called the khoſiah-naviſs, or ſecret-writer. In ſhort, to obtain a minute and accurate knowledge of the actual ſtate of the country and the people, was amongſt the principal arts of government in former times; and this art was practiſed in the manner above deſcribed, with a view to preſerve order, tranquillity, and good morals throughout the nation. But now this uſeful office is entirely ſuppreſſed, and the conſequences are ſeverely felt. Not only in villages, but in towns and cities, the favourites, the dependents, the menial ſervants, nay, very often the ſpies and emiſſaries of zemindars have inſinuated themſelves into the ſervice of government, and, without fear of puniſhment, make a great many exactions on the inhabitants, and otherwiſe commit a variety of oppreſſive acts. And ſuch is the ſtate of the country, that ſo far from their being an officer to call them to account for their ſhameful conduct, there is not a ſingle perſon of ſufficient authority even to queſtion them about what they are doing.

I ſhall now proceed to examine the important office of foujdar. The foujdars were next in rank to the ſubahdars, or governors of the provinces, and were men of great diſtinction. A foujdar had the charge of one, two, three, and ſometimes four diſtricts. He had under his command ſeveral corps of cavalry, conſiſting of two and three hundred men each. When he viſited the different parts of the province in the exerciſe of his duties, he generally went in ſtate, with the military inſignia of flags, kettle-drums, muſic, and elephants; and he lived in great ſplendour and magnificence in thoſe towns and fortreſſes which were fixed on for his different places of reſidence. The foujdars, and likewiſe the munſubdars, (commanders of munſubs or regiments,) the paymaſters, the remembrancers, the recorders, the ſecret writers, the principal ſpies, the judges of civil and criminal law,

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law, the head prieſts, the clerks of the market, the treaſurers, the ſuperintendant of juſtice, were all the immediate ſervants of the crown, and totally independent of the nizam or ſubahdar, who could not, without the previous knowledge of the emperor, diſmiſs any one of them from the office he held. As to the officers of the Dewanny, they were appointed by the imperial dewan, or receiver-general of the revenues: but the munſubdars, with their ſubordinate officers and paymaſters, belonged to the foujdar's department, by whom all orders were iſſued relative to the clothing, arms, and accoutrements of the troops, as well as with regard to their interior œconomy and diſcipline. It was a principal part of the duty of the foujdar to watch the conduct of the principal zemindars, and take ſpecial care that none of them made large collections of warlike ſtores, particularly iron-cannon and muſkets, and that none of them attempted to repair any old fortifications that lay within their zemindary, or began to erect new ones. And if any zemindar ſhould, by any ſecret means, effect either of theſe purpoſes, the foujdar was to require him to ſurrender his acquiſitions, and, in caſe of diſobedience, to remove him from his zemindary. If he made the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, the foujdar was to chaſtiſe him with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſo that he ſhould thenceforth be compelled to wear the ring of obedience, and the trappings of ſubmiſſion. The refractory zemindar, was not only caſhiered, but was never again ſuffered to reſide in the zemindary. In caſes of very great delinquency, he was ſent in chains to the ſubahdar of the province to which he belonged, or kept in confinement until orders were iſſued about the manner in which he was to be finally diſpoſed of. Theſe orders were put in force in a ſeaſon of tranquillity; and during the execution of them the foujdar was directed to give particular attention to the conduct of the other zemindars of the provinces, leſt they ſhould afford any aſſiſtance to the delinquent. Another part of the foujdar's duty was to prevent any banditti from finding a place of retreat within the diſtricts which he commanded. He was to tread them down wherever he could trace their footſteps, and wherever he found them to put them to the ſword. If any parties of them became very formidable, and aſſembled in ſuch numbers as to reſiſt the power of the foujdar, he was then to call in aſſiſtance to give them battle, and never relax his exertions until they were completely extirpated. By this means no banditti were ever ſeen, as they are at preſent, in the neighbourhood of the different offices of revenue, or near the amlacs given to neceſſitous people; nor did they attempt to plunder, or even to moleſt the tenants and labourers in the farm villages.

With regard to the number of foujdars and their ſtations in former times, I am not minutely informed. The number of foujdars in a province varied according to its ſize. In general, a foujdar had the charge of two or three diſtricts, which were from thence called a foujdarry; and there were from ſix to ten diſtricts in a province. But in the provinces of Azeem-abad and Bengal, there was a foujdar to each diſtrict. In Azeem-abad there were eight circars, (diſtricts) namely Shah-abad and Rhotas, Mongheer and Bahar, Khampurut and Sarum, Tirhut and Haſpur.

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In each of these there was a foujdar stationed, with a body of 500, or from 500 to 1500 cavalry, and a proportional number of officers. Those foujdars used, on any sudden emergency of importance, to leave the command of the foujdarries to their deputies, and repair in a body to the nizam or subahdar. And if the matter was of a hostile nature, and immediately demanded some strong and decisive measures, it was customary to call upon the subahdars of the neighbouring provinces for their advice and assistance, without waiting for an express order from the emperor.

The province of Bengal was divided into ten districts called foujdarries, namely Illaam-abad, Silhut, Rungpur, Rangamutty, Jelal-gurpurana, Raj-mahal, Raj-shahy, Burdwan, Midnapur, and Hooghly. The district of Dacca was considered distinctly, and was governed by a nabob, (or deputy representative of the emperor,) who had the same establishment allowed him as the nizams of the provinces.

It is certain that in these two provinces, (Azam-abad and Bengal) the foujdars and the officers under them were greatly attached to their duty; and by their good government the people of God, as well as the Hindus, enjoyed comfort and tranquillity; and satisfied with the kindness and munificence of the emperor, they prayed for the stability of his power, and the length of his life; they repeated with ardour the praises of his clemency; knew no enemies but his enemies, and no friends but his friends; and in his ease and happiness consisted their own. They were cordially and zealously attached both to the person and to the government of their monarch.—Hence the empire was in the highest degree populous and flourishing, and the inhabitants contented and happy. But for these sixty years past, it has been on the decline: the emperors became negligent, and by consequence, the subahdars became refractory and rebellious; so that every nizam has now assumed the title and dignities of an independent prince. Whilst the nizams, however, continued to act upon those rules and maxims of government, which had long been established by the Mogul emperors, their dominions were in good condition, and their subjects lived contented and happy. Such was the state of the country when Aliverdi Khan became possessed of the province of Bengal; and, under his government, notwithstanding his failings, the country was considerably improved. He had a number of relations and friends, to whom he gave offices of trust and importance; but they were men of great abilities and merit, and they studied the welfare of the people entrusted to their care. This prince, tho' naturally of a warlike and ambitious turn of mind, was endowed with great benignity of disposition, which softened that penetrating sagacity for which he was distinguished. Hence the useful rigour of his government was tempered with so much mildness, that he seemed like a father living in his family, surrounded by his children and relations. If any of his relations, whom he had appointed to a high office, was guilty of negligence or oppression, he never failed to dismiss him; for he was studious of shewing the utmost impartiality, and of distinguishing those only whose conduct gave them an indisputable title to his favour. Very different in this respect from his predecessor, Ser-afraz Khan, who suffered himself to be swayed by religious prejudices. Ali-verdi Khan looked

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looked upon all his subjects to be creatures of the same God: he promoted Hindus according to their merits, and placed them on a footing with Mussulmen. In fact, he made Hindus his ministers, and advanced many of them to the military dignity of the command of 5000 horse, as well as to other situations of the utmost importance. It is not therefore surprising, that the Hindus served him and his family with an examplary zeal and fidelity. Such conduct was founded in reason as well as in policy; for a prince being in reality the representative of God, all his acts should be conformable to the wishes of the Deity; and as he, for all-wise, but inscrutable purposes, chooses to admit a diversity of casts and religions amongst his creatures, and to cherish them with an equal hand, so it is the duty of kings and rulers to imitate his goodness, by allowing an universal toleration in religious sentiments, and in abstaining from all partialities.

In the reign of Ali-verdi Khan the land-rents of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, were never drawn from, but circulated in these provinces; which circumstance principally contributed to the very flourishing condition which they then attained. During this long and happy period, the inhabitants were extremely attached to the government; and peace, plenty, and good order, every where prevailed. This profound and universal tranquillity was never disturbed, except by the occasional insurrection of a refractory zemindar, at some remote corner of the province.

This state of things continued until the death of Ali-verdi Khan, and his three nephews, after which Seraj-ud-Dowlah was elevated to the throne. This prince was equally proud and ignorant, and his fate is abundantly known. His successor, Mir-jaafer Khan, was cunning, but destitute of true wisdom; treacherous, and without any religion. His administration has been severely felt. It was these two men, with their successors, that gave a total overthrow to those institutions and maxims of civil policy, to which the inhabitants of this country had been so long accustomed, and which had so much tended to advance their prosperity.

Under the English government the artful zemindars have insinuated themselves into the favour of their masters, and have thereby acquired a degree of power alike incompatible with the nature of their office, and with former institutes, by which it was held as an undeviating rule to keep them low. But now these people act in whatever manner they think proper. They quarrel and fight to decide their differences, without appealing to the authority of the law; they punish and put to death the ryots, whilst the foujdar dares not interfere even as a mediator, much less chastise those petty tyrants for their excessive cruelty and oppression, or attempt to dispossess them of the property of those whom they have plundered. It is to such men the English give encouragement; from them they receive their information respecting the state of the country. Hence the foujdarry office is now exercised in such manner as to be a grievance, rather than a benefit. The English have indeed appointed foujdars every where in their dominions; and in imitation of the ancient princes of the country, bestow on them large sums of money, but to little purpose; for these appointments having only served to multiply

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multiply oppreſſion, and to haraſs the inhabitants of thoſe large towns in which they reſide. Thoſe new foujdars make it their ſole buſineſs to circumvent unwary people, to involve them in diſputes, and then to accuſe them of improper conduct, in order to exact from them a few rupees. This they do every day, without any fear of being called to account, being in the intereſt of Mohmad Reza Khan, and knowing moreover, how little the Engliſh care about what concerns the happineſs of us poor natives, as well as how difficult it is to find acceſs to the governor or to any of the men in authority, ſo as to converſe with them, and repreſent our grievances. Hence thoſe foujdars carry on their iniquities in the moſt perfect ſecurity, tormenting the people of God, by every artifice and oppreſſion they can contrive. Such duty as the foujdars now perform was heretofore executed by the cutwalls, with credit to themſelves, and advantage to the public. But now every city affords employment for a foujdar, on whom government confers a number of pompous titles. The foujdars thus appointed have rendered themſelves odious and contemptible, by practiſing every art of oppreſſion and injuſtice. The foujdar's duties, as eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh, conſiſts only in ſuppreſſing banditti and thieves; in preventing people from committing treſpaſſes on each other; and in enforcing the laws reſpecting fornication. In the reign of Ali-verdi Khan, as well as in the former better times of this country, all theſe duties were executed by the cutwalls in the cities, and by the aumils in the villages: now the difference between the preſent foujdars, and the cutwalls of former times, conſiſts in this, that the latter dared not commit any acts of oppreſſion, for fear of the puniſhment which was ſure to await them; whereas the former, proud of their dignities and connexions, and ſenſible of the neglect of the Engliſh in theſe matters, dread no conſequence; but make the moſt flagrant exactions, and inſult and tyrannize over men of anoient families and high deſcent. If at any time complaints are made, they are huſhed by Mohmad Reza Khan, who, fearful of accuſations being made againſt himſelf, and of the conſequent diſmiſſion of his ſubſtitutes, practiſes ſo many artifices, and ſacrifices ſo much money, that the injured people never obtain redreſs.

Now that we have explained ſuccinctly the principal civil inſtitutions of Hinduſtan, and ſhewn the purpoſes to which they were applied by our ancient legiſlators, it is our duty, as hiſtorians, to obſerve the manner in which thoſe inſtitutions have been perverted, and to point out, with the candour of a faithful witneſs, ſuch parts of the Engliſh government as differ eſſentially from them. It is to that difference we muſt recur whenever we attempt to account for the perpetual failure which has attended all the endeavours of the Engliſh to reſtore order and tranquillity. To that alone we muſt look for the origin of thoſe diſſentions in which the country is at preſent embroiled. The juſtice of this remark is confirmed by the teſtimony of the moſt enlightened natives of Hinduſtan. May our ſtrictures be inſtrumental in producing a favourable change in public affairs, and in relieving the much oppreſſed people of God.

Since the conqueſt made by the Engliſh of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, it would ſeem

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that this country has had no maſter at all; for in fact there is no individual ſovereign to whom the country can be properly ſaid to belong. We are told indeed, that theſe provinces are the property of the Engliſh nation at large; but ſtill it muſt be acknowledged that the Company are the governors, and the Company is not only a numerous body of men, but the members of it are not permanent. On the contrary they are conſtantly changing, as any one that chooſes may become a member, by inveſting a certain ſum of money in the funds of the Company. Beſides, there is no ſupreme head or ruler, permanently fixed, to whom the Company's ſervants in this country ſhould be obliged to hold themſelves accountable. The directors, as they are called, who conduct the Company's affairs, are changed every year. It is not therefore ſurpriſing, that in the ſhort period of twenty years, there have been no leſs than ſix perſons appointed to the government of Bengal. No man who is appointed to this government is certain of his ſtay; nor is he indeed veſted with full powers; he cannot put a ſingle act of government in force without previouſly conſulting with four men, who collectively are called the council. Theſe men are perpetually at variance with each other, and are in a continual ſtate of ſuſpence, about being removed from their places to make room for others. Thus, theſe provinces being without any fixt maſter, muſt neceſſarily, like an untenanted manſion, fall into decay. Nor is there much proſpect that the affairs of government will be better managed by the Engliſh governors who may be ſent here in future; for, as from the nature of their appointment they can have no intereſt in the welfare of the country, it is no way probable that they will forego their own perſonal advantage for the benefit of the ſtate. Governor Haſtings cannot with any propriety be mentioned as an exception to this, as it is certain that all the good things which he has done, were the ſuggeſtions of his own enlightened mind,—they aroſe from the natural force of his genius. His acts were his own. Having aſcertained what was right, he ſtedfaſtly purſued it, unmoved by the conſtant oppoſition which he met with from the members of the council, and the rancorous enmity which ſome of them ſhewed towards him. But this inſtance proves nothing againſt my aſſertion, for ſuch a man as Mr. Haſtings is very rarely ſeen. It will ſtill be found that, in conſequence of the power given to the members of the council, and of the diſſentions to which it gives birth, many wiſe meaſures and wholeſome regulations will be thwarted as they have been heretofore; and the operations of government impeded and rendered weak from want of concert and deciſion.

The mode of proceeding which has been deſcribed, is not confined to the ſupreme government at Calcutta; it is imitated in all the ſubordinate departments. The ſix diſtricts into which the Engliſh have divided the country, are each of them governed by five or ſix perſons*, who are perpetually diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, and

* At the time of which our author writes, the Engliſh dominions in Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, were divided, as he ſtates, into ſix diſtricts. Each of theſe diſtricts was governed by a council, conſiſting of a chief and four members. The extreme

a great part of their time is occupied in endleſs diſputes. Beſides, having no hope of keeping their places long, their attention is turned to their private concerns, rather than to the public affairs. It is moreover a very material defect, that if theſe five or ſix perſons differ

treme inconveniency attending this mode of carrying on the interior government of the diſtricts, which our author, with equal accuracy and juſtice, points out and condemns, was ſeverely felt, and amply demonſtrated in the delays of public buſineſs, and the conſequent diſcontent amongſt the natives which took place. Theſe provincial councils managed the collection of the revenues, the police, and the judicial magiſtracy of their reſpective diſtricts. As collectors and officers of police, they obſerved a general conformity to the eſtabliſhed uſages of Hinduſtan; but in their judicial capacity they determined civil cauſes between the natives, and adjudged both Hindu and Muſſulman criminals according to an erroneous and ill-underſtood interpretation of the Mahommedan juriſprudence, which they mingled with ſome of the maxims of the common law of England, and modified by the practice of Engliſh courts of juſtice. Upon the abolition of the provincial councils, various modes of governing the diſtricts were ſucceſſively adopted, which it would greatly exceed the limits of a note to enumerate and explain. We ſhall only ſtate, therefore, that, in 1793, it was finally determined by parliament, that our Muſſulman and Hindu ſubjects in Hinduſtan ſhould be ruled by their own reſpective laws; that is to ſay, that Muſſulmans ſhould, in all caſes, whether civil or criminal, be governed by the Mahommedan juriſprudence; but that the Hindu ſhould be governed by their own laws in matters of property, and by the Mahommedan law in criminal matters; becauſe, from their being ſubject to it for many centuries, it had acquired amongſt them a preſcriptive authority. In conſequence of this determination, the revenue and judicial departments, which had heretofore been conducted by the ſame officers, were now ſeparated, as much as the peculiar cuſtoms of the country would admit. A ſupreme native court, entitled the Nizamut Adawlut, for the trial of civil and criminal cauſes, which had been before eſtabliſhed, and which had been twice ſhifted from Murſhadabad to Calcutta, was now fixed at the latter place, and the governor-general, and the members of the ſupreme council, were directed to ſit as judges, aſſiſted by the head cazy, or Mahommedan judge, and two mufties, or Mahommedan prieſts, and a pundit, or Hindu doctor of laws. There was likewiſe eſtabliſhed, at Calcutta, a ſupreme court of revenue, entitled the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, at which the governor-general and members of council alſo ſit as judges, aſſiſted by native judges and officers of revenue. In each of the diſtricts, ſubordinate courts of revenue were eſtabliſhed, at which one of the Company's covenanted ſervants, in his capacity of collector of the diſtrict, and his deputy and regiſter, ſit as judges, aſſiſted by native officers. In all matters not exceeding 500 rupees, the deciſions of this court are definitive; but beyond that ſum the party may appeal to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. A court of magiſtracy, or Zillah Adawlut, was alſo eſtabliſhed in every diſtrict, at which one of the Company's covenanted ſervants preſides as magiſtrate of the diſtrict, aſſiſted by an Engliſh deputy and regiſter, and Mahommedan and Hindu law officers. In its civil capacity this court judges of all matters of property under 100 rupees, without appeal: and in its criminal capacity it iſſues warrants to apprehend all diſturbers of the peace, whom, in ſlight offences, the judges are empowered to puniſh either by impriſonment, or corporeal chaſtiſement; but whom in capital offences they only examine and commit to priſon for trial by the court of circuit. Courts of circuit and appeal were eſtabliſhed on the ſame principles as the Nizamut Adawlut. Theſe courts take cognizance of all civil cauſes of magnitude, and capital offences in the diſtricts, and hear appeals from the Zillah courts. The circuits are made every ſix months, and commence every March and October. From the courts of circuit, appeals are open to the Nizamut Adawlut, in ſuits for property exceeding the ſum of 1000 rupees; and in criminal caſes, when the offence amounts to felony, an appeal lies to the Governor-general in council.

From what has been ſaid, ſuch of our readers as are unacquainted with Indian affairs, will be ſatisfied that the grievances complained of by our author, in regard to the mode of adminiſtering the internal affairs of the diſtricts, were entirely removed by the act of parliament of 1793, which eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of government founded on the

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fer eſſentially on a matter of great importance, they are obliged to refer the buſineſs to the governor and council, and to wait for their deciſion reſpecting it. Hence the governor and council are compelled to give their attention to a vaſt variety of affairs. Their time is divided between watching over their dominion in Hinduſtan, and anſwering very long letters from England; between guarding againſt their national enemies abroad, and providing againſt private enemies at home; between ſettling the diſputes of the ſubordinate officers in the diſtricts, and diſcuſſing their own; and, finally, between examining their public accounts, providing for the Company's mercantile purchaſes, and receiving as ſovereigns the vaſt revenues of theſe extenſive provinces. Theſe avocations, with their various and almoſt endleſs details, leave no time to attend to the important buſineſs of regulating the internal affairs of the country. The repreſentations made to the governor and council by the officers of the diſtricts are anſwered only as the opportunity of ſufficient leiſure occurs; ſo that theſe matters often remain at a ſtand for years together, and are ultimately determined according to principles of perſonal convenience, and are executed in the eaſieſt mode, whether right or wrong. If theſe officers of the diſtricts were appointed for a fixed period of time, and that of ſufficient length to enable them not only to acquire a knowledge of the cuſtoms of the country, but to exerciſe that knowledge in conducting their buſineſs; and if alſo a heavy reſponſibility were attached to them, there is no doubt but that they would conſider their reſpective diſtricts as their own property, and would find that, by executing the affairs of government with fidelity and diſpatch, they beſt promoted their own intereſts. But as the provincial councils are at preſent conſtituted, the members are ſolely occupied in guarding againſt mutual ſuſpicions, and in making mutual accuſations. Hence they are eternally at variance.

It appears, by ancient writings, that from the moſt remote times, when Hinduſtan has been invaded by foreign armies, the conquerors always divided into two diſtinct bodies, whoſe views were entirely different. One of theſe, ſtimulated by a ferocious avarice, overrun the country, murdered the inhabitants, plundered every thing they could carry off, and then returned with the ſpoils to their native land: the other formed ſettlements, and turned their conqueſts into an inheritance. This party, therefore, employed all their power in ſecuring the intereſts of their new ſubjects, and in thereby promoting the proſperity of the country. They mixed and intermarried * with the natives, and

the broadeſt principles of juſtice, and which, though erroneous in a few parts, is, upon the whole, admirably adapted to the peculiar character of the inhabitants of Hinduſtan, and to their variouſly complicated civil polities. It has ſecured to them the peaceful enjoyment of many legal rights and privileges, which their anceſtors never poſſeſſed, either under the Mogul government, or the Hindu monarchies.—T.

* The intermarriages here ſpoken of were, however, confined to the poorer claſſes of Hindus, who ſold their female children to the Muſſulmans, and who, after educating them in the principles of the Koran, married them at the age of twelve. It is a fact perfectly well aſcertained, that few or none of the higher claſſes of the Hindus were ever converted to the Mahommedan faith. No intermarriages, therefore, could have taken place between theſe claſſes and the Muſſulmans; and certainly no Hindu man ever married

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thus, in a manner, became naturalized. The progeny arising from those marriages naturally learned the language and manners of the country, and treated the Hindus as brothers and fellow subjects. Hence, notwithstanding the rigid notions of the Hindus in regard to their religion and customs, and their originally considering the Mussulmans as profane, these prejudices were gradually softened, and the two nations happily coalesced. Friendship was established between them; they both considered themselves as children of the same parent, and all yielded a willing obedience to the prince. This attachment to the sovereign was mutual; for the emperor, looking upon the country as his patrimony, treated all his subjects with kindness, not only from interest, but affection*; being sensible that, by such treatment, they would all unite in repelling a foreign enemy. Wise princes had always in mind the precept of Sadi—"*The subject is a tree; if you cherish it, it will yield you fruit to the full measure of your wishes.*" Those princes, therefore, persuaded that the strength and stability of their government and power depended not only on the numbers, but on the comfort and ease of their subjects, and the cultivation of the land, exerted all their influence to render them happy. Hence their dominions became flourishing, and the greatest part of their subjects submissive, wealthy, and contented. Sadi says—"*Be kind to the subject, and fear nothing from foreign wars; for, when a king is just, the love of his subjects is for him a mighty army.*"

I have myself had opportunities of seeing the consequences of good and bad government. At the time when the Shah-Zada-Aaly-Gober, who is now emperor under the name of Shah-Allum, was carrying on war against the English nation in the plains of Azimabad; as soon as it was certain that the emperor intended to march to Azimabad, there was not a single inhabitant who, on account of the good government he enjoyed under that prince's family, did not pray for victory and prosperity to him. Although the inhabitants had received no benefits from him, they seemed, nevertheless, to have but one heart and one voice on the occasion. But when he arrived amongst them, and they experienced from his profligate generals and disorderly troops, the most shameless acts of extortion and oppression; whilst, on the other hand, they observed the strict discipline and good conduct of the English army, the officers of which did not suffer a blade of grass to be spoiled, and no kind of injury or molestation to be done to the feebleſt peasant; then, indeed, the sentiments of the people changed, and the loyalty which they once bore the emperor was transferred to the English: so that when Shah-Allum made his second and third expeditions into those parts, they loaded him with imprecations,

ried a Mussulman woman. But any Hindu man or woman marrying a Mussulman, must of necessity have abjured the religion of Brahma, and adopted that of Mahommed. On the other hand, no Mahommedan could become a Hindu, as the Hindus admit no proselytes to their faith. Hence it is evident that the marriages alluded to by our author took place between wealthy Mussulmans and the females of the poorer class, whom they had purchased and proselytised.—*T.*

* That some of the Mussulman princes treated their subjects humanely is true; but that affection had any share in producing that treatment, no one but a Mussulman will believe.—*T.*

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precations, and prayed for victory to the Engliſh. Yet now the high opinion which they then entertained of the Engliſh is likewiſe changed; becauſe they conceive that theſe our new rulers are totally indifferent to the intereſts and happineſs of the people of Hinduſtan, and ſuffer them to be plundered and oppreſſed by their native officers and dependants.

Amongſt the various grievances complained of, one of the greateſt is, that the head harcarrah, or ſpy, belonging to Engliſh officers of rank, is confidentially employed in all their moſt important tranſactions, although he be generally a perſon of the loweſt and vileſt claſs in the community. A mean man, thus elevated, is naturally fond of ſhewing his power in the moſt inſolent manner. When he is ſent with orders to natives of the oldeſt and moſt illuſtrious families, he behaves with the utmoſt haughtineſs and contumely. Should thoſe people, who are ſo inſulted, humiliate themſelves ſo far as to endeavour to gain the favour of the harcarrah, and make him a valuable preſent, he at once looks upon himſelf as their equal, and walks into their inner apartments. If, on the other hand, they reſent the indignity with which they are treated, and wait on his maſter, in order to make a complaint, they are kept in the hall amidſt a crowd of low people for hours together, and at laſt diſmiſſed without being admitted to his preſence. This head harcarrah, being in a ſort of confederacy with the moonſhee (Perſian writer) and the dewan (or private treaſurer,) as well as with all the native dependants of the houſe, gives what turn he pleaſes to the buſineſs of a petitioner. This grievance is not merely to be found in a particular houſe—it exiſts in all. Every Engliſhman in office has ſuch a houſehold, and ſuch a ſet of people about him; and as he thinks himſelf entitled to aſſume over the natives a ſway as abſolute as that of a ſovereign, the grievance is very widely ſpread. Hence it will readily be conceived, how little probability there is that the people of Hinduſtan will yield a willing obedience to ſuch a number of maſters, with ſuch numerous trains of ſervants and dependants.

The ſecond great cauſe which contributes to prevent a cordial reconciliation between the Engliſh and the people of this country, is their differing in language, as well as in almoſt all the habitudes and cuſtoms of life. The tongue, which is the key to the treaſures of the heart and mind, and which ſerves to ſtrengthen the bands of ſociety, is deprived of its office between the Hinduſtanees and the Engliſh. Very few of the latter underſtand the language of their ſubjects*, and ſtill fewer of the former underſtand a ſingle word of Engliſh. Hence a number of Hinduſtanees, tranſacting buſineſs with their Engliſh rulers, reſemble ſo many pictures ſet up againſt the wall. They certainly are unable to have any diſtinct communication of ideas: for the moonſhee, who is employed as interpreter on ſuch occaſions, explains to his maſter the words of

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* This was true at the time our author wrote. But for theſe ten years back the greateſt part of the Company's officers, both civil and military, talk the Hinduſtanee language, which is the vernacular dialect of the country; and all the gentlemen who are appointed to public offices of truſt, are converſant with the Perſian, the language in which our correſpondence with Aſiatic courts is carried on, and all the political affairs of the country are tranſacted.—*T.*

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the petitioner in which ever way he thinks proper; and beſides, the various explanations are attended with ſo much confuſion, that it generally ends in diſcontent and diſſatisfaction on both ſides. Now this difficulty might eaſily be obviated, if the Engliſhmen appointed to offices of public truſt were obliged to remain a ſufficient time in the country to acquire a knowledge of its language and cuſtoms, as well as of the characters of all the principal individuals in the reſpective diſtricts which they govern.—A circumſtance may be mentioned in this place, which tends to heighten our grievances. Artificers and handicraftſmen are not now encouraged by the Engliſh as they uſed to be heretofore by the officers and grandees under the emperor. It is only carpenters and ſilverſmiths that find much employment amongſt the Engliſh gentlemen; and theſe, indeed, are more called for, and are better paid than they were formerly. But a great number of artificers, belonging to other trades, are reduced to diſtreſs from the want of that encouragement from government which they uſed to receive; and many of them are driven to the neceſſity of begging, and, when they find no relief in that way, to thieving and robbery. Then the officers of the foujdarry are let looſe upon them, to torture them with every cruel act which ingenuity can deviſe. Theſe officers, under the appearance, and with the forms of juſtice, were guilty of the moſt flagrant crimes, confounding theſe indigent wretches, who only begged, with thoſe who robbed, and inflicting, with an indiſcriminate hand, the moſt cruel puniſhments. Thus the foujdarry, which was inſtituted for the protection of the people, has been converted into an inſtrument of tyranny and extortion. Thanks be to God! that ſince Mr. Haſtings has taken the foujdarry from the Hinduſtanees, and placed it under the ſuperintendance of Engliſhmen, the violences here complained of have ceaſed.

The third cauſe which obſtructs the welfare of the country is, the endleſs changes of the perſons appointed to offices of great truſt and importance. It was the cuſtom of the princes of this country to inquire into a man's capacity, knowledge, and integrity, before he was appointed to an office; and he was not confirmed in that office until his fitneſs for it was ſatisfactorily proved. But this cuſtom is not attended to by the Engliſh. They appoint men to offices on powerful recommendation, or according to ſeniority of rank, without examining or conſidering whether they be qualified to fill them. Some young men, thus appointed, have, from experience and their own natural penetration, acquired a competent knowledge of the duties of their ſtations. But a man has no ſooner made himſelf acquainted with his duty, than he is removed from his office to ſome place of greater truſt, of the buſineſs of which he is totally ignorant, and is ſucceeded by a young man as inexperienced and as uninformed as he was when he received his firſt appointment: ſo that by this means public offices are always filled by incapable perſons, and no one is in his proper place. In addition to this, the Engliſh only continue a few years in Hinduſtan, and then return to their native country; and whilſt they are here, they ſeem to conſider it as a divine obligation to amaſs large ſums of money, and carry them to England. Such practices have an inevitable tendency to ruin the country,

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country, and to prevent it from ever regaining its former flouriſhing condition. When the Engliſh firſt traded to Hinduſtan, they every year brought gold and ſilver into the country in order to purchaſe merchandize; and this ſpecie, joining that which was already here, produced an abundant circulation of money, and greatly promoted the general welfare.

Beſides what has been mentioned, in reſpect to the appointments to public offices, it ſometimes happens that, after a man has held an office for ſeveral years, and has acquired a perfect knowledge of the duties belonging to it, he is ſuddenly diſplaced, to make room for a perſon who comes from England with ſtrong recommendations. The man of experience, diſguſted and indignant at his merits being thus overlooked and ſet aſide, quits the country, and returns to England. The youth who ſucceeds him in his office, no leſs ignorant of men and things, than of the language and cuſtoms of this country, is immediately ſurrounded by a ſet of cunning and artful Hinduſtanees, whom he retains in his ſervice, who miſlead him in every part of his duty, and who get every thing done according to their own wiſhes. Hence follows the abolition of all the regulations which his predeceſſor had been at ſo much pains to eſtabliſh. If the man of experience chooſes, as is ſometimes the caſe, to hold his office, in conjunction with one or two ignorant young men, it is, nevertheleſs, of little avail; for public meaſures are diſcuſſed and decided by a council, in which his advice is little attended to, and in which the majority of voices prevail. It was thus with the ſupreme council in Calcutta, when the Governor-general, Mr. Haſtings, was overpowered by General Clavering and his party.

The fourth cauſe is the extreme tardineſs with which the proceedings of the governing council are carried on. This council, like the one called together by the ſecond kalif, for the purpoſe of chooſing a ſucceſſor, is an aſſembly of men where all differences of opinion are decided by the majority of the members, and when the votes are equal, the governor, from his high ſtation, has the power of two votes, and the ſide he votes with prevails. But that method, though often advantageous, (for in many caſes conſultation is productive of much good,) has, nevertheleſs, its inconveniences. It is uſually an underſtood rule in all aſſemblies of this ſort, that the member who adviſes ſhould have proved himſelf worthy of confidence, and alſo that each member ſhould diveſt himſelf of all partialities. But theſe rules are not attended to in the Engliſh council. Beſides, ſuch councils ſeem neceſſary only on occaſions of extraordinary importance, where particular caution and deliberation is required; but in the minutiæ of public buſineſs, and in carrying on the details of executive government, they are not only uſeleſs, but detrimental. Such a council is productive of a vaſt deal of confuſion, and often impedes the wheels of government, when they ought to move with the utmoſt poſſible celerity. According to the rules eſtabliſhed in the Engliſh council at Calcutta, all complaints and petitions that are preſented are taken into conſideration on ſpecial days, when written anſwers are given to them in the form of decrees: but it ſo happens that very few of the petitioners receive their anſwers on the ſame day that their petition is laid before the council.

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The delay, in this reſpect, is owing partly to the multiplicity of public buſineſs, and partly to the diverſity of opinions and the diſſentions which conſtantly prevail in the council. Very frequently two members will eſpouſe one ſide of a cauſe, and two others will defend the oppoſite ſide, merely becauſe one of their native dependants has conceived ſome enmity towards the petitioner. Hence it will be evident to every ſenſible man, that a right deciſion becomes difficult, if not impoſſible; and that the length of time which is occupied in theſe diſcuſſions is extremely prejudicial to the poor people of this country: for, if a petitioner at laſt obtains a redreſs of his grievances, it is of no avail to him, as he loſes more by the time that is conſumed in his attendance on the council than he gains by their deciſion in his favour. Formerly there was ſtationed, in every diſtrict, a chief, a man of knowledge, abilities, and experience, who determined with an abſolute authority in every matter of this ſort. On the firſt complaint of a poor man, his caſe was immediately examined and decided on. In the courſe of a day, or at moſt of three days, an order was iſſued by the chief, expreſſive of his determination on the ſubject of the complaint which had been made to him; ſo that theſe things were diſpatched with regularity and expedition, and poor men were not kept in ſuſpence, as they now are, from one year to another, and ultimately diſappointed in their hopes of obtaining juſtice, and thereby ruined in their affairs.

In the firſt years of the Engliſh government in this country, when there was but one chief to apply to for a redreſs of particular grievances, and but one able deputy, ſuch as Rajah-Shatab-Ray, diſtributive juſtice was adminiſtered amongſt the natives with diſpatch, at leaſt, if not in the beſt manner; and although thoſe times were not free from partialities and private views, yet the people were not ſubject to the miſeries of endleſs delays, occaſioned by endleſs altercations amongſt their rulers. I remember on the diſmiſſion of Rajah-Shatab-Ray, when Mr. George Vanſittart was appointed to the chief command, I took the liberty to repreſent to him, "that Rajah-Shatab-Ray uſed to employ one half of each day, and one third of each night, in hearing and anſwering petitions, by which ſtrenuous aſſiduity he diſpatched a vaſt deal of buſineſs, and gave univerſal ſatisfaction." I added—"That the people, deprived of ſuch a man, would naturally be anxious to know in what manner the buſineſs would be conducted in future." He replied, "That not being accuſtomed, like Rajah-Shatab-Ray, to ſit in public amongſt hundreds of people, nor to liſten to complaints and to determine controverſies, he was fearful that he would not be able to comprehend one half of the matters which would be brought before him; but that thoſe who had complaints to make to government might apply privately to him, as he conceived that, in the ſilence of a cloſet, he would be more collected, and, therefore, better able to give a correct deciſion." Upon this I requeſted that orders ſhould be given to the ſentinels that all petitioners ſhould be admitted freely to the preſence of the governor, and that the chobdars ſhould be inſtructed to introduce them. Directions to this effect were accordingly given, and ſtrictly adhered to: for Mr. Vanſittart was a man of excellent ſenſe, much penetration, and great activity

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vity both of body and mind. He never acted on the advices given to him by his moonshee or his dewan; nor, indeed, did he implicitly follow the advice of any one, until he had thoroughly investigated the whole subject to which it related.

This state of things did not last long, and people began to suffer again from the delays in the administration of distributive justice; when Mr. Law arrived in the country, whose conciliating disposition wiped the tears from the eyes of the people of God. But since the establishment of the council, these affairs are worse managed than ever. It is a very difficult matter now to obtain a candid hearing to one's complaint. Their tedious mode of proceeding is beyond the patience of any one. After the dismission of the Rajah-Shatab-Ray, at the festival ending the Ramazan, or month of fasts, the principal men of the city, who used, on that day, to offer their nuzzers (presents) to Rajah-Shatab-Ray, were obliged to pay that mark of respect to every one of the five members of council. Mr. Vansittart, on seeing this, observed openly, that those who used hitherto to present one mohur, or one rupee only, would now be under the necessity of presenting five, which was more than many could afford. He, therefore, consulted on the subject with some intelligent natives, and published an edict, directing that, at the next festival, which was the Korban or Sacrifice, the people should offer nuzzers to the governor only, and that that would be considered as sufficient. But, notwithstanding this prohibition, there were some of the members who thought it was doing no good to leave money in the pockets of an Hindustanee, and who consequently continued to take the nuzzers. And many poor people made these voluntary offerings, who were ill able to spare them, lest they should incur the displeasure of the members of council by withholding them.

The fifth cause is, the great difference betwixt the English way of giving public audience to suitors, and the Hindustanee mode of receiving them in open durbar*, which has been immemorially observed in this country. Our illustrious sovereigns of Hindustan, those renowned princes who were studious of justice and equity, used to make a regular distribution of their time, and to allot certain days in the week, and certain hours in each day, for their different occupations. In the division of their time, two important things were principally considered: the first was the examination and regulation of the affairs of the revenue and executive government; the second was the deciding upon the rights of individuals in litigated questions, and the administering of distributive justice to the people. For each of these purposes two days in the week were set apart, and in these days they appeared publicly in great pomp and grandeur: they were surrounded at some distance by their ministers and principal officers of the court: and in that manner they gave a general audience, where every suitor might present his petition himself, and speak to his sovereign with perfect freedom. And as those princes did not reside continually

* Soon after our author wrote, Mr. Hastings revived the custom of holding public durbars, which has been continued by all his successors. These levees are held once a week at Calcutta.—*T.*

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tinually in one place, but made every year a circuit of the country, they were enabled to hear with their own ears, and see with their own eyes, the actual circumstances of their subjects, and condition of the state.

But matters are very differently regulated now. The English rulers dislike appearing in public durbar, and when they do so, they betray the utmost uneasiness, impatience, and even anger, on finding themselves surrounded by crowds, and on hearing the clamorous complaints of those who are aggrieved and distressed. Hence it follows as a natural consequence, that they are totally ignorant of the real state of the country. Hence multitudes of people are debarred from seeing their rulers; and are neither treated with any of that benignity, nor supported with any of that munificence, which might be expected from men, who now sit on the throne of kings.

"The only condition," says SADI, "on which a ruler can live happy, is, that he be completely master of the circumstances of his subjects."

If our English rulers, in imitation of those to whom they have succeeded, would set apart certain portions of their time for the laudable purposes I have mentioned, and, at stated periods, give audience to all people indiscriminately, it is certain they would gain the hearts of their subjects. It is true, that this would be attended with expense, and at first with some trouble, from the English being wholly unaccustomed to such a practice; yet they would be amply repaid, in the numerous and reciprocal benefits which would result from it. May God grant therefore, as a favour to them, as well as to us, they would attend to this recommendation, so that they might become acquainted with the true character of the inhabitants of this country! By this means, too, they would acquire a personal knowledge of individuals, be able to appreciate their abilities and merits, and appoint them to offices accordingly. It is only by having public audiences, that princes and rulers can, in this country, observe the characters and dispositions of men. No accurate judgement can be formed of any person, until his behaviour has been noticed under various circumstances, and until one has heard him converse on a variety of subjects; especially in the present times, when such specious appearances are assumed, and when men are so much exposed to envy, artifice, and slander.

The sixth cause is, that the English government engrosses the whole commerce of the country, and the native inhabitants have been thereby deprived of many of those advantages which they formerly enjoyed. Our ancient princes, after the tumult of conquest had subsided, and they had resolved to make this country their home, appropriated to themselves the whole of the conquered territories, the revenues, and tributes*. When they had made this appropriation,

* That the Mussulman sovereigns of Hindustan considered themselves the sole proprietors of all the land in their dominions, is here unequivocally asserted. In truth, this fact has never been denied by any Asiatic writer. It was never called in question, until after the English conquest of Bengal, when the artful and interested zemindars, taking advantage of the disturbances which prevailed, and of a disposition on the part of the English to favour their claims, as being analogous to the state of landed property in Europe, asserted that they were the actual proprietors of their zemindaries, which

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priation, they eſtabliſhed a large body of penſioners, on whom they beſtowed jaghiers, altumgahs, and amlacs. The jaghiers and altumgahs were granted to the younger princes of the imperial family, and to diſtinguiſhed military commanders, whoſe valour and achievements had contributed to complete the ſubjugation of the country. The amlacs were ſet apart for religious and charitable purpoſes.—Thoſe that were conſecrated to religious uſes, that is to the maintenance of prieſts, were called *vaofi;* thoſe that were given in charity as a proviſion for decayed families of diſtinction, and for aged phyſicians who had benefited ſociety by the great cures they had performed, were denominated *aimas.* Beſides theſe proviſions, large ſums of money were diſtributed yearly amongſt the induſtrious peaſantry, manufacturers, and artificers of all ſorts, to encourage them in their uſeful labours. This bounty was not confined to the Muſſulmans, but was beſtowed alike on all the various tribes of people, and all the religious ſects that exiſted within the imperial dominions. Various means of livelihood, and many roads to preferment were open to the people. From eight hundred thouſand to a million of men, were kept in conſtant pay, in the ſervice of the emperor, either under his immediate command, or that of the ſubahdars, (the governors of the provinces,) and they all enjoyed a comfortable livelihood. As to the trade and commerce of the country, it was left open to the whole world.

Now compare all this with the ſtate of the country under the government of the Engliſh. In conſequence of the undue power aſſumed by the zemindars, and of the oppreſſions practiſed by the native officers employed by the Engliſh government, a very ſmall number of men poſſeſs jaghiers and altumgahs. With reſpect to charity lands, great abuſes prevailed; but thanks be to God! there is now, in this country, ſuch a man as Governor Haſtings, who is reforming theſe abuſes; and the poor people who have ſuffered by them will at laſt be rewarded.

A great many different deſcriptions of people are now idle, owing to the Engliſh government not finding ſufficient employment for them. The province of Bengal, for inſtance, uſed to feed and pay upwards of 50,000 cavalry, to which ſeveral thouſand merchants were attached, for the purpoſe of ſupplying the army with neceſſaries, by the ſale of which they earned a certain income. But now there is no cavalry eſtabliſhment whatever: and the foot ſoldiers, maintained by government, are comparatively very few. Hence a vaſt number of men, who uſed to perform military ſervice, are deprived of a livelihood. The merchants and artificers too, who uſed to follow the army, are without employment. In ſome particular trades, thouſands of artificers, with their families, are reduced to beggary, in conſequence of the Engliſh having no deſire, nor indeed any uſe for their workmanſhip, which was formerly employed to decorate the palaces of our princes, our

which they held by hereditary right. Hence ſome ingenious men, then employed in the civil ſervice of the Company, were led to inveſtigate the nature of zemindarry tenures; and being prepoſſeſſed with an idea, that the ſpirit of theſe tenures was the ſame as that of the feudal tenures of Europe, they preferred their own interpretations of Hinduſtanee words, to the direct evidence of intelligent natives, as well as to the plain meaning of the zemindarry ſunnuds, and by this means reaſoned themſelves into a conviction, that the zemindars were in reality independent landholders.—T.

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our ſubahdars, and great officers of ſtate. Theſe poor men do not find any ſale for their goods amongſt Hinduſtanees of noble families: for they are, for the moſt part, ſo diſtreſſed in their circumſtances, that they cannot afford to purchaſe them. As to the general commerce of the country, it has totally changed: the ſtaple commodities, in which all men formerly had an equal privilege to trade, are now monopolized by the government itſelf. Some of theſe evils governor Haſtings is now endeavouring to remove; but it is a taſk which will require all his abilities, and which muſt neceſſarily take up a very long time. There is one advice which I ſhall venture to offer. Were the Engliſh to entertain, in their ſervice, a body of Hinduſtanee cavalry, conſiſting of ſeveral thouſand men *, it would prove of the utmoſt importance to them in their wars with the Mahrattas and Seiks; eſpecially if proper means were uſed to inſpire the men with a zealous attachment to their maſters, and to excite in them a ſpirit of emulation. But, beſides the military ſervices of ſuch a corps, its eſtabliſhment would be productive of other advantages: It would give employment to a conſiderable number of the poor people whom I have mentioned, and promote the good order and proſperity of the community, in the ſame proportion that it would increaſe the ſtrength and ſtability of the Engliſh power.

The ſeventh cauſe is to be found in the overgrown power of the zemindars, and in the miſtaken confidence placed in them by government. It is an undeniable truth, that the zemindars are a refractory faithleſs claſs of people, whom nothing but preſent intereſt can bind, and who always require to be ſuperintended in the exerciſe of their duties, with the moſt unremitting ſtrictneſs. This fact is atteſted not only by the concurrent opinions of all men of ſenſe and knowledge in Hinduſtan, but by the practice of our moſt diſtinguiſhed princes, who made it a ſtanding rule—"never to confide in the word of a zemindar." Thoſe princes provided againſt the refractory diſpoſition of the zemindars, and deterred them from diſobeying or reſiſting the orders of government. They treated them indeed with great ſeverity, but it was neceſſary to do ſo, in order to prevent them from oppreſſing the huſbandmen, and thereby injuring the revenues. It was partly for the purpoſe of repreſſing the zemindars, that ſo many foujdars were ſtationed throughout the empire, with ſuch numerous trains of officers and dependants. But in oppoſition to the ancient policy of this country, as well as to the moſt approved opinions, the Engliſh have thought proper to compare, and to place on the ſame footing, the zemindars of Hinduſtan and the landholders of England. Thoſe landholders, as I am informed, generally poſſeſs in their own right ſeveral thouſand *begahs* of land, from three to ten miles in circumference; they are men of education and honour; they live in ſplendid houſes, and paſs their whole time in the tranquil enjoyment of their own private fortunes. It is to ſuch men that our Engliſh rulers have compared the zemindars of Hinduſtan, who have accordingly been thought worthy of eſteem and conſideration, and have been inveſted with full powers over their zemindarries. Theſe men make uſe of their

* There is now in our Bengal army, ſix regiments of Hinduſtanee cavalry. There ought, however, to be double that number.—*T.*

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their new authority to plunder and oppreſs the peaſantry; and although the Engliſh do not believe that they are forming conſpiracies againſt the government, it is certain that they only wait for a fit time and opportunity to diſplay the ſtandard of rebellion.

The eighth cauſe is the dilatory manner in which the proceedings of the ſupreme council, as well as of the ſubordinate departments of government, are carried on. This tardineſs I have already had occaſion to notice. It ariſes from the Engliſh being always more occupied in their own private concerns, than in the affairs of the country; in which laſt, there is ſuch a multiplicity of buſineſs, that no time would be ſufficient to diſcuſs and diſpatch it, unleſs a better arrangement were made in the mode of conducting it, than that which at preſent exiſts. But whilſt I am writing theſe lines, I hear, that a committee has been appointed by Mr. Haſtings for the ſpecial purpoſe of hearing the petitions of ſuitors at ſtated periods, in conformity with the ancient cuſtom of Hinduſtan; ſo that the poor people will now have their complaints attended to, and their grievances redreſſed.

The ninth cauſe exiſts in that cuſtom of the Engliſh, of appointing men to offices, according to rank and ſeniority, inſtead of talents and merit. If, as has been already intimated, Engliſhmen of capacity were ſought for to fill the public offices, and a dewan of credit, knowledge, and experience, appointed to attend each, who ſhould not be removed unleſs guilty of ſome flagrant miſdemeanor, it is certain that the condition of the people would be greatly ameliorated. It will be requiſite, however, that the Engliſh officer, when fully ſatisfied of the zeal and fidelity of this ſuperior dewan, ſhould liſten to his advice in all matters of importance, and not ſuffer himſelf to be miſled by moonſhees and other dependants.—Mr. George Vanſittart and Mr. Law invariably acted in this manner. If it ſhould ever be thought neceſſary to eſtabliſh a ſubordinate council in any of the diſtricts, it ought not to conſiſt of more than two or three members: for many rulers never fail to produce confuſion in buſineſs, and likewiſe great want of confidence in the minds of us Hinduſtanees. It is impoſſible for the people of this country to place any reliance on a number of governors. [Our author here digreſſes into a recommendation reſpecting the appointments of foujdars and cutwalls, pointing out the qualifications which thoſe officers ought to poſſeſs; but as this digreſſion is entirely a repetition of what he has already ſaid on the ſubject, it would be ſuperfluous to inſert it.] Were theſe things attended to, and put in practice, the people of God would vie with each other in their encomiums on ſuch beneficent rulers, and offer up their thankſgivings to Heaven for ſo great a bleſſing.

The tenth cauſe is the partiality which the Engliſh ſhew to their own countrymen, and even to the meaneſt of their native dependants. As they now rule over this country, it is incumbent on them to adminiſter juſtice with ſtrict impartiality, and according to ancient maxims and uſages. Such conduct would do credit to their national character, as well as gladden the hearts of the Hinduſtanees: it would effectually ſecure to them their extenſive

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ſive conqueſts, eſtabliſh their dominions on a ſolid baſis, and ſpread renown throughout the Eaſt.

The eleventh cauſe is the eſtabliſhment of what is called the *Supreme Court of Judicature*. In the adminiſtration of juſtice amongſt the natives of Hinduſtan, it ſeems very important to adhere to the laws and uſages of the country. Men willingly ſubmit to laws which are eſtabliſhed and underſtood, however rigid and ſevere; but they conſider it a great grievance to be governed by laws they do not at all comprehend, although ſuch laws may poſſeſs much intrinſic excellence, and may be accounted a bleſſing by the people for whom they were enacted. This is the idea which the Hinduſtanees entertain of the Engliſh court of juſtice that is eſtabliſhed at Calcutta.—That tribunal has juriſdiction over all the Engliſh in Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa; over all the native inhabitants of theſe provinces, who may have diſputes with Engliſhmen; and over all the inhabitants of the city of Calcutta, of whatever deſcription or religion, both in civil and criminal matters *. The proceedings of this tribunal are ſo long, and ſo intricate, that no Hinduſtanee can poſſibly comprehend them. On the firſt complaint lodged by one perſon againſt another for debt, the defendant is obliged to give ſecurity for double the amount of the demand; and if he cannot find ſuch ſecurity, he muſt go to priſon, where he may remain his whole life, unleſs the complaint be withdrawn, or he procure money to pay the debt. Beſides this grievance, the expenſe attending ſuits in the Engliſh court is enormous. To get the bare ſtatement of a caſe tranſlated into the Engliſh language, coſts as many double fees (a gold mohur), as there are lines in the tranſlation. It is alſo conſidered as a great hardſhip, that on the firſt ſummons from the court to appear before it, whether on account of a charge brought againſt oneſelf, or as an evidence on the trial of another, ſhould the charge be ever ſo trivial, or ſhould the perſon called on be in reality no witneſs in the tranſaction, he muſt, notwithſtanding, immediately leave his home and his family, and repair to Calcutta, a diſtance, perhaps, of a month or two months journey: and if, before his arrival, the ſitting of the court be over, he muſt remain until the next term, as it is called, without any means of ſubſiſtence whatever. Such troubles, ſuch inconveniencies, and ſuch delays, no Hinduſtanee ever before ſaw or heard of.

The twelfth cauſe is diſcoverable in that cuſtom of the Engliſh executive government, of deciding in private thoſe matters which our princes uſed formerly to adjuſt and ſettle

* Upon the eſtabliſhment of the ſupreme court in 1774, its juriſdiction was of the extent which our author deſcribes; but in conſequence of the inconveniencies and hardſhips to which the natives were thereby expoſed, an act of parliament was paſſed in 1782, to amend and explain the original act by which the court was conſtituted. By this laſt act the authority of the court was confined to Europeans, native Chriſtians, and Armenians, reſiding within the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa. But within the city of Calcutta, its juriſdiction, as a criminal court, was continued over all deſcriptions of people whatſoever, and in its civil capacity the Hindus and Muſſulmans might apply to it for redreſs, if both parties, of their own accord, choſe to take the benefit of the law of England. By the act of parliament of 1793, the procedure of the ſupreme court, in reſpect to the trial of the Muſſulman and Hindu ſubjects of Great Britain, is more particularly defined, and its authority, in regard to them, ſtill farther limited.—*T.*

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ſettle in open court. In matters, for inſtance, concerning the protection of private property, or the puniſhment of ſuch perſons as inſult the modeſty of virtuous women, and diſturb the peace of families: in caſes of this ſort, the accuſers and the accuſed ought to be confronted before the governor and council, or the ſubordinate magiſtrates and councils of the diſtricts; ſo that the innocent may find redreſs, and the guilty be detected and puniſhed, according to the rules of equity, and the ancient uſage of Hinduſtan.

Having now offered theſe opinions, I ſhall ſay with SADI, "I recommend you to God, and am gone; and ſhould you ſhew no inclination to liſten to my recommendation, even then the recommender has done his duty, and there lies no reproach againſt him."—"The pointing out the right way was his taſk—This was all which it belonged to him to perform."

*** We underſtand that ſome gentlemen who have been in India entertain a notion, that the Seir Mutakharin is not the production of a native of Hinduſtan, nor originally written in Perſic, but that it is entirely an Engliſh fabrication, compiled by a Frenchman of the name of Muſtapha, who adopted the Mahommedan faith, and who reſided many years in Calcutta. This conjecture is totally deſtitute of foundation. It is true that Muſtapha, who talks Perſian with great fluency, tranſlated the Seir Mutakharin into broken and unintelligible Engliſh, and that he printed his tranſlation at Calcutta in 1789, in three volumes quarto. The original Perſic work was unqueſtionably written by Gholaum Huſſain Khan, a man equally known in Hinduſtan, by the reſpectability of his family, and the reputation of his talents. He was well known to SIR WILLIAM JONES, who, in his diſcourſe to the Aſiatic Society on Aſiatic Hiſtory, ſpeaks of him and his work in the following terms: "For modern Indian hiſtory we have ample materials in Perſian, from Ali of Yezd, to Gholaum Huſſain, whom many of us perſonally know, and whoſe IMPARTIALITY deſerves the higheſt applauſe; though his unrewarded merit will give no encouragement to other contemporary hiſtorians, who, to uſe his own phraſe in a letter to myſelf, may, like him, *conſider plain truth as the beauty of hiſtorical compoſition.*"

Of this hiſtory very few copies have been made. We believe that two only have been brought to England. The one of theſe, at preſent in our poſſeſſion, belongs to the valuable collection of Richard Johnſon, eſq.; the other is amongſt the Aſiatic manuſcripts which Sir William Jones preſented to the Royal Society; and which, in his letter to Sir Joſeph Banks that accompanied them, he requeſts all men of learning may be admitted to inſpect and peruſe. We ſhould have printed the original of that chapter of the Seir Mutakharin, here preſented to the public, were it not for the ſpace which it would neceſſarily occupy, to the excluſion of other matter.

Some

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Some ACCOUNT *of the* TRADE *of* SIAM;

From the "Mariner's Directory and Guide to the Trade and Navigation of the Indian and China Seas." *By Capt.* H. M. ELLMORE. *Just published.*

THE Engliſh know ſo little of this place and its trade, that it will require a particular deſcription, as the traffic may be much improved, particularly for the import and conſumption of Britiſh manufactures, ſuch as broad-cloths, cutlery, ironmongery, jewelry, and toys.

The Portugueze have principally enjoyed the trade and profits of this place. There have been ſome ſpeculations made by Britiſh merchants from Calcutta, and which always turned out to advantage.

The Menam, (the chief river,) by which ſhips enter Siam, diſcharges itſelf into the gulph of Siam, and is rendered difficult of acceſs, on account of a bar; to croſs which it is neceſſary to have a pilot.

The winter here is dry, and the ſummer wet, occaſioned by the different monſoons, which act here as in the bay of Bengal, viz. the north-eaſterly monſoon bringing in dry, and the ſouth-weſterly monſoon bringing in heavy clouds, thick weather and rain.

The ſoutherly moonſoon is therefore the ſeaſon for ſhips to go to Siam, as it is a fair wind to croſs the bar; and the northerly monſoon to leave the bar, and proceed to India through the ſtraits of Malacca.

Bankaſoy, ſituated on the river near the bar, is the principal place of trade; and the king is the chief merchant, for his revenues are paid in elephants teeth, ſapan, and aquilla wood. This is the beſt part of the Malay coaſt for procuring that exquiſite ſauce called ballichong, which the eaſtern epicures ſo much ſeek, value, and regale upon: it is made of a compoſition of dried ſhrimps, pepper, ſalt, ſeaweed, &c. &c. beaten together to the conſiſtence of a tough paſte; and then packed in jars for ſale, uſe, or exportation.

Siam, near the ſhores, (the only places where Europeans have acceſs to,) is very unhealthy. The land ſeems to be formed by the mud deſcending from the mountains; to which mud, and the overflowings of the river, the ſoil owes its fertility; for in the higher places, and parts remote from the inundation, all is dried and burnt up by the ſun, ſoon after the periodical rains are over.

The arts have been in more repute, and better attended to formerly, than at the preſent time. Few travellers will omit noticing the many caſts, at this place, both of ſtatues and cannon, of an immenſe calibre and length, as well as many other curioſities, many of them in gold.

The mountains produce diamonds of an excellent water, (little, if at all, inferior to thoſe of Golconda, though not ſo large,) ſapphires, rubies, and agates.

They have tin of a very fine quality, of which they make tutenague; ſteel, iron, lead, and gold: they have copper alſo of a fine quality, but not in great plenty.

The low grounds produce rice in great quantities; and on the higher grounds, that are not inundated, they raiſe wheat. They have many

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many medicinal plants and gums, oil of jeſſamine, ſack, benzoin, cryſtal, emery, antimony, cotton, wood, oil, varniſh, cinnamon, caſſia buds, and iron-wood, which is much uſed by the natives, Malays, and Chineſe, as anchors for their veſſels. They have alſo great quantity of white beetle nut, which is exported to China, by the junks and Portugueze ſhips, who have enjoyed almoſt uninterruptedly the whole trade of this place, and the coaſt of Cochin-China, from the Ridang iſlands to Macao.

They have alſo the fruits known in India, as well as the durian, mangoſtein, and tamarind, which are remarkable for thriving here.

The animals are horſes, oxen, buffaloes, ſheep and goats, tygers, elephants, rhinoceroſes, deer, and ſome hares.

There is poultry in great abundance, with peacocks, pidgeons, partridges, ſnipes, parrots, and many other birds.

They have inſects and vermin, as peculiar to other parts of India.

The ſea yields them excellent fiſh of all kinds, particularly flounders, which are dried and exported to all the eaſtern ports; and they have extraordinary fine lobſters, ſmall turtles, and oyſters. Here too are very fine river fiſh, particularly the beatie (or cockup), ſilver eels of a very large ſize; and mangoe fiſh, ſo much eſteemed in Calcutta.

From the humidity of the ſoil, it is almoſt unneceſſary to obſerve, that the chief diſorders to which Europeans are ſubject, are fluxes, dyſenteries, fevers, and agues.

No private merchant here dare trade in tin, tutenague, elephants teeth, lead, or ſapan-wood, without leave from the king; which permiſſion is ſeldom granted, as he monopoliſes theſe articles to himſelf, and pays in them for any goods he purchaſes, at the higheſt prices they will bring at moſt markets in India.

The following are the general prices for elephants teeth from the king in payment:

		ticalls.
2 teeth	to the pecul, equal to	120
3 do.	do.	112
4 do.	do.	104
5 do.	do.	96
6 do.	do.	88
7 do.	do.	80
8 do.	do.	72
9 do.	do.	64
10 do.	do.	56
11 do.	do.	48
12 do.	do.	40
13 do. to 20 or 30	do.	32

thus falling eight ticalls in each pecul, as the number of teeth increaſes. But if you purchaſe with ready money, inſtead of receiving them in barter (or payment) for goods, you will buy each quality eight ticalls per pecul cheaper than the above prices; and ſtill lower, if you have permiſſion to trade with the chriſtians, or private merchants.

In purchaſing ſapan wood, it is cuſtomary to allow five catties per pecul for loſs of weight; and as each draft is weighed by the large or five pecul dotchin, you are allowed 525 catties; which, if it is the firſt ſort, ſhould not be more than 16 to 18 pieces: ſecond ſort runs 22 to 24 pieces; and as the number of pieces increaſe, the price falls in proportion.

After you have ſettled with the miniſters what part of your cargo the king is to have, (which is commonly called a preſent, unleſs he aſks particularly to buy any thing,) ſome of the principal merchants of the place are called to value them;

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and as they are valued, you are paid, by the king, as a preſent, in the fore-mentioned goods, at the higheſt prices they will bear.

It may not be deemed ſuperfluous here to obſerve, that a complaiſant behaviour, and a cheerfulneſs of diſpoſition, are abſolutely neceſſary, particularly if you have (as all traders muſt have,) a point to carry. Preſents, (as they are called,) but in groſſer language bribes, properly applied, gives the officers of government and the people in power the true tone and reliſh to ſerve you, as you will have frequent occaſion to call upon them in their official capacities.

Every application for a permit to purchaſe any deſcription of goods coſts 10½ ticalls: this permit only ſerves for one houſe, and one time of weighing, ſo that if you are about receiving any quantity of goods of the ſame quality from different merchants, agree with them to ſend it all to one houſe, and make one day for weighing off the whole in the merchant's name at whoſe houſe it is weighed. This mode will ſave the expenſe of a multiplicity of permits, and quicken diſpatch. Upon each of theſe weighing days you muſt have three of the king's writers, the firſt and ſecond ſhabunder and the linguiſt: to each of theſe daily, you pay one-quarter ticall; but it will be your intereſt to give them ſome trifling preſents.

Elephants teeth, tin, ſapan wood, and lead, purchaſed from the king, are free of all cuſtoms; but if bought from private merchants, they pay as follows:

Elephants teeth (any ſort)	4 ticalls	per pecul.
Tin	2 do.	per bhar.
Sapan wood	4 do.	per 100 pecul.
Lead	2 mace	per bhar.

If from any part of India, (as Bengal, the Coromandel, Malabar, or Guzerat coaſts, Bombay, Surat, &c.) you pay the following cuſtoms before you ſail:

Meaſurage, if above 3 fathoms, or 18 feet beam, to the king,	10 ticalls.
To the barcola, (or firſt ſhabunder)	10 do.
To the ſecond ſhabunder	10 do.
For your arrival at the bar	10½ do.
To pilots and entrance	10½ do.
To paſs the two tobangoes (or chop-houſes), each	10½ do.
To each permit	10½ do.
To a permit to meaſure	10½ do.
To a permit to open your bales	12 do.
To a permit for leave to ſell	10½ do.
And on going away, to each of the two tobangoes	20 do.

At the place where they inſiſt on your landing your guns, 20 ticalls; with ſome other charges which are trifling.

The duties upon your imports are 8 per cent. except dates, kiſsmiſſes, almonds, and ſome other trifles which are excuſed.

Veſſels from Malacca, Palambang, Banca, Batavia, Tringano, Campodia, Cochin China, and their coaſts, pay neither duties nor cuſtoms on their goods; they only pay,

	ticalls.
For regiſtering inwards	1½
Two permits to paſs the tobangoes, each	10½

If the veſſel has no goods, ſhe will pay 1 ticall per covid (of 14¾ inches) for her breadth of beam; but

but if she has trade, she pays 2 ticalls per covid.

I would advise all vessels from India, going to Siam, to take a fresh port clearance from Malacca; as it must appear obvious the great indulgences she will enjoy, and the saving in the measurement and charges.

An ACCOUNT *of an* EXPLOSION *of a* METEOR *near* BENARES, *and of the falling of some* STONES *at the same Time, about fourteen Miles from that City. By* JOHN LLOYD WILLIAMS, Esq. F.R.S.

[From the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, Part 1st, 1802.]

A circumstance of so extraordinary a nature as a fall of stones from the heavens, could not fail to excite the wonder, and attract the attention, of every inquisitive mind.

Among a superstitious people any preternatural appearance is viewed with silent awe and reverence; attributing the causes to the will of the Supreme Being, they do not presume to judge the means by which they were produced, nor the purposes for which they were ordered; and we are naturally led to expect the influence of prejudice and superstition in their descriptions of such phenomena; my inquiries were, therefore, chiefly directed to the Europeans, who were but thinly dispersed about that part of the country.

The information I obtained was, that on the 19th of December 1798, about eight o'clock in the evening, a very luminous meteor was observed in the heavens by the inhabitants of Benares and the parts adjacent, in the form of a large ball of fire; that it was accompanied by a loud noise, resembling thunder; and that a number of stones were said to have fallen from it, near Krakhut, a village on the north side of the river Goomty, about fourteen miles from the city of Benares.

The meteor appeared in the western part of the hemisphere, and was but a short time visible: it was observed by several Europeans, as well as natives, in different parts of the country.

In the neighbourhood of Juanpoor, about twelve miles from the spot where the stones are said to have fallen, it was very distinctly observed by several European gentlemen and ladies, who described it as a large ball of fire, accompanied with a loud rumbling noise, not unlike an ill discharged platoon of musquetry. It was also seen, and the noise heard, by various persons at Benares. Mr. Davis observed the light come into the room where he was, through a glass window, so strongly as to project shadows from the bars between the panes, on a dark coloured carpet, very distinctly; and it appeared to him as luminous as the brightest moonlight.

When an account of the fall of the stones reached Benares, Mr. Davis, the judge and magistrate of the district, sent an intelligent person to make inquiry on the spot. When the person arrived at the village, near which the stones were said to have fallen, the natives, in answer to his inquiries, told him, that they had either broken to

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pieces, or given away to the tesseldar (native collector) and others all that they had picked up; but that he might eafily find fome in the adjacent fields, where they would be readily difcovered, (the crops being then not above two or three inches above the ground,) by obferving where the earth appeared recently turned up. Following thefe directions, he found four, which he brought to Mr. Davis: moft of thefe the force of the fall had buried, according to a meafure he produced, about fix inches deep, in fields which feemed to have been recently watered; and it appeared, from the man's defcription, that they muft have lain at the diftance of about a hundred yards from each other.

What he further learnt from the inhabitants of the village, concerning the phenomenon, was, that about eight o'clock in the evening, when retired to their habitations, they obferved a very bright light proceeding from the fky, accompanied by a loud clap of thunder, which was immediately followed by the noife of heavy bodies falling in the vicinity. Uncertain whether fome of their deities might not have been concerned in this occurrence, they did not venture out to inquire into it until the next morning; when the firft circumftance which attracted their attention was, the appearance of the earth being turned up in different parts of their fields, as before mentioned, where, on examining, they found the ftones.

The affiftant to the collector of the, diftrict, Mr. Erfkine, a very intelligent young gentleman, on feeing one of the ftones, brought to him by the native fuperintendant of the collections, was alfo induced to fend a perfon to that part of the country to make inquiry, who returned with feveral of the ftones, and brought an account fimilar to that given by the perfon fent by Mr. Davis, together with a confirmation of it from the cazy, (who had been directed to make the inquiry,) under his hand and feal.

Mr. Maclane, a gentleman who refided very near the village of Krakhat, gave me part of a ftone that had been brought to him the morning after the appearance of the phenomenon, by the watchman who was on duty at his houfe; this, he faid, had fallen through the top of his hut, which was clofe by, and buried itfelf feveral inches in the floor, which was of confolidated earth. The ftone muft, by his account, previous to its having been broken, have weighed upwards of two pounds.

At the time the meteor appeared, the fky was perfectly ferene; not the fmalleft veftige of a cloud had been feen fince the 11th of the month, nor were any obferved for many days after.

Of thefe ftones I have feen eight, nearly perfect, befides parts of feveral others, which had been broken by the poffeffors to diftribute among their friends. The form of the more perfect ones, appeared to be that of an irregular cube, rounded off at the edges; but the angles were to be obferved on moft of them. They were of various fizes, from about three to upwards of four inches in their largeft diameter; one of them meafuring four inches and a quarter, weighed two pounds twelve ounces. In appearance they were exactly fimilar externally; they were covered with a hard black cruft or incruftation, which in fome parts had the appearance of varnifh, or bitumen; and, on moft of them were fractures, which, from their being covered with a matter

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matter similar to that of the coat, seemed to have been made in the fall, by the stones striking against each other, and to have passed through some medium, probably an intense heat, previous to their reaching the earth. Internally, they consisted of a number of small spherical bodies, of a slate colour, imbedded in a whitish gritty substance, interspersed with bright shining speculæ, of a metallic or pyritical nature. The spherical bodies were much harder than the rest of the stone: the white gritty part readily crumbled on being rubbed with a hard body, and, on being broken, a quantity of it attached itself to the magnet, but more particularly the outside coat or crust, which appeared wholly attractable by it.

As two of the more perfect stones which I had obtained, as well as parts of some others, have been examined by several gentlemen well versed in mineralogy and chemistry, I shall not attempt any further description of their constituent parts; nor shall I offer any conjecture respecting the formation of such singular productions, or even record those which I have heard of others, but leave the world to draw their own inferences from the facts above related. I shall only observe, that it is well known there are no volcanoes on the continent of India; and, as far as I can learn, no stones have been met with in the earth, in that part of the world, which bear the smallest resemblance to those above described.

Of the INDIA COMPANY *of* FRANCE. *Translated from a Work just published at Paris, by* M. GARONNE.

[We have taken this interesting Article from the *Annals of Public Economy*, by HENRY REDHEAD YORKE, Esq. a very useful and well-conducted Journal. In the REVIEW Department of our Register we shall, in due time, give the Public a complete analysis of M. GARONNE's Work.]

Of all the memoirs which have appeared for the last two or three months on the commerce of India and the means of pursuing it advantageously, we do not know any that has been better received by the public than that of M. Garonne.

This consideration induces us to give an abstract which shall make known its object and principal points.

We shall first observe, that we do not find in this memoir of M. Garonne that severe style, that stateliness, those marks of the hostility of party, which at different times have characterised the memoirs written on this subject, particularly when the privileges of the India Company are discussed. It then appears as if each author possessed exclusively the secret of the commerce of India, that the other writers had deceived themselves in every thing, and that the whole of human reason was confined within the limits of two or three brains. This pretension to infallibility will be very far from meeting the success it formerly experienced.

The Historical and Political Memoir on the Commerce of India, is the work of a man who seeks truth, and who does not think a question clearly decided so long as he sees on either side enlightened persons

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remain in doubt, and who are not able to take a decided part.

Treating the queſtion in this point of view, M. Garonne replies with reſerve, and yet in a ſatisfactory manner, to the arguments of thoſe who think that for the good of the ſtate and for the intereſt of commerce, it is only by means of a privileged company that the commerce of India can be explored.

He inclines to the opinion of thoſe who regard this commerce as prejudicial to the progreſs of our induſtry, particularly in the fabrication of fine muſlins, ſince the facility of procuring them at a low price from India, muſt neceſſarily check the efforts of ſuch of our manufacturers as would wiſh, in imitation of the Swiſs, to apply themſelves to this ſpecies of labour.

But from this circumſtance he only draws a concluſion, that the manner of carrying on this commerce ſhould be that which will do the leaſt poſſible injury to our manufactures; and he thinks it is in the liberty of commerce this queſtion lies.

He afterwards contraſts the brilliant ſituation of the Britiſh Company and poſſeſſions in India with our ſituation in the ſame country, and from thence concludes, that ſhould it even be proved by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh and Dutch Companies that the commerce of India is by its nature an exception to every other ſpecies of commerce, and cannot be carried on but by an excluſive company, yet that it is neceſſary to wait for a more propitious period before we think of ſuch an eſtabliſhment.

We muſt confeſs that the conſequences deduced from the ſucceſs of the foreign companies does not appear to us clear; and perhaps even an oppoſite concluſion might be drawn.

We alſo do not think that M. Garonne has been correct in his concluſion, when he ſays, that if we create a privileged company, we ſhall injure our interior induſtry; becauſe that company will ſeek to augment as much as poſſible the ſale of muſlins, cotton, cloths, and other ſtuffs from India; for it ſeems to us that a free commerce would have the ſame effect, and perhaps even with greater activity.

In other reſpects theſe remarks are not intended to give an anticipated preference to one ſyſtem rather than to another; our wiſh in making them was only to point out thoſe arguments which appeared weak, and on which it is unneceſſary to dwell on ſo important a diſcuſſion.

We refer the reader to the memoir for what the author ſays of the poſſibility of bringing the manufacture of muſlins to perfection in France, and by that means diminiſhing the importation of theſe from India, and we ſhall paſs on to the reaſons he aſſigns for eſtabliſhing the preference which liberty of commerce deſerves rather than excluſive privileges.

Beſides the political advantages which reſult from the eſtabliſhment of a privileged company, ſay the advocates for that meaſure, *ſuch an aſſociation can with greater eaſe unite a conſiderable maſs of capital, and give more vigour and extent to its commerce than individuals can do.*

M. Garonne doubts the truth of this aſſertion, and cites the houſe of Rabaud, of Marſeilles, who, after the ſuppreſſion of the privileged company, were able to organize a free company, which had a nego-

ciable

ciable capital of eight millions of livres.

He might have added, that at this moment we ſee the company of the Iſle of France preparing rich and numerous adventures by the ſtrength alone of individual adventures united.

A privileged company, add the ſame perſons, *will afford means for a more conſiderable marine eſtabliſhment, and which, as a body, may become more immediately uſeful to the ſtate.*

We ſnail find the ſame advantage, ſays Mr. G. in the crews of private merchants' ſhips, which being leſs numerous, will furniſh ſeamen better exerciſed, and more able mariners. He cites a fact in proof of this aſſertion.

A privileged company may keep agents on the ſpot who can prepare their cargoes before-hand, can give the neceſſary ſecurities, direct the inveſtments, &c.

Reply.—Private commerce can maintain agents at leſs expenſe, and perhaps more attached to their intereſt than thoſe of a company. Before the privilege granted in 1785, the houſe of Barard, of L'Orient, and many others, had eſtabliſhed agents concerned with them at Pondicherry.

The company of the Iſle of France, of which we have juſt ſpoken, has a houſe with active, intelligent, and aſſiduous agents at the Iſle of France.

Perhaps we may further ſay, in favour of M. Garonne's opinion, that the choice of commercial agents, by individuals, will in general be more enlightened, and much leſs liable to be ſelected by favour than thoſe of a privileged company; not that this inconvenience is more particularly connected with the nature of a privileged company, but for other reaſons, which it is not neceſſary to point out.

A privileged company will prevent that competition which in the India trade can only be attended with fatal conſequences in the purchaſe of merchandize and the providing of cargoes.

This argument, in the minds of thoſe who prefer a privileged company, ſeems the ſtrongeſt and the moſt important.

We, on the contrary, think it the weakeſt and the leaſt important; beſides, it proves too much.

The author of the memoir endeavours to reply to a fact, which he draws from an example in the commerce of negro ſlaves.

The company eſtabliſhed for this commerce tranſported, between the years 1725 and 1786, eleven thouſand three hundred and ſixty-ſix negroes to America. During this interval the free traders tranſported 29,040; from 1736 to 1743 the company carried 2757, the free traders 61,949.

Here, ſays Mr. G. *a competition did not do any injury to the formation of the cargoes, or to the commerce of the negroes.*

This reaſoning is fair, and even if there ſhould be ſome difference, either more or leſs in this ſtatement, it would not be againſt the reaſoning in favour of a competition.

A company will inſpire more confidence, and will procure a capital at a lower rate of intereſt.

M. Garonne does not deny the poſſibility of this, but he obſerves with reaſon, that a greater economy in the conduct of their adventures will balance this inconvenience in favour of private commerce.

The preſumed advantage of a privilege will induce a greater num-

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ber of foreigners to place their capital in the hands of a company.

The anſwer M. Garonne makes to that objection ſeems to us ſomewhat hypothetical.

" It is certain that what offers the beſt ſecurity will inſpire the moſt confidence; now a new Eaſt India company, or a new Eaſt India trade, taken generally, in the ſtate France now is, will not inſpire more either of the one or the other, until by the effects of peace, the ſucceſs of the firſt operations ſhall have ſecured that confidence: but then the capitals of foreigners will become uſeleſs to us by the quantity of money which will then come into circulation, money which has been accumulating for the laſt ten years by the cultivators, who from ſimple farmers are now become proprietors*."

We ſhould be obliged to inſert the whole memoir of M. Garonne if we were to let nothing remain unknown of the reaſons he produces in favour of a free commerce, and againſt the eſtabliſhment of an excluſive company.

We ſhall paſs on, therefore, to the plan he propoſes to form a central committee for the commerce of India.

This idea, the adoption of which would in a certain degree ſupply the want of a council of commerce, and which is to be found in ſome foreign eſtabliſhments, has been ſuggeſted to the author by a reflexion of the Abbé Raynal. When the India company ſhall be ſuppreſſed, that writer ſaid, it would be neceſſary to ſubſtitute inſenſibly and by degrees private merchants in their room; that it would be neceſſary to put theſe merchants in a way to acquire that poſitive knowledge in the various branches of a commerce to which they muſt hitherto have been ſtrangers, and afford them time to form connections with the factories, and, in a word, to guide them in their firſt expeditions.

It is to fulfil this object, it is to preſent to commerce, to the merchants, perhaps even to government itſelf, ſome fixed plans, that M. Garonne propoſes a committee for the commerce of India, charged to collect and to circulate all information on that head, to watch over, direct, and adminiſter the commerce of India, and propoſe the proper means to encourage, to extend, and make it proſper.

This inſtitution, like all thoſe of the ſame nature, is ſuſceptible of more or leſs objections: but, however, on the whole, we ſee not any thing that can be urged againſt it that is unanſwerable. It ſeems neceſſary, if the commerce of India, if the commerce of the exterior in general, and that of the colonies, are to be reſumed, that an adminiſtration, central, elevated, and ſufficiently powerful, ſhould be the regular protector and centre of ſuch commerce, empowered equally to protect and to encourage it.

It ſeems to us, that in all theſe affairs, experience, the wiſdom of ages, the example of rich and powerful nations, are the guides which deſerve to be followed, in preference to any ſpecious plan preſented on the ground of an ill-eſtabliſhed theory.

As

* We do not ſufficiently reflect on the immenſe quantity of ſpecie which has been accumulated in the country ſince the farmers are become proprietors of the rich domains, the revenues of which were formerly ſpent in the cities, and ſupported interior commerce. There are no other means to draw it out but a temptation to great maritime and commercial ſpeculations.

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As to the queſtion of a company, without doubt, free and well-directed aſſociations, ſupported by a ſolid credit of proprietors and directors, cannot fail to carry on a good and uſeful commerce.

But we alſo do not ſee any thing to object, for the preſent at leaſt, to the inſtitution of a company, not excluſive, but protected and encouraged by government, in which every ſhip owner and merchant may join on certain conditions, and independently of which it ſhall be equally lawful for any one who pleaſes to carry on the commerce of India on his own account and riſk.

We hope to be able again to take up this queſtion; at the ſame time declaring, that in this we are not guided by any private or particular views,

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CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE EDITOR

ON

LITERARY AND MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

To the EDITOR *of the* ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

SIR,

SOME time ago I communicated to you an account of a Hindu woman burning herself at the funeral pile of her husband at Poonah, in 1786; which, though attended with circumstances sufficiently horrid, has been exceeded by an instance of a more recent date, in the self-immolation of the two widows of Ameer Jung, the late regent of Tanjore: of which the following is an authentic and circumstantial narrative.

The Regent died on the 19th April 1802, about ten o'clock, *a. m.* The moment he expired, two of his wives adorned themselves with their jewels and richest cloaths, entered the apartment in which the body was laid, and, after three prostrations, sat down by it, and announced to the whole court, which had assembled around it, their determination to devote themselves to the flames.

The youngest of the women was the regular wife, and about twenty years of age, and without children; the other was a wife of inferior rank, aged twenty-six, having one child, a daughter four years old. The fathers and brothers of both were present in the assembly; they made use of the most pressing and affecting entreaties to avert them from their purpose, but without success.

The British Resident at Tanjore, having been apprised of the intention of these ladies, and not being able to be personally present at the residence of the late regent, had sent his hircarrah to the spot, with orders to use every possible effort, short of absolute force, to prevent the horrid sacrifice. When the relations of the ladies

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ladies found their entreaties of no avail to induce them to relinquish their purpose, the hircarrah was sent for; but his threats of the displeasure of government had only a temporary and feeble effect. The Mahratta chiefs observed, that the Company had never interfered in their religious institutions and ceremonies; that the sacrifice in question was by no means uncommon in Tanjore; that it was highly proper to use every art of persuasion and entreaty to induce the women to relinquish their resolution; but if they persisted in it, force ought not to be used to restrain them. The women laughed at the menaces of the hircarrah, when he told them that their fathers and brothers would be exposed to the displeasure of government. The younger widow observed that it was not the custom of the English government to punish one person for the act of another; and pointing to her father, who had actually thrown himself at her feet in an agony of grief, asked the hircarrah if he thought any other inducement could alter her resolution, when the affliction of her father failed to move it. The young brother of the other widow went into the women's apartments, and returned with his sister's child in his arms, which he laid at her feet; but such was the resolution of these astonishing women, that not a single expression of regret, not a sigh or tear could be drawn from them. Any one of these weaknesses would have disqualified them from burning with the body; and the efforts of the relations were strenuously and constantly directed to excite them, but in vain. In answer to an observation of the hircarrah, that if the late regent had been aware of their intention he would have forbidden it, they said they had formed their resolution a year before, and communicated it to him; who, after several ineffectual attempts to dissuade them, had consented to it.

The hircarrah, however, determined to protract the performance of the obsequies, if possible, until the arrival of the resident. The women waited with patience until seven in the evening, taking no other refreshment than a little beetle occasionally. They then sent for the hircarrah, and told him that they suspected the cause of the delay, and were resolved, if the procession did not immediately set out, to kill themselves before him. Their relatives

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relatives now gave up the point in despair. The other chiefs who had taken no part hitherto now interfered, and said they had a right to be indulged, and should not be restrained. The hircarrah retired, and the procession set out. The younger and regular wife mounted the pile on which the body of the deceased regent had been placed, and they were consumed together. The fate of the other, who was not entitled to this distinction, was, in appearance, more dreadful. A pit eight feet deep, and six in diameter, had been dug a few yards distant from the pile; it was filled with combustible matter, and fire set to it. When the flames were at the fiercest, fire was applied to the pile in which the young widow and the body of the regent had been enclosed. The other, unsupported, walked thrice round the pit, and, after making obeisance to the pile, threw herself in the midst of the flames, and was no more heard or seen!

October 16, 1802.

EPITAPH ON TIPPOO SULTAUN,

WITH INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

To the EDITOR *of the* ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

SIR, *Calcutta, Feb.* 1802.

HAVING been favoured by a Friend with the accompanying Epitaph, which he transcribed from a paper placed over the humble tomb of Tippoo Sultaun, I have the pleasure of submitting it, with some introductory and general reflections, to your readers. Nothing can more forcibly prove the liberality and manly spirit of the British nation, than the respect which we invariably shew to the remains of a fallen enemy. In no one instance that I can recollect was this attention and forbearance more completely evinced than in the case of this monarch. It has been wisely said, that charity hides a multitude of sins, and that the grave is an impenetrable shroud which ought to cover a number of crimes. When we arrive at that "bourne whence no traveller

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returns," we also reach a tribunal from which there is no appeal. In the page of history, it may be salutary to mark the actions of a tyrant with the indignant expressions which they naturally excite; but it never can be magnanimous to heap invectives on the dead. No; we ought, on the contrary, to learn an awful lesson of religion and morality from every event of the present description, and reform our own lives accordingly, by a timely belief in that Providence whose finger we can discern in many circumstances which relate to the object of this epitaph. If the instability of human grandeur that all have lately witnessed both in Europe and Asia, with their own eyes, has not produced the powerful effects which it ought among ourselves, let us no longer wonder why the days of miracles, and the sufferings of our Saviour and the Apostles, did not open the eyes of their contemporaries to the important truths which were then revealed. Not much more than half a century has elapsed since the agents of the honourable Company were employed in soliciting the boon of a few villages from the lieutenants or viceroys of Shah Alum's ancestors. Which of us maturely weighs this matter, or reflects that the same personage has been actually deprived of his eyes, and virtually of his empire, in our own times? What vicissitudes the next fifty years will produce is a secret that the womb of time may bring forth in warnings, perhaps even nearer home. Nations, like individuals, are apt to become intoxicated with fortune, and to grow confident from success, unless they consider that exaltation is often the prelude to a terrible downfall, and avert it in good time by virtuous deeds of clemency and justice. If the deceased sovereign of our lately acquired empire here termed it, perhaps arrogantly enough, the *Khodadaud**, we should no less humbly continue the name, and learn to deserve its preservation in our hands by the timely practice of that resignation to Providence, and those virtues to which Tippoo was in our opinion a perfect stranger. Posterity will decide on his character according to the documents which reach them; and as there are various ways of telling the same story, we may rest assured that his own countrymen will not fail to term our facts aspersions; returns,"

* Khodadaud, signifies "*God-given.*"

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while we shall doubtless brand their assertions as falsehoods. The words, saint and sinner, rebel and patriot, king and usurper, justice and criminal, are too frequently applicable to the same persons, according to circumstances. We should patiently wait the final and unerring decision of that upright Judge alone, before whom all must appear, for the perversion of those offices and talents with which, for wise and inscrutable purposes, certain individuals have been entrusted.

How Tippoo will settle this account, or vindicate himself, is a point on which we can assert nothing without arrogating a right that belongs not to man. It behoves each of us rather to weigh seriously, while we are able, in what manner we shall individually adjust our own concerns, and exculpate ourselves in the sight of that Being, who may yet teach those who rashly condemn others, that they themselves are condemned, and the former acquitted for ever. In the beautiful mausoleum erected by Hyder-Ally, near Seringapatam, which will long remain a monument of British discrimination and justice, are interred the above personage in the centre, the mother of Tippoo on the right hand, and Tippoo himself on the left. A tumulus of mason work, in the ordinary form, covers the latter; and opposite to it, on the outside of the door, appears, in a conspicuous situation, the following inscription, the last line of which, analysed agreeably to the Ubjud, demonstrates that Tippoo Sultaun fell in a holy war, in the Hejirah (year) 1213.

That every one of your readers may form a competent idea of the subject on which I have taken up my pen, you have herewith a sketch of the tablet, exactly as it will appear to the person who may be induced, by curiosity or accident, to visit the spot where these three distinguished characters are interred. After entering the portico, and immediately casting the eyes up, over the outside of the inner door, the inscription will be seen elevated, and precisely in this form, supposing the spectator to view it from the ground floor of the gallery, or lobby marked A here.

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تیپو سلطان چو کرد عزم جہاد	حق با و منصب شہادت داد
سال تاریخ او شہید بگفت	حامی دین شہ زمانہ برفت منخلص ۱۲۱۳ سنہ سید عبد القادر

A

In Roman characters it may be rendered thus:

Tippoo Sultaun choo kurd uzmi jihad,
Hukh bu o munsubi shuhadut dad;
Sali tareekhi o Shuheer biguft,
" Hamee e deen shuhi zumanu biruft."

Gooftu,e Sy-yud Abdul Khader Shuheer tukhullus.

And a literal translation will prove nearly as follows:

As Tippoo Sultaun vowed to wage a holy war, the Almighty conferred the rank of martyrdom upon him, the date of which Shuheer declares thus: The defender of the faith, and the sovereign of the world, hath departed. Composed by Sy-yud Abdul Khader, called poetically Shuheer.

ح	ا	م	ي	د	ي	ن	ش	ه	ز	م	ا	ن	ب	ر	ف	ت
8	1	40	10	4	10	50	300	5	7	40	1	50	5	2	200	80	400	1213

The foregoing verse, marked with inverted commas, and added numerically as stated here, produces the year 1213 required.

It would be needless to encroach on your limits with any farther explanation of the principles on which these Oriental conceits are founded, than will be found in this paper, because they have been already elucidated by several authors. The assumed name, or *tukhullus*, of the bard, is *Shuheer*, meaning *noted, famous;* but who he really is, beyond what the writing tells us, I cannot determine. When the people who attended the burial place, and for which they were liberally paid by the British government, were asked about the author, they either were ignorant, or pretended to be so. Report, however, attributes the composition to a native officer of our own, or in the Nizam's service, who placed the paper unobserved in its present situation, where, being defended from the weather, it may long remain. Shuheer's opinion of British liberality is evident from the tenor of the epitaph; for, had he considered us as bigots or barbarians, he would hardly have thus ventured to endanger the shrine of this prince, by affixing to it a sentence that, among narrow souls, might have subjected the whole to instant destruction. He judged well, for there is not a man of candour and spirit in the British dominions

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dominions, who will not admit that, however Tippoo may have stained his life by unworthy deeds, his death was ennobled by heroic actions. It is confidently reported, that when he heard that Sy-yud Ghaffar, his bravest commander, was killed by a cannon shot, and, moreover, understood our army were advancing to the breach, he repaired to that quarter himself, and afterwards fought like a man who was resolved to live or die a king. At an awful pause, when one of our bravest officers was in the very act of animating the British grenadiers, there is some reason to believe that Tippoo himself took a deliberate aim with a rifle, and shot the gallant fellow dead on the spot. In short, the fall of Tippoo is in reality what his bard elegantly alludes to, the summit of all his actions, and among the Mussulmans will be honoured with the name of martyrdom, let us think or say what we please to the contrary. To be just to the memory of a foe who no longer exists, is the characteristic of our nation; and I trust the present detail can offend the feelings or injure the interest of none. The grave cancels all obligations, and the person who either can, when dead, carry his rancor with him, or, while alive, can extend it there, must indulge sentiments which cannot be enviable, and never should be imitated. I recollect many years ago, reading with a prejudice and horror not easily to be erased from my memory, on the tomb-stone of a person who was buried in an episcopal church, a solemn advice, from the dead to the living, never to trust a Presbyterian, or make one of them a friend. Such general and undiscriminating antipathies and reflections are unpardonable in society, and terrible from the grave.

After this preamble, I shall make no apology for the annexed paraphrase, in the oriental style, of the above inscription, which will give some idea of it till an abler pen compresses the translation within the bounds of the original. I do not pretend to preserve the numerical powers in this version: though, if it could be done without too great a sacrifice of time, the reader might see one cause for the Indians adopting it, viz. the greater durability of the date in one line of words than in four figures, such as 1213 alone.

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When Tippoo vowed to raise the Crescent's fame,
And on the holy war Fate seemed to frown;
He, Sultaun-like, preferred a deathless-name,
And left an earthly—for a Martyr's crown.

Mark here the date of that exchange below,
Sealed by his blood in Shuheer's brilliant lines;
Whence future ages shall admiring know,
" A heavenly star, our Faith's Defender shines.

Had the last line contained one M, two C's, an X, and three I's, the produce would have been just MCCXIII. the date required on the principles of an Ubjud, if such a chronological enigma existed now among us.

I am, Sir,

Your's obediently,

JOHN GILCHRIST.

A few OBSERVATIONS *on* PERSIAN POETRY.

To the EDITOR *of the* ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

SIR, *Calcutta*, 1802.

I HAVE the pleasure of offering, at the shrine of Apollo, an Ode, translated from his peculiar favourite, which deserves to be more ably sung. What an author, whose name I have forgot, remarks concerning the taste of the modern Greeks, may with truth be applied to the Persians. " Their prose is soaring to the vicious affectation of poetry; their poetry is sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose." The Oriental scholar will perceive the justness of this observation, and will allow that it may be attached to almost every Persian poet, except the inspired Hafiz.

We have been amused by a learned dissertation on the concealed beauties and mysterious meanings of Persian words, which, it

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it would appear, are never to be taken in a literal sense. Thus, *faghur*, a goblet, contains the pure spirit of salvation, and, according to the Musulmans, characterises Mahommed; wine inculcates the remembrance of the Deity, who is personified under the appellation of a *Saqee*. But as many of these latent beauties are of difficult access, much useless, and sometimes fruitless labour has been exhausted in attempting to remove the rubbish by which they were surrounded, that the divine emanations of the author's heart might pierce the mist with renovated splendor.

I will not oppose so large a body of men as the Mussulmans, yet some few verses can be adduced to alter or change, the apparent meaning of which would defy their ingenuity: we can attribute the defence which a native makes, to the tender regard which he entertains for the honor of a venerated author; but there can be no necessity for our voluntarily sacrificing both sense and truth at the same altar.

I particularly notice a couplet which had nearly proved fatal to our favourite poet, who, by adding, however, another stanza, transferred all the opprobrium to an unbeliever:

کر مسلمانی از اینست که حافظ دارد
و ای کر از پی امروز بود فردای

"If the Mussulman faith be similar to Hafiz's,
"Woe! if after this life there be another."

The verse which he prefixed was this:

این حدیثم چرخوش آمد سحرکه میگفت
بدر میکرده بادف و نی ترسائی

"How appropriate was this verse, which in the morn an Infidel sang, accompanied by the tabor and lute, at the door of the banquet."

It is an observation worthy of remark, that the schisms which finally separated the Greek from the Latin Church, originated

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by the use of the preposition *from;* which particle has created much dispute among the two prevailing sects of Mussulmans.

The *Ubli shuruh* insist that the Deity created all things; the *Ubli tusuwoof,* or Soofees, that he exists in all things. We may picture to ourselves a fanciful scene between these contending parties, when they meet with one of the faithful, whose theological principles have not taken a deep root. The one ringing an incessant peal in his ears, *af* humu ost; the other violently screaming, humu *uz* ost. We may suppose that he who had the best lungs, would triumphantly bear away his proselyte. Hafiz was a notorious Soofee; he fully displays his principles in the accompanying distich:

دریں آینہ نہ طوطي صفتم داشتہ اند
انچہ استاد ازل گفت بلو میگویم

"Like a parrot* they detain me; whatever the Creator at first in secret revealed, say, and I will repeat."

We perceive by this that he scorned the mediation of the prophet, though he outwardly agreed to the absurd doctrines of his countrymen. Not desirous of becoming a martyr, he did not dissent from a religion which he despised; or, what is more probable, he was unwilling to create that anarchy and confusion which the propagation of any new religion necessarily occasions.

S. W.

* The method of teaching a parrot to talk is really ingenious. They place the animal before a glass; concealing themselves, they repeat a few words; the animal hearing a voice, and perceiving its own image, conceives it to be another bird, and thus endeavours to imitate the sound. The above verse relates to this custom.

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To the EDITOR *of the* ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

SIR, *Calcutta*, 1802.

I HAVE lately looked into the *Mookhtusurool Moohawuree*, a work much spoken of among Anglo-Persian scholars, but in my opinion an impudent plagiarism of that noble production, the *Ferheenge Jehangeeri*. Among his other desiderata quoted by Lord Teignmouth, Sir William Jones takes special notice of a translation of this work; and conceiving myself equal to the task, I would gladly undertake it, provided there be sufficient encouragement. It will fill, perhaps, more than both Richardson's folios, and take me two years to finish it to my wish. We have in Europe Golius's and some other excellent Arabian Lexicons, but no decent Persian Dictionary; for Richardson, not pretending, I conceive, to a knowledge of this nice language, in removing Turkish words from his laborious and partial translation of Meninski, has dropt much of the purest Persian, and given to his English throughout an Anglo-Latin meaning.

Besides, the introduction to this work would afford us such a grammar and syntax of the Persian tongue, as the institution of the College, and the turn the young men have lately taken to study this language radically, render absolutely necessary, and which Sir William Jones's Grammar (a jewel in its way) cannot well, in our improved state of this sort of literature now-a-days, supply. Moreover, the dictionary and grammar would afford Europe such a fund of the sublime, the pathetic, narrative, and descriptive, in its many elegant and choice examples of poetry and prose, as it has not witnessed since the revival of literature.

I send you a translation of the seventh chapter of the *Dibajeh*, which I believe is pretty correct; and as it is a subject deserving of publication, you are at liberty to insert it in your work, should it come within your plan.

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دربیان ضحایر از دیباچهٔ فرهنگ جهانگیری

Extract *of the* Ferheenge Jehangeeri.

The formative personal pronouns are six in number, three single and quiescent ش ت and م and three double letters, the first letter of each of which is also quiescent یم and ید ند all six enter into the composition of words for the purpose of expressing their meanings. ش subjoined to substantives, has the power of the third person singular of بودن and شدن and is synonimous with او as غلامش his slave, رفتنش his going, and آمدنش his coming; and added to the active verb it is synonimous with اورا as میگویندش they say to him, &c. ت subjoined to substantives, has the power of the second person singular, and is synonimous with تو as غلامت thy slave, رفتنت thy going, and آمدنت thy coming; and added to the verb it has the oblique import of ترا as میگویندت they are saying to thee; also زوت and کوت are used; the first signifying from him to thee, and the second he that to thee; as Nezami, with his usual energy, says,

نباشد پادشاهي زوت بهتر
هم اورا بند کي کن کوت بهتر

"No sovereign can deal so graciously as he does by thee; also shew thy obedience that he may deal by thee more graciously."

م

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م subjoined to substantives, verbs, and adjectives, has the power of the first person singular, and is synonimous with من as آمدم گوہرم and فاضلم my gem, I came, and am eloquent: and where it precedes the verb it takes the oblique sense of مرا as گوہرم داد and بخشید. خدمتم he gave me a gem, and bestowed on me a professorship; as the heroic Ferdosi says,

پیادہ ازانم کہ تنگ آمدم
کہ با چون بو مردی بجنگ آمدم

"Am I such a soldier as would run myself into danger, that I should enter the lists with such a warrior as thou art?"

On some occasions, after the verb, م has also an oblique sense, as Sadi pathetically says,

تولاٴ مردان این پاک بوم
بر انگیختم خاطر از شام و روم

"Affection for the good folks of that blessed land withdrew my attachment from Syria and Rome."

Moreover, where a meem has immediately preceded in the text, this م is sometimes dropt, as Anwari says,

القصہ باز گشتم و آمد بخانہ زود
در باز کرد باز بہ بست از پس استوار

"In short, I returned and quickly entered my house; I opened the door, and shut it again securely."

گشتم

گفتم که گلي بچينم از باغ
گل ديدم و مست شد از بوي

"I will pluck, I did say, a rose in the garden; the rose I put my eye on, and was intoxicated with its sweet smell."

ند subjoined to substantives, verbs, and adjectives, takes the power of the third person plural, as مردانند آمدند and تونگرانند they are men, they came, and they are rich: يد that of the second person plural, as مردانيد آمديد and تونگرنيد ye are men, ye came, and ye are rich; and يم that of the third person plural, &c. as مردانيم آمديم and تونگرانيم we are men, we came, and we are rich.

N. B. The reverse of us, the Persians begin with the third person singular or plural.

Whenever any one of these six particles is subjoined to a word whose final letter is a ا in order that two quiescent consonants may not coalesce, a hemzah with a fatah is inserted between them, as گفته اند کرده‌ام نامه ات جامه اش بب تہ ايم وشنيده ايد his garment, thy book, I have made: they have spoken, ye have heard, and we have bound; and whenever ش and ت the one as the personal pronoun and sign of the third person singular, and the other as the sign of the second person singular, are declined in the plural, this is formed by making the ان or ا the signs of the plural follow those affixes, as جامهٔ شان and عمرتان their garment, and your lives: thus Shaheidi,

گجز

گجر اتیان همه نمکین دل کباب شان
می خورده‌اند و خون شهیدي کباب شان .

"All your wanton ogles are like salt sprinkled upon their grilling hearts: they have drank wine, and the blood of Shaheidi they covet for a relish." And the fascinating Hafez,

عمرتان باد اوراز اي ساقیان بزم جم
گر چه جام مانشد پر مي بدروان شما

"Live for ever, O ye cup-bearers of the banquet of Jem! notwithstanding that my cup was not filled with wine during your administration."

Some have remarked that this alef of the personal pronoun is legitimate and radical; and though from its frequent occurrence it has been found convenient to drop it, yet, on necessary occasions, it is resumed; and many admit that these particles are posted thus without their alefs for the purpose of completing such words as required a ہ ha, and have an alef inserted to prevent the coalescing of two quiescent letters; but this last assertion stands in need of more discussion: i. e. اماقول اخیررا حجت میماند Nevertheless the ش and ت so necessary for the construction and completion of the sentence, offer this special benefit: that whenever this syllable, which in the assumption of the hemzah with a fatah prevents the coalescing of two quiescent letters, is added to either of the six formative personal pronouns, it has been deemed proper to mark orthographically the passages where such words occur. Most of us must have observed, what occurs in every Persian detail, such a copulation among the limbs of a sentence as has a reference to بود هست and باشد بوده and such like, where the first limb of the sentence is complete; but in order to finish the sense of the other limbs, a reference must

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must be made for that necessary limb, the verb, to what preceded: as for example, on the opening of that most excellent and moral work, Sadi's *Gulestan*, of which, by-the-bye, a good translation is much wanted.

منت بر خدایر اغر وجل که طاعتش موجب قربت
است و بہ شکر اندرش مزید نعمت ہرنفي که
فرو میرود قد حیات است و چون بر مي آید مفرح
ذات پس در ہر نفسي دو رحمت مو جوداست و
بربر نعمتي شکري واجب

"Let there be thanksgiving to the Deity, glorious and great, our obedience to whom bringeth us nearer to his bounty; and our sense of gratitude towards him giveth latitude to his generosity; every inspiration of the breath prolongeth life, and its expiration exhilarateth the soul; therefore does each respiration include a two-fold benefit, both of which demandeth our individual acknowledgement."

Now, in the course of this passage, three references are to be made from the posterior to the anterior limbs of the sentence, in order to perfect the sense; for which purpose we must suppose them respectively to be written نعمت است مزید and مفرح ذات است and شکري و اجب است *is* the augmentation of his bounty; and *is* the exhilaration of the soul; and an acknowledgment *is* necessary. After this manner we say, که زید کتب است و منجم that Zeid is a writer, and Manjam is a writer; که منجم بمعني منجم کایب است for Manjam means that Manjam is a writer.

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I shall quote one more passage from the 9th chapter, which shews that the ن and not the تن and دن is considered by Persian grammarians as the sign of the مصدر infinitive.

در بیان حرف نون حرف نون مفرد ساکن آفاده
معني مصدري کند مثل کردن و گفتن و این نون
البته بعد تاي فو قالي یارال غیر مقوط باشد و
نون را بیند ازند وافاده همان معني کند لیکن بر این
تقدیرا کشر با کلمه دیکر که ضد او باشد مستعل
میشود چنانکه گفت وشنید آمد و رفت و داد و ستد

In explanation of the letter ن the letter ن single and quiescent, has the import of the infinitive, as کردن and گفتن to do, and to speak; and this ن necessarily follows the supreme ت or the unmarked و the word also (thus formed) drops the ن yet it retains the same meaning: thus circumstanced, it is still used with other words, whose meaning are respectively the converse, as he spoke and listened; he came, and went; and he gave, and took away.

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POETRY.

A DESCRIPTION OF AN ORIENTAL BANQUET,

AN ODE IN ARABIC,

By a Native of Damascus.

لنا مجلس ما فيه للهمّ مد خل
و لا منه يوماً للمسرة مخرج

تضمن اصناف المحا سن كلها
فليس لباغي العيش عنه معرج

غناء الي الفتيان اشهي من الغنا
به العيش يصفو و الهموم تفرج

يخف له حلم الحليم صبابة
و يصبو اليه النا سك المتحرج

وروص كان القطر غاداه فاغتدي
يصنو غ مسكي النسيم و يارج

تري

تري نكت الاز هار فيه كانها
كواكب في افق تنير و تسرج

و تذكري الا حباب مية بدابع
من النور فيها نرجس و بنفسج

تراه كما برنو اليك بطرفه
اغر غضيض فا ترا لطرف ادعج

غريب افتنان الدل والحسن لم يزل
يعقرب اصداغا له و يصولج

و معشوق نارنج يريك احمرارة
خدود غذاري باالعتاب يزرج

كؤس كما تهوي النفوس كانها
بنيل الاماني و الهادب تمزج

كان القناني والصواني لناظري
نجو م سماء سايرات و ابرج

A PARAPHRASTIC TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.

TURN, gen'rous youth, whom ſocial joy delights,
A bow'r of bliſs your wand'ring ſteps invites;
Here mirth perpetual charms the paſſing hour,
And care excluded flies our feſtive bow'r.

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Here beauty ſhines in varied charms confeſt,
Our ardent eyes proclaim th' enraptured breaſt;
Say, does thy mind to bliſs ſupreme aſpire;—
Enter, and ſatiate every fond deſire.
Reſponſive to the lyriſt's golden ſtrain,
Our youthful hearts all ſordid thoughts diſdain;
Oh! liſten to the ſounds, how ſweet they flow,
Refine our joys, and baniſh ev'ry woe.
O'er willing ſlaves, here beauty's daughters reign,
Each youth, enraptur'd wears love's eaſy chain;
The derviſe wand'ring to this bleſt abode,
Forgets religion, and reſigns his God.

Behold a bow'r, with richeſt foliage crown'd,
Whoſe dew-form'd brilliants dart their rays around;
Soft, panting zephyrs whiſper thro' the trees,
And muſky odours float upon the breeze.
Bright as the blazing wonders of the ſky,
Earth's rival bloſſoms fix the wand'ring eye;
Faireſt of flow'rs, the violet here appears;
Her languid eyes, the white narciſſus rears.
All hail! ye fragrant daughters of the ſpring!
Rous'd by your charms my raviſh'd ſoul takes wing!
In each ſoft plant I trace ſome tender fair,
Some dear lov'd object of my youthful care.
Like *Hinda's* cheeks, the purple violet blooms,
The roſe, like *Maia*, breathes divine perfumes;
Oh! were thou here to view this bliſsful ſight,
How would thy bounding heart confeſs delight;
Pleas'd wouldſt thou think my darling fair was nigh,
With her ſoft, languiſhing, impaſſion'd eye.
Fair nymph, whoſe ebon treſſes unconfin'd,
In wanton ringlets waver to the wind;
In the carnation's hues methinks I trace,
Reſentment mildly glowing in her face;
Her's is each charm that decks the blooming plains,
And in her form divine perfection reigns.

In order rang'd, the various vaſes lie,
Bright as heav'n's orbs, with China's richeſt dye;
Haſte to our banquet, ſee the bowl's full brim,
Where frolic mirth, and ſmiling friendſhip ſwim:
Quaff the pure ſtream, the wide capacious bowl,
Well ſuits the temper of the gen'rous ſoul.

(A literal Tranſlation of this Ode is given by Sir WILLIAM JONES, in his Hiſtory of the Perſian Language—*See Sir Wm. Jones's Works*, vol. 2. p. 311.)

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A VERY ANCIENT CHINESE ODE,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY JOHN COLLEGINS, ESQ.

Quoted in the Tá Hiò of Confucius.

(A Copy of which is preſerved in the Bodleian Library.)

The following Ode has been tranſlated into Latin by Sir WILLIAM JONES, who informs us, in his Treatiſe on the Second Claſſical Book of the Chineſe, that the Ode is taken from the 1ſt Vol. of the SHI KING. "It is a Panegyrick," ſays he, "on VUCAN, Prince of Guey, in the Province of Honang, who died near a Century old, 756 Years before the Birth of Chriſt. The Chineſe Poet might have been cotemporary with Homer and Heſiod, or at leaſt muſt have written the Ode before the Iliad and Odyſſey were carried into Greece by Lycurgus."

SEE how the ſilvery river glides
And laves the fields beſpangled ſides!
Hear how the whiſpering breeze proceeds
Harmonious through the verdant reeds!
Obſerve our prince thus lovely ſhine!
In him the meek ey'd virtues join!
Juſt as a patient carver will
Hard ivory model by his ſkill,
So his example has impreſs'd,
Benevolence in every breaſt.
Nice hands to the rich gem, behold,
Impart the gloſs of burniſh'd gold:
Thus he in manners goodly great,
Refines the people of his ſtate.
True lenity, how heavenly fair!
We ſee it, while it threatens, ſpare!
What beauties in its open face!
In its deportment—what a grace!
Obſerve our prince thus lovely ſhine!
In him the meek ey'd virtues join!
His mem'ry of eternal prime,
Like truth defies the power of time!

ON

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ON THE APPROACH OF SPRING.

AN ODE FROM HAFIZ.

[We preſent our Readers both with a Latin and Engliſh tranſlation of this Ode. The Latin is from the elegant ſpeu of Sir WILLIAM JONES.—The Engliſh, which is executed with conſiderable taſte and ſpirit, by JOHN COLLEGINS, Eſq.]

A POETA ADMIRABILI HAFIZ.

JAM roſa purpureum caput explicat. Adſit amici,
Suavis voluptatum cohors:
Sic monuêre ſenes.
Nunc læti ſimul; at citiùs læta avolat ætas,
Quin ſacra mutemus mero
Stragula nectareo?
Dulcè gemit zephyrus: ridentem mitte puellam,
Quam molli in amplexu tenens
Pocula læta bibam.
Tange chelyn. Sævit fortuna; at mitte querelas:
Cur non canoros barbiti
Elicimus modulos?
En! florum regina nitet roſa. Fundite vini,
Quòd amoris extinguat facem,
Nectareos latices.
Suavè loquens Philomela vocor: quî fiat ut umbrâ
Tectus roſarum nexili
(Veris avis) taceam?

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

NOW is the ſeaſon, roſes gay,
Light purple-tinctur'd blooms diſplay;
When ſires thus jovial youths invite,
To the fair gardens of delight.
" Time will your ſprightlneſs deſtroy,
" Then give the preſent hours to joy.
" Aſſemble all!—convivial join;
" The ſacred carpet * ſell for wine!
" And while you feel the fanning breeze,
" Which whiſpers through the waving trees,
" Pray that beſide you may be laid
" Some playful laughter loving maid.
" And to her health and charms divine,
" Quaff glaſſes of enliv'ning wine.
" Is fortune cruel?—Then go ſuit,
" To querulous complaint, the lute;

" From

* Upon which the Mahommedans proſtrate themſelves at the time of prayer.

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" From the touch'd ſtrings make muſic float,
" On air in ſoft melodious note.
" When firſt you ſee in fragrant bowers
" The roſe—reſplendent queen of flowers!
" Then let the goblets brimful ſhine,
" With bright nectareous racy wine!
" Wine can the tender pangs remove,
" And cauſe forgetfulneſs in love.
" The ſweetly warbling nightingale,
" With melody fills every dale.
" How can ſhe ceaſe, ſweet bird of ſpring!
" Mid budding roſes perch'd, to ſing?

HAFIZ.

ساقیا بر خیز و دردہ جام را
خاک بر سر کن غم ایام را
ساغر من بر نگشتم نه تا زر سر
بر کشم این دلق ارزق فام را
گر چه بد نامیست نزد عاقلان
ما نمي خواهم ننگ و نام را
باده دردہ چند ازین باد غرور
خاک بر سر نفس نافر جام را
درد آه سینهٔ نالان من
سوخت این افرد کان خام را
محرم راز دل شیداي خود
کس نمي بینم زخاص و عام را

بادلارا

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بادلارا مي مرا خاطر خوش است
کز رلم ييك باره بردآد ام را
ننکرد ديکر بسرو اندد چمن
هر که ديد آسرو سيم اندام را
صبر کن حافظ بيلنخر روز و بشب
حاقبت ورزي بيابي کام را

TRANSLATION.

ARISE, ariſe, my Hebe riſe,
Caſt earth upon each care and pain:
Give me a bowl, and with thine eyes,
Expel misfortune's gloomy reign.

What though theſe prudes maligh our fame,
In fame like their's we ſeek not bliſs:
Drink deep, my girl, and drink a ſhame,
To ev'ry wretch who rails at this.

They ſcoff me, if by ſighs I ſhow,
The flames, my lips ſhall ne'er reveal:
Becauſe their breaſts from high to low,
Are worthleſs of the pains I feel.

Theſe hallow'd pains then let me keep,
From ſuch a ſource their fountain flows:
And yet a while my ſorrows ſleep,
To think from whence my ſorrows roſe.

For, ah! what cypreſs can compare,
Its ſtature with a form like thine?
Its graceful branches waving fair,
Strive for the palm it muſt reſign.

Hafiz, have patience, ſtill you ſay,
Lovely but dilatory maid:
My breaſt has learnt but to obey,
Its toils may yet be over paid.

SADIQ.

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HAFIZ.

فاش میگویم و از گفتهٔ خود دلشیدم
بندهٔ عشقم و از هرود جهان آزادم
طایر گلشن قدسم چه دهم شرح فراق
که درین دا مکهٔ حادثه چون افتادم
من ملک بودم و فردوس برین جایم بود
آدم آورد درین دیر خراب آبادم
سایهٔ طوبی و دلجوی و حور و لب حوض
بنهوا امر کوا تو برفت ازیادم
بیست بر اوح دلم جز الف قامت درست
چکنم حرف دیگر باد نداد استادم
کوکب بخت مرا هیچ منجم نشناخت
یارب از مادر گیتی بچه طالع زادم
تا شدم حلقه بگوش در میخانه عشق
هردم آید غم آ تو بمبارک بادم
می خورد خون دلم مردمک چشم و سزاست
که چرا دل بجگر گوشهٔ مردم دادم
پاک کن چهرهٔ حافظ بسرزلف زاشک
ور نه این سیل دمادم ببرد بنیادم

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TRANSLATION.

WITH pleaſure I talk of my pain,
To the world I my ſecret confide:
For the ſlave of love's powerful chain,
Is released from all trouble beſide.

But, alas! who ſhall give me the pow'r,
Ev'n the half of my woes to declare?
I'm the bird of a ſanctified bow'r,
Say how did I fall in the ſnare?

I once was an angel of light,
Yes, Eden has been my abode:
Nor ſhould I, had Eve ſtept aright,
Have e'er trod this diſaſtrous road.

You aſk me, how can I forget,
Fair Tooba's heart-raviſhing tree,
And the Hoories with eye-balls of jet;
I forget them, my charmer—for thee!

'Tis true—on the page of my heart,
Thy name I can only explore:
For Love, when he taught me this art,
Though with chaſtiſement, taught me no more.

As yet no diviner has told,
What complexion my fortune has got,
Be it thine then, my fair, to unfold,
What ſtars have determin'd my lot.

Thee, Love, ſince I firſt underſtood,
New pains were my portion each hour:
My heart has run currents of blood,
Since firſt I experienc'd thy pow'r.

My cheeks are with weeping defil'd,
Give thy treſſes to wipe it away;
Or Hafiz's roundelay wild,
In ſilence for ever 'twill lay.

SADIQ.

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TURKISH VERSES,

Addreſſed to the SULTAUNA, Eldeſt Daughter of Sultaun ACHMET the THIRD. By IBRAHIM BASSA, the Reigning Favourite. Tranſlated by the celebrated Lady MARY WORTLEY MONTAGUE.

I.

NOW Philomel renews her tender ſtrain,
Indulging all the night her pleaſing pain;

I ſought the groves to hear the wanton ſing,
There ſaw a face more beauteous than the ſpring.

Your large ſtag eyes, where thouſand glories play,
As bright, as lively, but as wild as they.

II.

In vain I'm promis'd ſuch a heavenly prize.
Ah! cruel Sultaun! who delay'ſt my joys!
While piercing charms transfix my amorous heart,
I dare not ſnatch one kiſs, to eaſe the ſmart.

Your large ſtag eyes, &c.

III.

Your wretched lover in theſe lines complains;
From thoſe dear beauties, riſe his killing pains.

When will the hour of wiſh'd-for bliſs arrive,
Muſt I wait longer? can I wait and live?

Ah! bright Sultauna! maid divinely fair!
Can you, unpitying, ſee the pains I bear?

IV.

The heaven's relenting hear my piercing cries,
I loathe the light, and ſleep forſakes my eyes;
Turn thee, Sultauna, ere thy lover dies:

Sinking to earth, I ſigh the laſt adieu,
Call me, my goddeſs, and my life renew.

My queen! my angel! my fond heart's deſire!
I rave—my boſom burns with heavenly fire!
Pity that paſſion which thy charms inſpire.

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AN

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS

FOR THE YEAR 1802.

OBSERVATIONS *on the* WINDS *and* MONSOONS, *illuſtrated with a Chart, and accompanied with Notes, geographical and meteorological. By* JAMES CAPPER, *formerly Colonel and Comptroller-General of the Army and Fortification Accounts on the Coaſt of Coromandel.*—4to. pp. 284. DEBRETT, 1801.

IN the preſent ſtate of ſcience, a theory of the winds, at once comprehenſive and conſiſtent, is perhaps rather to be deſired than expected: the agents in their production are probably not all ſubſtantiated, much leſs appreciated in their effects. That the agitations of the atmoſphere are generally occaſioned by local condenſations and rarefactions, cannot be doubted; but whether other cauſes may not concur, it is difficult to aſcertain; and ſtill more to reconcile the contrary, though contemporaneous currents, of the aerial fluid, with the known laws which regulate the motions of fluid bodies. Topical phenomena admit not unfrequently of a plauſible ſolution; but the principles will often be found to militate againſt other phenomena, equally deſerving of weight in the formation of a general theory.

Col. Capper propoſes his conjectures with great modeſty; his book includes diſquiſitions on a great variety of topics, and it may afford amuſement to many who may not think the author has reflected much additional light on the difficult ſubject he has undertaken to inveſtigate.

"I begin," ſays the Colonel, "by making a new diviſion of thoſe winds with which I am acquainted, into four different claſſes, or rather genera, of which, the firſt excepted, there are many different ſpecies; the perennial, the periodical, the topical, and the general.

"The perennial is the only wind which blows the ſame way throughout the year.

"The periodical includes principally the monſoons, the mediterranean, eteſian, or periodical winds, the tropical land winds, the khumſeen, the ſcirocco, the long ſhore winds, the harmattan, and the land and ſea breeze.

"The topical includes the ſumyel, the miſtral, and the Bengal northweſter, which are all of them irregular, topical, and temporary, blowing always from the ſame point at particular places, in ſudden guſts, but of ſhort duration.

"The general winds are thoſe which prevail in all parts of the

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world beyond the tropic, and might with equal propriety be called variable winds."

In explanation of the firſt, our author ſeems to have added nothing to the theory of the celebrated Dr. Halley. The ſun moving from eaſt to weſt, the point of greateſt rarefaction of the air by the heat of the ſun muſt move in the ſame direction; and the point of greateſt rarefaction following the ſun, the air muſt continually ruſh in from the eaſt, and make a conſtant eaſt wind. On the ſame principle, the wind muſt be to the northward of eaſt, on the north ſide of the equator, and to the ſouthward on the ſouth, becauſe the air towards the poles "being leſs rarefied than that in the middle, it follows that from both ſides it ought to tend towards the equator. This motion, compounded with the formerly eaſterly wind, anſwers all the phenomena of the general trade winds, which, if the ſurface of the globe were ſea, would undoubtedly blow all round the world." The rarefied air aſcends, when "it muſt diſperſe itſelf to preſerve the equilibrium, that is, by a contrary current the upper air muſt move from thoſe parts where the greateſt heat is; ſo by a kind of circulation the N. E. trade wind below will be attended with a S. W. above, and the S. E. with a N. W. wind above." The conſtancy of the phenomenon at a diſtance from land in tropical regions certainly renders it probable that the cauſe is referable to the motion of the ſun, or of the earth; yet the hypotheſis of the celebrated philoſopher has its difficulties, which are by no means removed by the familiar illuſtration of the air ruſhing below from a cold room into a hot, whilſt heated air makes its exit above. Waving, however, this diſcuſſion, for which our limits would afford an inadequate ſpace, we proceed to conſider the anomalies produced by the interpoſition of land and mountains.

The flat and ſandy weſt coaſt of Africa on both ſides of the equator becomes ſo intenſely heated, as to occaſion a conſtant current of air from the Atlantic, blowing in direct oppoſition to the perennial winds of the ſame latitudes. This, however, prevails in the middle of that ocean between the two great continents; and hence the advantage to navigators of paſſing the equator in about eighteen or twenty degrees weſt.

When the ſun after the equinox, in his ſoutherly progreſſion, has rarefied the atmoſphere of the ſouthern hemiſphere, a current of cold air from the north ruſhes in to ſupply its place, and meeting with the perennial wind in its courſe, is modified into the N. E. monſoon, which prevails in the Gulph of Bengal during ſix months of the year. It commences in October, but gradually loſing its force, the alternate land and ſea breezes, occaſioned by the alternate rarefaction of the air over the land and ſea, produced by the viciſſitude of night and day, prevail on the coaſt. The S. W. monſoon ſets in when the ſun has acquired about 7° N. declination. "This change or repulſe of air appears to be put in motion by the ſame means as that which comes from the oppoſite quarter; for as the ſun's altitude increaſes daily in the northern hemiſphere, the extenſive body of land in the N. E. part of Aſia muſt become much hotter than the ocean, and conſequently a conſiderable degree of rarefaction will be produced on that part of the continent, whilſt, at the ſame ſeaſon,

an

an immenſe body of cold air will come both from the Indian Ocean and the continent of Africa, in the ſouthern hemiſphere, to reſtore the equilibrium." The theory appears ſomewhat deficient in explaining the cauſe of this monſoon coming from the weſt; the N. E. part of Aſia is not more heated than the N. W. the current from the ſouth ſhould experience the ſame modification by the perennial as that from the north, and the alternations apparently ſhould be N. E. and S. E. But we have already ſaid it is not our intention to inſtitute an analyſis of the ſyſtem of the learned Halley, which Col. Capper has only illuſtrated in moſt inſtances.

The S. E. and N. W. monſoon which prevail alternately amongſt the iſlands to the eaſtward of Java, and which Dr. Halley conſidered as an extraordinary anomaly, are aſcribed by our author to the rarefaction occaſioned by the heat accumulated on the continent of New Holland, whilſt the ſun remains in the ſouthern hemiſphere.

"From the 15th of May to the beginning of Auguſt, the S. W. monſoon is extended, or rather elongated, from Yambo to Suez, notwithſtanding the latter is almoſt 8° beyond the tropic. This wind is called by the Arabs the khumſeen (fifty), being ſuppoſed by them to precede the overflowing of the Nile about fifty days." This phenomenon Col. Capper imputes, with much probability, to the rarefaction of the air at that ſeaſon over the rocks and ſands of Arabia Petrea.

"In Greece, particularly in the Morea, which is almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea, the eteſian winds, according to Ariſtotle and other Grecian writers, blow about forty days, with their predromi which precede them, as their name itſelf implies, about eight or ten days, making about fifty; both theſe together correſpond nearly in their commencement and duration with the khumſeen wind in the Arabian Gulph. But the ſummer eteſiæ in Greece, and the Morea, come from the N. W. and the khumſeen from the S. W." When the ſun has rarefied the atmoſphere of the ſouthern countries of Europe, the wind will move from the ſea to the land in the mild Favonius; the northerly direction of the eteſian is produced by a current of air from the Frozen Alps, modified by the weſtern breeze from the ſea.

"The harmattan blows in January and February from the interior of Africa, between Cape de Verd and Cape Lopez, towards the Atlantic Ocean. It generally blows twenty-four or forty-eight hours together. It is ſaid by Mr. Morris to ſtop the progreſs of fluxes, intermittent fevers, and all epidemic diſeaſes." This wind our author brings from the chains of mountains in lat. 12 and 15 degrees north, and which meeting with the perennial in its courſe, becomes a N. E. wind.

The cauſes of the general winds prevalent in the northern parts of Europe are thus indicated:—"Soon after the vernal equinox, when the ſun begins to diffuſe only a moderate warmth throughout the northern regions, the Atlantic Ocean being at that time much warmer than the land, the current of air will then begin to move from the E. and N. E. and produce the eaſterly winds which blow during the latter end of March, all April, and part of the month of May, in a direct line acroſs the Britiſh iſlands to the ocean; but in the courſe of the month of May, when his declination

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tion increaſes to 15 degrees and upwards, his influence will then be conſiderably felt in Germany, Poland, Ruſſia, and even Siberia. The whole continent, to its northern extremity, by the ſun being at this time almoſt conſtantly above the horizon, daily becomes warmer; ſo that by the end of June, or the beginning of July, theſe countries are probably as hot, or even hotter, than the more ſouthern countries of Europe. From the end of May, therefore, to the end of Auguſt, the atmoſphere over the whole northern part of the continent will be conſiderably rarefied, and conſequently the ocean in ſummer being infinitely cooler than the land, the inferior current of air will then generally move from the Atlantic lying to the S. W. of theſe iſlands, to reſtore the equilibrium to the N. E."

Our extracts have probably been already ſufficient to furniſh our readers with a competent idea of the manner in which Col. Capper applies the principles of condenſation and rarefaction to elucidate the phenomena of the winds; and they will poſſibly ſee reaſon to coincide in the juſtice of our introductory remarks. Our author has, however, diverſified his treatiſe by a conſiderable variety of extraneous matter; he has been particularly copious in etymological digreſſions, whence he has deduced hiſtorical inferences, from both of which we find ourſelves compelled to diſſent. We ſhould not, indeed, have adverted to the ſubject, had not the authority of the author, as an Oriental ſcholar, rendered it neceſſary to anticipate the miſtakes into which others might be led by reaſoning from his premiſes. Thus in his note on the origin of the names of countries—

"Guzerat is probably derived from the Perſian or Arabic word Gezeret, an iſland." The name of this province is unqueſtionably Sanſcrit. "The word Malabar is not known but by adoption to the nations of the weſtern peninſula." The proper name of that country is Malaya, and the natives are acquainted with no other. "Edriſi remarks, that the inhabitants of Cour, by which perhaps is meant Cape Comorin, are Malays." The moſt curſory inſpection of Edriſi's map is ſufficient to ſhew that by that name he underſtood the Comaca iſlands, and probably alſo Madagaſcar. The words monſum (monſoon) and tufan, a hurricane, which our author ſays are Perſic, are adduced to prove that the Perſians were the earlieſt navigators of the eaſtern ſeas; but the truth is, both of theſe words are Arabic. Col. Capper labours to eſtabliſh "a great ſimilitude between the cuſtoms, religious ceremonies, laws, and languages of the Tartars, the Saxons, and the Engliſh." But what is not a little ſingular, it is from the Perſians, whom, without any proof, he conſiders as Tartars, that moſt of his analogies are derived. The only cuſtom mentioned as ſimilar, is the Tartar method of burying the dead, traces of which are to be found in our burroughs in England. The proof on which he moſt relies is the analogy of language. "Numberleſs are the ſingle Perſian words preciſely the ſame in ſound and ſenſe with the Engliſh, and evidently received by us from the Saxon; *mader*, a mother; *brader*, a brother; *ducter*, a daughter; *berber*, a barber," (this is a miſtake, *barber*, in Perſic, ſignifies only a barbarian,) &c. "But without dwelling on ſimilar ſingle terms, which abound in both languages, we will cite the word Wittenage-

mote,

mote, as an inſtance of a compound word of high political import, that has the ſame ſound and ſignification both in Perſian and Saxon. In the former it is derived from *wetten*, a native country, and *gemmäiet*, an aſſembly. According to Blackſtone and Hume, it is the aſſembly of wiſe men; but in both languages it literally means the national aſſembly. Hence it appears that a great ſimilitude may be traced between the cuſtoms, religious ceremonies, laws, and languages of the Tartars, the Saxons, and the Engliſh." Here we muſt obſerve that all the Tartar dialects are radically and entirely different from the Perſic dialect; that not one of the words above enumerated would be underſtood by any Tartar nation; but we muſt add, that the words of which the Colonel has made Wittenagemote, are not even Perſic, but pure Arabic; though it were impoſſible they ſhould ever ſignify a *national aſſembly*, but a *collection of habitations*, even in that language. The ſimilarity between the Gothic and Perſic languages is a long admitted fact, but moſt of the words mentioned by the Colonel are common to them with the Sanſcrit.

Though the theory exhibited in this work be in many reſpects incomplete, and in ſome, we believe, inconſiſtent, yet it comprehends ſome valuable facts, and ſeveral ingenious conjectures on a variety of intereſting phenomena.

The PERSIAN MOONSHEE. *By* FRANCIS GLADWIN, *Eſq.*—4to. pp. 336. DEBRETT, 1801.

MR. GLADWIN, whoſe judicious and accurate tranſlations have ſo ably elucidated the hiſtory and civil inſtitutions of the Mogul emperors of Hinduſtan, has, in the work before us, conferred no inconſiderable obligation on the Perſian ſtudent. The firſt part treats of the grammar of that language, and delivers, in a conciſe and perſpicuous ſtyle, many rules which ſir William Jones thought it unneceſſary to comprize in his elegant ſummary. The whole is entitled to much commendation, and cannot fail of being eminently uſeful to thoſe for whom it was intended. In this more ample form, perhaps it might have been proper to have given the original Perſic terms of grammar, as well as thoſe borrowed from the Arabians. In page 70, we wiſh Mr. Gladwin had ſtated the authority for aſſerting that "the letters ص ض ط ظ ع occur not in Perſian words, but are peculiar to the Arabic language. Formerly the words صد and شصت were written سد and سست but modern authors, in order to leſſen the confuſion occaſioned by miſtakes in the diacritical points, introduced theſe letters." This aſſertion we have often heard, but rather think it requires confirmation; the whole Perſic alphabet was borrowed from the Arabians, and we preſume at the ſame time; but at any rate, if the

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the assertion be well founded, it is not to modern authors, but to modern transcribers, the charge is imputable; since the Shah Nama, composed in the 10th century, in pure Persic, without any admixture of Arabic, exhibits in every line words containing some of the above letters.

The various specimens of penmanship in the different hands furnish admirable models for the exercise of students, and are executed with equal correctness and delicacy. We are surprised Mr. Gladwin omitted to insert the method of notation adopted in Persian accounts, which must have been of inestimable value to the gentlemen employed in the revenue department, and is by no means easily acquired.

The Pend Nama (or book of precepts,) of the celebrated Sheikh Sadi, follows the grammar, in a character at once beautiful and accurate, accompanied by a literal translation. It contains exhortations to the practice of piety and virtue, and dissuasions from their opposite vices: the maxims are trite and common-place; possibly, however, they may be on a level with the apophthegms of the seven wise men of Greece; but the wise men of England will scarcely be disposed to admire propositions coming in the form of truisms.

"ADDRESS TO THE SOUL.

"Forty years of your precious life have elapsed,
And (alas!) your disposition has not altered from the state of childhood:
You have done all things through thoughtlessness and vanity;
Not an instant have you acted in conformity to righteousness.
Place not reliance upon perishable life;
Think not yourself secure from the sports of fortune."

4

Some forms of petition, bonds of cautionry, &c. are next exhibited in the Shekesteh, or common running hand; and this is succeeded by a very copious collection of anecdotes and bon-mots, some of which discover an acuteness and dexterity of repartee not often surpassed. We will indulge ourselves by inserting a few specimens of Asiatic pleasantry.

"A certain man went to a dirveish, and proposed three questions. First—Why do they say that God is omnipresent? I do not see him in any place; show me where he is. Second—Why is man punished for crimes, since whatever he does proceeds from God? Man has no free will, for he cannot do any thing contrary to the will of God; and if he had power, he would do every thing for his own good. Third—How can God punish Satan in hell fire, since he is formed of that element; and what impression can fire make on itself? The dirveish took up a large clod of earth, and struck him on the head with it. The man went to the cazi, and said, I proposed three questions to such a dirveish, who flung such a clod of earth at me, as has made my head ache. The cazi having sent for the dirveish, asked, Why did you throw such a clod of earth at his head, instead of answering his questions? The dirveish replied, The clod of earth was an answer to his speech; he says he has a pain in his head; let him show where it is, when I will make God visible to him: and why does he exhibit a complaint to you against me? whatever I did was the act of God; I did not strike him without the will of God; what power do I possess? and as he is compounded of earth, how can he suffer pain from that element?

element? The man was confounded, and the cazi highly pleaſed with the dirveiſh's anſwer."

"Once on a time a king went to take an airing, accompanied by his vizier. They came to a field, and ſaw ſome plants of wheat higher than a man. The king wondered, and ſaid he had never before ſeen ſuch long ſtalks of wheat. The vizier replied, O my lord! in my country the wheat grows as high as an elephant. The king ſmiled. The vizier ſaid to himſelf, that the king thought he had told an untruth, and therefore had ſmiled. When they returned from their excurſion, he ſent a letter to ſome people of his country for ſome plants of wheat; but by the time his letter arrived, the wheat harveſt was over. A year after, the plants of wheat arrived from thence, and the vizier preſented them to the king, who aſked why he had brought them? He ſaid, one day laſt year I had repreſented that plants of wheat grew as high as an elephant; and as you ſmiled, I conceived that you doubted my veracity: I therefore brought them, to prove the truth of my aſſertion. The king replied, I now believe your words; but take care, another time, not to ſpeak what you cannot obtain credit for before the expiration of a year."

The laſt we ſhall inſert is ſolely on account of a literary reſemblance, which it appears faſhionable juſt now to trace, wherever they occur: our readers need not be reminded of the Merchant of Venice.

"A perſon laid a wager with another, that if he did not win, the other might cut off a ſeer of fleſh from his body. Having loſt the wager, the plaintiff wanted to cut off a ſeer of his fleſh; but he not conſenting, they went together before the cazi. The cazi recommended to the plaintiff to forgive him, but he would not agree to it. The cazi, being enraged at his refuſal, ſaid, cut it off; but if you ſhall exceed or fall ſhort of the ſeer, in the ſmalleſt degree, I will inflict on you a puniſhment ſuitable to the offence. The plaintiff, ſeeing the impoſſibility of what was required of him, had no remedy, and therefore dropped the proſecution."

The anecdotes are ſucceeded by "an account of the philoſophers," extracted from Mirkland, who has himſelf borrowed it from a work, entitled, the Hiſtory of Philoſophers, by Sheheryuri. The Hakiman are uſually underſtood by the Orientals to ſignify the philoſophers of Greece; but in addition to them, we find a brief notice of Sab, ſon of Enoch, of Acelepiades, or Eſculapius, of Locman, or Æſop, of Jamaſp, brother of Darius Hyſtaſpes, of Homer, and of Abuzerchemeher, vizier to Shah Nuſhirvan. We are ſurpriſed that Mr. Gladwin ſhould have changed the name of Theophraſtus, which is written very diſtinctly on the oppoſite page, to Sanfertes, in his tranſlation.

This is followed by the Cuaïd ul Sultaneti Shahjehan, or "Rules obſerved during the Reign of Shahjehan." It conſiſts principally of the ceremonial obſerved at the court of that monarch, and conveys a very high idea of the ſplendour and magnificence which diſtinguiſhed that æra of the annals of Hinduſtan. Through the coarſe veil of inflated encomium, with which the eaſtern hiſtorians conceal the real merit of many of their princes, an aſſiduous attention to the welfare of his ſubjects may readily be diſcerned in the conduct of this amiable and able monarch. The regular diſtribution of his time, his benevolent

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lent maxims, and the tolerant principles which contrasted his reign with his fanatic or hypocritical successor, entitle Shahjehan to rank high in the scale of Asiatic sovereigns; the flourishing condition of his extensive dominions, when the sceptre was wrested from his hands, furnishes the truest criterion to judge of his merit. Some curious particulars may be derived from this production; amongst others, we find a list of the foreign nations who had ambassadors at his court, which, in fact, comprehends all Asia, excepting the Chinese empire. We believe our readers will be gratified by a lively description of the tumults and bustle of an Asiatic camp.

"*Description of the Nature, Extent, and Multitude of the Royal Camp.*

"The camp, which measures the world, is a moving city, a country always in a flourishing state! and the crowd and multitude of people and cattle therein is such, that they move on, side by side, and shoulder to shoulder, and foot against foot of one another. Artificers and mechanics, to whom the market of the camp is their beloved native country, and who are said to carry their houses on their backs, march with their women, bag and baggage, with contented minds, joyfully telling stories, or singing. Whether marching or halting, they intermarry, beget and bring forth sons and daughters in the camp, and the new-born infant is brought in a basket to the next stage. The care of divine Providence, and the blessings entailed on the royal justice, are extended to all conditions of people; so that amidst this immense concourse, exceeding the bounds of imagination, the infant of one day, and the old man of one hundred years of age, pass unhurt amongst the feet of horses and elephants. Minstrels, dancers, and jugglers of all countries, proceed singing, dancing, and beating their drums, whilst the ringing and tinkling of great and small bells, joined to the noise and clamour of men and cattle, may be heard at the distance of pharsangs: and so great is the multitude, that the line of march is two cos in breadth; and at rivers, defiles, and other places that are difficult to pass, the crowd and press is inconceivable. Over great rivers several strong bridges are thrown, and careful officers are placed at proper stations, to enable the people to pass over with ease. The number of the victorious troops and people of all descriptions is so great, that sometimes they are detained two or three days, before the transportation of the whole across a river can be completed; and sometimes, for the ease of the people, his majesty halts at the passage. Such is the bustle and confusion, that sons lose their fathers, and daughters are separated from their mothers, but rejoin them after a time: whatever is lost by any person, the officers of the police recover, and restore to the rightful owner. After a long march, when any one does not arrive till late on a dark night, so that he cannot discover the quarters of any of his acquaintance, he passes the night under the akáshydyáh, or the sky lamp, where he makes the necessary inquiries. On marches to Cabul and Cashmir, every thing is transported on the heads of porters, thousands of whom offer themselves for hire from Cashmir to the borders of Tatah, and carry heavier burthens than those of Hindustan, insomuch that one of these porters will carry on his shoulders a man in a large

a large basket. Many articles that are not procurable in large countries and cities, are to be found in the royal camp, it being the resort of all descriptions of people, and the repository of the choice productions of every country. Merchants, dealers in grain, jewellers, bankers, and other classes of men of business, and all kinds of artisans and mechanics, have shops stored with money, jewels, merchandize, and goods of every country; and in every street and market are linen-drapers, grocers, druggists, corn-factors, confectioners, oil-men, cooks, jelly-makers, butchers, game-catchers, and flower-sellers, in a flourishing condition; besides other classes, such as dealers in shawls, ruffugurs (or fine drawers), weavers, taylors, cotton-corders, uterkush, silk-men, linen-printers, dyers, arm-sellers, sword-cutlers, arrow-smiths, bow-makers, armourers, blacksmiths, carpenters, turners, curriers, harness-makers, pack-saddlers, felt-workers, old brokers, and other retail dealers, who expose on their carpets small wares, from a looking-glass and a comb to thread and needles; and all of them with their families reside in the royal camp. There are moreover other classes and tribes, as booksellers, scribes, book-binders, paper-makers, and paper-polishers, who on marches, and on halting days, are busied in their respective vocations. There is a distinct market for buying and selling slaves and horses, and all kinds of creatures that graze or fly; and other goods are exposed for sale separately. In every market are established sellers and brokers. In the bazar large corn-mills are worked, so that on all sides there is noise and clamour; nevertheless no one is allowed to be guilty of violence, oppression, or intemperance. Through the order and good management of darogahs, and other diligent officers, whether on a march or at a fixed station, the price of grain and other articles is always at the same price, without any variation; every thing being in the highest degree of cheapness and perfection. Grass and fire-wood are also in great plenty; and materials for every work, and servants of every description, are to be procured in the camp. At the close of day, a market from all quarters is held in the midst of the camp, where all descriptions of men, soldiers, great and small, horse and foot, sitting and standing, are looking about them: and every sort of goods and wares, with all kinds of necessaries for a march, are brought to this place of traffic. At night, traffic is carried on with more spirit than during the day, every body being employed in some business or other. In front of every shop a lamp is lighted, so that the whole face of the market is illuminated. In every place, story-tellers, musicians, dancers, and jugglers of every country, exhibit their respective feats. Before the tent of every ameer, lives a fakier; and on different sides of the camp are established refectories, and accommodations for the poor. Chaouchies and watchmen are attentive and vigilant in all parts of that great city."

Familiar dialogues, and a translation of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the gospel of St. Matthew into Persian, conclude the volume; to prove that these are accurate, it is only necessary to mention that the first were composed, and the last translated, by Mr. Chambers.

The publication we have just analysed cannot fail of proving singularly

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gularly useful to the students of Persic; the specimens it exhibits of every distinct species of composition, from the simple diction of Sadi, to the rhetorical flourishes of the encomiast of Shahjehan, are calculated to furnish correct ideas of the different styles; and those of penmanship models for tracing the character.

The BAKHTYAR NAMEH, *a Story of Prince* BAKHTYAR, *and the Ten Viziers; a Series of Persian Tales: from a Manuscript in the Collection of Sir* WILLIAM OUSELEY.—8vo. pp. 261. DEBRETT, 1801.

AZADBAKHT, king of Sistan, was a young prince of wonderful accomplishments, and his vizier one of the first generals of the age. The latter being engaged in a tedious expedition on the frontiers, sent for his daughter, of whom he was distractedly fond. The young lady set out accordingly in a covered vehicle, accompanied by a numerous cavalcade; but they had gone only a few miles, when they met Azadbakht returning from a hunting excursion. Understanding that they were going to the vizier's camp, the king was charging them with a message; when a propitious wind blowing aside the veil which concealed the fair traveller, discovered to the love-struck monarch, a spectacle which made him forget every other consideration. He then questioned the attendants, and finding she was the daughter of the vizier, determined to marry her without waiting for her father's consent; who first heard of this alliance by the letters of congratulation, which poured upon him from court. This insult the vindictive officer determined to revenge, and conducted his schemes with so much address, that Azadbakht knew nothing of what was going forward, till he found himself besieged in his palace, about a year subsequent to his marriage. Flight was the only resource, and horses being brought to a back gate, he and the queen made their escape in the night, having resolved to take refuge with the king of Carman. In passing thro' a forest, distressed by fatigue, heat and thirst, the unhappy queen was seized with the pains of labour, and brought forth by the side of a well of brackish water, a child whose beauty illumined the whole forest. To attempt to save him, however, would have been destruction to themselves; the king wrapped him in a piece of gold brocade, and put a necklace of emeralds round his neck; after which the afflicted pair, with many tears, left him to his fate, and pursued their journey. On their arrival at Carman, they were hospitably received by the king of that country, who dispatching an immense army against Sistan, soon re-established Azadbakht on the throne. The death of the infant they considered inevitable, and therefore had made no inquiries respecting him; but Providence was more attentive than his parents to his preservation. For the king and queen had scarcely lost sight of the well, when a band of robbers who dwelt in that forest came to the spot, and the chief having no son, and struck with the beauty of the infant,

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ſant, determined to adopt him. As he grew up, he became a prodigy of ſtrength and valour, but uniformly refuſed to join the band in their plundering excurſions. One day, his adopted father entreated him, at leaſt, to be a ſpectator of their attack on a numerous caravan; the travellers fought with a reſolution which the robbers had never before experienced: the young prince beheld his adoptive father about to fall under the diſadvantage of numbers, and, flying to his aſſiſtance, ſlew all his opponents. At this moment, however, his horſe ſtumbled, and he fell to the ground; the travellers flew upon him, and made him a priſoner, whilſt the reſt of the robbers made their eſcape. The caravan proceeded to Siſtan, and delivering their priſoner to the officers of juſtice, he was carried before Azadbakht; the youth and appearance of the criminal pleaded ſtrongly in his favour, but, moſt of all, the ſecret workings of paternal affection. Azadbakht pardoned his crime, and gave him the charge of his ſtud. The horſes proſpered ſo much under his management, that the king thought him deſerving of a higher employment; in ſhort, after paſſing through a variety of ſubordinate gradations, the king conferred on him the office of treaſurer, with the name of Bakhtyar, or fortunate. His influence with Azadbakht daily increaſed, and at laſt knew no bounds; the ten viziers beheld their authority rapidly declining, and, as viziers are always envious, malicious and intriguing, they reſolved to take the firſt favourable opportunity of ſupplanting the young favourite. This was not long in preſenting itſelf. The king's treaſury was ſituated cloſe to the queen's apartments: one day, contrary to his cuſtom, Bakhtyar had drank ſo much wine, that, unable to find his way from the treaſury to his own houſe, he ſtumbled into the ſtate chamber, and fell faſt aſleep on the king's bed. Azadbakht arrived ſome time after to lie down, when, horror of horrors! the king of Siſtan found a man lying extended on the royal couch; and this man was Bakhtyar, the laſt whom he would have ſuſpected of ſo enormous an offence. The criminal was inſtantly ſeized, but could give no account of how he came there: his guilt, however, was manifeſt; but was the queen an acceſſary to the crime? She was immediately ſummoned, and declared her total ignorance of the whole tranſaction: violent ſuſpicions, however, were entertained of her innocence, and next day the king determined to inveſtigate the affair. The viziers ſaw that their time was now come, and waiting privately on the queen, they repreſented to her, that the only method of exculpating herſelf, was to accuſe Bakhtyar of a deſign on her virtue. Her ſcruples were overcome by their reminding her that Bakhtyar was a robber, who ſhould have been hanged long before, and that if it were wrong, they would take it upon themſelves at the day of judgement. The queen accordingly preferred her accuſation, and was in conſequence acknowledged innocent: Bakhtyar could only proteſt his innocence, without being able to account for the circumſtances which were made againſt him. Every day one of the ten viziers applied to Azadbakht for an order for his execution; when the criminal being ſent for, always related a ſtory illuſtrating the advantages of patience and mature deliberation before the infliction of capital puniſhment. On the tenth day, when

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the king ſtill heſitated, notwithſtanding he had heard ten ſtories, the viziers declared their reſolution of quitting his majeſty's dominions, if ſo flagrant a crime was allowed longer to paſs unpuniſhed. This was deciſive, and Bakhtyar was led to the place of execution: at this moment the robber who had adopted him, happened to paſs, dreſſed in the gold brocade and emerald necklace which the infant was in when expoſed. He and his followers prevailed by their intreaties and formidable appearance to ſtop the execution till the king ſhould be applied to. Azadbakht paid little attention to the robber's arguments, but his eyes were rivetted on the brocade and necklace, which he inſtantly recogniſed, and further inquiring, diſcovered the culprit to be his own ſon. The queen inſtantly declared that her falſe accuſation was preferred at the inſtigation of the viziers, and they ſuffered the death they had prepared for Bakhtyar. The king reſigned the throne to his ſon, who governed for many years with juſtice, wiſdom, and generoſity, as might be ſuppoſed.

The author and age of this work are both unknown, and certainly its merits are not ſuch as to excite much curioſity. It were ſuperfluous to ſtate that ſir William Ouſeley's tranſlation is correct and perſpicuous; as a ſchool book perhaps it ſhould have been more literal. We may not, poſſibly, find a fitter opportunity for promulgating our ſentiments on tranſlations from the Orientals. In tranſlating poetry, the idea ſhould be ſeized, and cloathed in equivalent graces in the Engliſh language; in hiſtorical compoſitions, the ſtyle of the original ſhould be completely diſregarded for a perſpicuous detail of facts; but in tales which will only be read by ſtudents, and were probably written for their uſe, too ſtrict an adherence to the language of the original cannot be attempted.

Theſe tales are leſs licentious than any Oriental tales which have came under our inſpection; but we cannot ſay leſs dull. The tranſlator obſerves, that "whatever opinion may be formed of them by the European reader, it appears that they are popular favourites among the Aſiatics, from the number of copies which have been tranſcribed: beſides three in my own poſſeſſion, I have ſeen five or ſix in the collection of various friends." In defence, however, of the Aſiatic taſte, it might be alleged, that moſt of our books come from Hinduſtan, where the Perſic is a foreign language; the moſt of common books, therefore, will be ſchool books, and adapted to the taſte and capacity of children. In this way, unqueſtionably, the innumerable copies of the Tuti Nama, Bakhtyar Nama, and Behar Daniſh, is to be accounted for.

The ten ſtories contained in this collection ſeem all to be original, excepting the ſeventh, which is the ſame with the laſt of the Tuti Nama; but we know not whether our author or Nakhſhebi was the plagiary, nor whether the rifacciamente of Nakhſhebi's work may not include many tales beſides thoſe of his compoſition. Much praiſe is due to the accuracy of the Perſian typography; we have remarked only one error, where the king of China is inadvertently ſubſtituted for king of Yemen.

OUPNEE'HAT,

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OUPNEK'HAT, *(id eſt, Secretum Tegendum): opus ipſa in India rariſſimum, continens antiquam et arcanam, ſeu Theologicam et Philoſophicam, doctrinam, é quatuor ſacris Indorum Libris Rak Beid, Djedir Beid, Sam Beid, Athrban Beid, excerptam; adverbum, é Perſico idiomate. Sanſkreticis vocabulis intermixto, in Latinum converſum; Diſſertationibus et Annotationibus, difficiliora explanantibus, illuſtratum: Studio et opera* ANQUETIL DUPERON; *Indicopleuſtæ, R. Inſcript. et human. litter. Academiæ olim Penſionar. et Directoris.—Pariſiis. &c. &c.* 1801.

THE venerable author of this tranſlation (he is now in his 79th year) is already well known to the literary world by his various productions in Aſiatic politics and literature. In the firſt volume of our Regiſter we had occaſion to call the attention of our readers to his publication on the politics and commerce of India as connected with Europe, and we then ſtated our general opinion of his talents and acquirements. The work now before us confirms the idea we entertained of the feebleneſs of his judgment; but we are happy to add, that it furniſhes, at the ſame time, the moſt unequivocal proofs of his correct knowledge of the Perſic language.

The Perſic manuſcript, of which this work is a verſion, was tranſlated from the Sanſcrit original by the order, and under the immediate inſpection of Daraſhucuh, the eldeſt ſon of the Mogul emperor Shah Jehan. That benevolent but impolitic prince diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs by an ardent zeal for the propagation of knowledge, than by the peculiar attention he beſtowed in inveſtigating the ſecret ſources of the Hindu religion. Inſtead of mixing in the factious politics of his father's court, he repaired to Benares, where he devoted his time to the ſtudy and developement of the myſtic theology of the Brahmans. Having aſſembled all the Pundits moſt eminent for their learning, he employed them in communicating and explaining to him fifty-one of the holy ſecrets of the Vedas, ſeveral of which were accordingly tranſlated into Perſic: but theſe tranſlations were chiefly made from the verbal interpretation of the Pundits; and the text of the Veda was, therefore, moſt probably blended with different gloſſes, and even with the converſations of the expoſitors. Whilſt Daraſhucuh was engaged in this purſuit, he was called upon by his father to take upon him the adminiſtration of government. Juſt, noble, and ingenuous, he carried with him into the affairs of ſtate the ſame tolerant principles and generous views that diſtinguiſhed him as a ſcholar and a philoſopher; and he not only admitted into his confidence people of all religious perſuaſions, but patroniſed the learned Brahmans, and rewarded them with peculiar munificence. This conduct was well calculated to promote the ſcheme of his brother Aurungzebe, who had long meditated the uſurpation of the throne, and who diſguiſed his criminal ambition under a fanatical zeal for the Mahommedan religion. With this ſpecious pretext he awakened the fears of the pious

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Moſlems for the ſafety of their faith, and armed their prejudices againſt Dara, who, he perſuaded them, deſigned to overthrow it. By theſe means that politic and ſanguinary tyrant gained the affections of the army, depoſed his father, placed himſelf on the throne, and finally ſealed his uſurpation with the blood of his unoffending brother.

Such are the leading circumſtances of the life of this learned and unfortunate prince, who ſo laudably endeavoured to unfold the myſteries of the Brahmanical ſyſtem. But his labours have thrown little light on that abſtruſe ſubject. Of the different ſecrets of the Vedas, which he informs us were by his directions tranſlated into Perſic, the only one that has hitherto been ſeen by any European, is the book which M. Anquetil has now preſented to the public in a Latin verſion. This book is called, in Sanſcrit, an UPANISADA, of which the literal ſignification is *arcanum*. It is a word uſed by the Hindus to deſignate an epitome of the four Vedas. The Perſian tranſlator has corrupted the word to *Upnekhat*, which M. Anquitil, by a ſtrange ſoleciſm, tranſlates *Secretum Tegendum*.

Of the Perſic work we have in our poſſeſſion a complete copy. It profeſſes to be a tranſlation from the Sanſcrit of an Upaniſada, and is introduced by a preface, written by Daraſhucuh. We ſhall preſent our readers with an Engliſh tranſlation of this preface from the original, both as it explains the motives which induced the royal author to undertake the work, and as it is the only part of it which they could peruſe with any ſort of intereſt, or from which they could derive the ſmalleſt information.

"In the name of God! the merciful, the compaſſionate.

"Praiſe to that Being whoſe antique myſteries are compriſed by all inſpired writers in the phraſe (Biſmina) "in the name of God," and thankſgiving, which is the commencement of all books, in the ſacred Koran refers to that dread name, which includes the hoſt of angels, the inſpired ſcriptures, the prophets, and the patriarchs.

"When Dara Shecuh, the reſigned worſhipper of God, viſited Caſmir in the year of the Hegira 1050 (A.D. 1640), by the bleſſing of the moſt high, and the unlimited efficiency of his divine will, he met with Mola Shah, the chief of the learned, the teacher of teachers, the inſtructor of inſtructors, the guide of guides, verſed in the ſubtilities of unitarianiſm, may he be joined with God!

"As that prince already reliſhed the pleaſure of ſeeing the learned of each ſect, and of hearing the ſublime doctrines of unitarianiſm; had peruſed various treatiſes of the Sufi philoſophers, and even compoſed ſome himſelf; the thirſt of exploring the unitarian doctrines, which are a boundleſs ocean, daily increaſed, and his mind attained a degree of acuteneſs and ſubtility, which would have been impoſſible without the immediate aſſiſtance and favour of the divine will. Now, the ſacred Koran being frequently obſcure, and few at this day being found capable of explaining it, he determined to read all inſpired works; that the word of God might furniſh a commentary on itſelf, and, what is conciſely expreſſed in one book, might be elucidated by a reference to others; the abridged by the more diffuſe.

"With this view he peruſed the pentateuch, the goſpels, and the pſalms; but the unity of God was obſcurely and enigmatically expreſſed in theſe works; nor did he derive more inſtruction from the ſimple tranſlations of hired linguiſts.

"He next deſired to aſcertain how it happened that, in Hinduſtan, the unity of God is the frequent theme of diſcourſe, and that the antient philoſophers of Hind, (both thoſe who publiſhed and thoſe who concealed their tenets,) neither denied nor objected to the doctrine of the divine unity; but, on the contrary, held it as an axiom, unlike the ignorant race of the preſent day, who ſet up for philoſophers, though they have fallen into the tract of bloodſhed and infidelity, denying the attributes and unity of God, and contradicting the proofs of that doctrine de-

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lived from the Koran and authentic traditions: these may be considered as the banditti on the path of God.

"In the course of this inquiry, it was discovered that, amongst the Hindus, four inspired books were held peculiarly sacred, viz. the Rik Veda, the Jajur Veda, the Sám Veda, and the Atharvana Veda, which had descended from the skies to the prophets of those times, of whom Adam (purified by God, may blessings attend him!) was the chief, containing rules and precepts, and this doctrine (viz. the unity of God) is clearly expressed in those books.

"The essence of those works which relate to religious rites and meditations on the unity of God, is comprised in the Upanishada, which was extracted by the prophets of those days, illustrated by copious commentaries and expositions, and has always been read and considered as an excellent epitome.

"As the object of this explorer of truth (Dara Shecuh) was not the acquisition of languages, whether Arabic, Syriac, Iraki, or Sanscrit, but the proofs of the unity of the Supreme Being, he determined that this Upanishada, which might be considered as a treasure of unitarianism, should be translated into Persic, without adding or expunging, and without bias or partiality, but correctly and literally, that it might appear what mysteries are contained in those books which the Hindus so carefully conceal from Moslems.

"As the city of Benares, which is the seat of Hindu science, was a dependancy of this explorer of truth (Dara Shecuh), having assembled the Pundits and Saniasis, who are now the expounders of the Vedas and Upanishadas, he caused a translation to be made of this Upanishada, or mysterious secret, which comprises the object of the researches of so many theologians. This was completed in an impartial manner, in the year of the Hegira 1067, A.D. 1656. Every difficulty, and every sublime doctrine which had occurred before, but could not be explained, was elucidated by this antient compilation, which, without doubt, is the first of inspired works, the foundation of truth, the sea of unitarianism; not only consentaneous with the Koran, but a commentary upon it.

"It seems evident that the following text of the Koran relates to this antient book, viz. "The holy scriptures are in that book which is concealed, which none can expound but the man of pure heart, and which was sent from the skies by the preserver of mankind." Now this description is not applicable either to the psalms, the pentateuch, nor the gospel; and from the expression, "sent from the skies," it cannot apply to the book of Fate. But the Upanishada, the original of this book, is a very antient work; a mysterious secret, and comprehends all the conditions specified in that holy text, which, doubtless, refers to it. From it this adorer of God knew and understood what before was unknown and incomprehensible. But exclusive of the benefits resulting from it to himself, his posterity, and friends, let the searcher after truth, laying aside his prejudices, and the pleasures resulting from sensual gratification, dispassionately peruse this translation of the great arcanum as the word of God, and, if he understand it, he will remain free from terror and anxiety, in the perpetual practice of virtue."

Such is the preface attributed to this learned prince. But whether it in reality contains his genuine sentiments, admits of some doubt. The work was not promulgated in Hindustan, until after his assassination, when Aurungzebe possessed the undisputed sovereignty of the empire. It is therefore probable that it was done with the consent of the usurper, who always shewed an extreme solicitude to palliate, if not to justify his conduct towards Dara, by endeavouring to prove the charge of apostacy which he had brought against him. If the work was published with his knowledge, is it not fair to suppose, that the *Mulwees* employed to copy it, would be more anxious to render it agreeable to the wishes of their master, than to preserve the genuineness of the original? And this supposition receives additional weight, from the internal evidence which the preface itself exhibits; for nothing could be more suitable to the wishes of Aurungzebe, than the manifest bias which it shews in favour of the Vedas. On the other hand, it must be allowed that such sentiments,

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though they would evince the imprudence and the impolicy, are not incompatible with the character of Dara. He was an advocate for the universal toleration of religious opinions, and had consequently absolved his mind of all the restraints and prejudices of the Moslem faith. To unravel the theological subtilities of the Brahmans, was the principal object of his ambition; and an ardent mind might imperceptibly acquire a bias for doctrines, which constantly engaged its attention.

But whatever might have been the sentiments of Dara on this subject, it is certain, that the Persic translation of the Upanisada, which is now extant, and which we are called upon to review, serves in no degree to elucidate the mysteries of the Hindu system. It consists of fables often absurd, and always puerile, in which some of the known tenets of the Vedas are occasionally discernable, in the midst of the most profound nonsense. Whether these fables be extracted from the Vedas, we are not prepared to determine; they bear no sort of resemblance to those extracts from the Vedas, which sir William Jones has communicated to the world*; they are replete with the interpolations of the Mahommedan translator; and the Sanscrit names are all erroneously written. The Persian translator, indeed, betrays a determined intention of reconciling the Upanisada with the Koran. In order to satisfy the learned reader on this point, it will be sufficient to state, that *Brahma* is, in one place, called *Adam*, and in another the angel *Gabriel*; *Visnu* is said to be *Michael*, and *Mahadeva*, *Raphael*.

We conceive our readers would derive no information from an analysis of such a work as this. They already know, from the valuable writings of sir William Jones†, that the Vedas contain the rude metaphysics and primeval doctrines of the ancient Brahmans, together with a minute account of the religious rites and ceremonial observances that have been established amongst the Hindu people, as well as of the incantations, which are by them supposed to operate as a specific for all the calamities incident to human life. It is likewise known, that the promulgation of the Vedas is referred by the tradition of the Brahmans to the remotest antiquity; and that they were arranged and divided into four portions by *Crishna*, who, on that account, obtained the name of *Vyasa*, or the *Divider*. A genuine abridgment of the Vedas, in the Sanscrit language, comprising the substance of all these particulars, would undoubtedly be a work of some value, and much curiosity; but the production of Darashucuh, neither furnishes any new facts on the subject, nor illustrates those which are already known.

M. Anquitil is, however, of a different opinion; he has bestowed many years in translating this work, and he has introduced it to the public, in a style of importance proportioned to his labour. In his prefatory "Advice to the Reader"—he says—"Hoc "opus non facem dixerim orbi eru- "dito oblatam, qua tenebræ circa "premordia generis humani, reli- "gionum et opinionum procul pel- "lantur; sed *scintillam*, quæ in ci- "nerem penè frigidum collapsa, "ignem excitet et accendat ab "ortu mundi sopitum novisque "saper primi Entis hominisque na-

* See sir William Jones Works, vol. 6.

† See Asiatic Register, vol. 1. Account of Books, p. 4 and 16.

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" tura, orbis fabricatione, temporis " divisione, antiquarum nationum " chronologiâ, scientiæ moralis " principiis naturalibus, aliisque " notionibus ad philosophiam spec- " tantibus, testandis laboribus in " Europa ansam præbeat."

We sincerely sympathise with him, however, in his concluding apostrophe; and cannot but admire the calm fortitude which enabled this venerable scholar to pursue his harmless studies in the midst of the revolutionary tempest that overwhelmed his country. " Eru- " dite Lector," says he, " hæc " scripsi *sub asciâ*, dum spissa nubes, " morte gravida, ori Franciæ, " heu! quondam splendido, tetrum " livorum suffendebat. Iis fruere, " seni indulgens, pridem viatori, " qui, nec carcereum, nec ultionum " fati ictum reformidans, intemis " conclusa præcordiis premere au- " det, cùm veritatis et religionis " honos, patriæ salus, hominis cu- " juslibet hostis etiam commodum, " id postulare videntur!"

To his version of the Upanisada, he has prefixed a prolix dissertation, comprising the opinions of some of the heathen philosophers, the Jewish rabbins, and several of the Christian divines, together with the doctrines of the religious systems of Asia, in respect to the four following points, namely,

" 1*mo*. Ens supremum, ejus natura " et proprietates;"

" 2*do*. Rerum productio, per ema- " nationem, aut creationem;"

" 3*tio*, Existentia mundi super- " naturalis intelligibilis, hoc mun- " do sensibili longe antiquioris;"

" 4*to*. Cœli seu astrorum intcoram " et corpora influxus."

But on these sublime topics of metaphysical theology, M. Anquitil does nothing more than bring together a variety of quotations from well known writers, which are not only often discordant, but which do not lead to any definite conclusion. His own observations are thinly interspersed; and only serve to shew, that the subject he labours to investigate, is altogether beyond his comprehension.

Of his translation, we are happy to say, that it exhibits very sufficient proofs of his intimate acquaintance with the Persic language; though, by injudiciously attempting to render it literal, he has greatly added to the confusion and absurdity of the original text. Finding, from the contrariety of the Persic and Latin idioms, that it was impossible to make his version at once literal and grammatical, or even intelligible, he has inserted, within parenthesis, the proper forms of expression. The Sanscrit words, which in the Persic manuscript are written in red ink, he has introduced literally into the translation; and in order to supersede the necessity of changing them to the Latin inflections, he has uniformly marked their case by the Greek article; so that the context is diversified throughout with a motley display of Persic, Arabic, Sanscrit, Greek and Latin words.

It only remains to notice one thing more which not a little surprised us. The learned author informs the public, that he derived considerable assistance, in the execution of this laborious work, from his knowledge of the Sanscrit, of which he intends to publish a dictionary; yet, in almost every page, he betrays great ignorance of that language. We shall endeavour to shew, that the Sanscrit words, in his text, are only known to him through the medium of the Persic character. For instance, in the Devanagari alphabet, the sound of G and

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G and of K have each a distinct representation; whereas, in Persic, they are represented by the same character: hence GAVALGANI is written, KAPLKIANI; GARGA, KARK; GANDHARVA, KANAHERB; and so forth. In the next place, the short vowels are omitted in the Persic, but, in the Davanagari, they are distinctly represented: hence the RIK VEDA, is RAK, the JAGUR, DJIDJR, &c. The diacritical points are frequently omitted: hence BUDYA, *knowledge*, is BADIA; VARUNA, the *Indian Neptune*, is BARAN. Numerous other examples might be adduced, but these we apprehend will be sufficient to prove that M. Anquitil has, at least, not availed himself of the knowledge which he professes to have of the Sanscrit language, in his version of the Upanisada.

ASIATIC RESEARCHES, *or* TRANSACTIONS *of the* SOCIETY *instituted in* BENGAL, *for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia.* Vol. 6. 1801.

Since the death of sir William Jones, two volumes have been published of the researches of this learned society, that was instituted at his suggestion, and that flourished under his presiding influence. As the first of these appeared before the commencement of our work, it did not fall within our province to review it; but extracts from some of its most valuable papers will be found in the miscellaneous department of our preceding volumes. In our Register for the year 1800, we inserted entire, four of the most interesting tracts in the volume now before us. It will not, therefore, be necessary to give any thing more than a general character of these performances. Some of the other papers contain valuable information; but we are sorry to find in one or two of them, various hypotheses confidently advanced, with a view to invalidate the result of the former researches of the society in Hindu literature; without being supported by any other evidence than perversion of historical facts, improbable conjectures, and fallacious arguments. We proceed to consider the different articles in the order in which they appear.

I.

A Discourse delivered at a Meeting of the Asiatic Society, on the 18th of January 1798, *by Sir* ROBERT CHAMBERS, *President.*

Upon the resignation of lord Teignmouth, the learned author of this discourse was elected president of the society. In a short address, he makes a few just observations on the extent and variety of the acquirements requisite for the station, on the great learning and talents of the first illustrious president, and on the attainments of his immediate predecessor in Oriental literature. He then states with much modesty, his own disqualifications; expresses the little hope he entertained of being able, at the age of sixty, to add any thing to the slight knowledge he possessed of Asiatic languages and literature; but assures the society that he would, at least, endeavour to stimulate others

to the purſuit of thoſe important objects.

II.

Narrative of a Journey from Agra to Oujein. By WILLIAM HUNTER, *Eſq.*

[See this Article in the Second Volume of our Work, Miſcellaneous Tracts, page 277.]

This ſenſible narrative gives a very pleaſing and inſtructive account of the city of Oujein, now the capital of the dominions of Scindeah, the Mahratta prince. It likewiſe compriſes a deſcription of the country of the Bandelas, a hardy race, whom the Mahrattas have hitherto been unable to ſubdue. Our traveller returned from Oujein by a different route from that by which he went thither; ſo that he traverſed a conſiderable part of the extenſive province of Malwa, and has thereby furniſhed ſome uſeful geographical and topographical information.

The ancient city of Oujein, called in the Puranas, Ujjaïni and Avanti, is celebrated in Hindu ſtory, as the place at which Vicramaditya held his court: hence it was probably fixed upon as the firſt meridian, by the Hindu aſtronomers and geographers. Mr. Hunter informs us, that the ſite of that magnificent city is about a mile from the modern metropolis, and that, by digging eighteen feet, the ruins are diſcovered, conſiſting of an entire wall, and ſome columns yet unbroken. The vulgar tradition is, that the town was buried by a ſhower of earth; and it is remarkable that there are no volcanoes in its vicinity. The ruin of Ujjaïni would ſeem, therefore, to have been produced by an earthquake, though that dreadful phenomenon being little known in Hindoſtan and the circumſtance of the columns being ſtill entire, furniſh arguments againſt this ſuppoſition. For an account of the preſent city, we refer our readers to Mr. Hunter's journal.

III.

An Account of the Inhabitants of the Poggy Iſlands, lying off Sumatra. By JOHN CRISP, *Eſq.*

Along the weſt coaſt of Sumatra, at the diſtance of twenty-five leagues from the ſhore, a chain of iſlands extends a conſiderable way, of which thoſe known by the name of the Naſſau or Poggy iſlands form a principal part. The northern extremity of theſe iſlands lies in latitude 2° 18′ north, and the ſouthern in 3° 36′ ſouth. The northern and ſouthern iſlands are ſeparated by a ſtrait, about a quarter of a mile in breadth, the longitude of which is 100° 38′ eaſt from Greenwich. The depth of water in this ſtrait is from twenty-five to forty fathom, a circumſtance which renders it very defective as a harbour. The high land of Sumatra is diſcernible from ſhips at anchor in this ſtrait. The general aſpect of the country, like that of Sumatra, is mountainous and woody, preſenting much bold and romantic ſcenery. The woods abound with a ſpecies of the poon, which is admirably adapted for ſhip's maſts, and which is uſed by the ſhip-builders in Calcutta for that purpoſe. The plants of theſe iſlands are the ſame as thoſe of Sumatra. The ſago conſtitutes a favourite food of the inhabitants. All the variety of tropical fruits, and the *mangoſteen* of the other Malay iſlands abound here. The chief quadrupeds are, red deer, wild hogs, and ſeveral ſpecies of the monkey: there are no tygers, or other beaſts of prey.

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The Poggy islands contain about 1400 inhabitants. Their houses are built of bamboos, and raised on posts. Their clothing consists of a covering made of the bark of a tree, worn round the waist, and brought across between the thighs: beads and similar ornaments are worn round the neck. The women, like the men, wear a small piece of cloth round their middles. "Amongst them," says Mr. Crisp, "we observed some of a very pleasant countenance, with fine expressive eyes. Mr. Best, a military gentleman, with whose company I was favoured, went up to one of the villages, attended only by a Malay interpreter. He was received with great cordiality and civility, and staid two nights in the village." The people are divided into small tribes, each of which occupies a separate village. The author does not, however, particularize the number of tribes; and we must confess, it does not appear very probable, that in so small and rude a society, any artificial arrangement, such as he describes, can exist. Some other circumstances which he mentions, serve to increase our doubts on this head. These people have no regular form of religious worship, nor any idea of a future state. Their religion consists in propitiating the sun and moon, thunder and lightning, &c. by certain rites, such as the sacrifice of a hog or a fowl, whenever their fears are awakened by sickness or any calamitous circumstance. Their chiefs are little distinguished from the rest of the community, either by authority or property. Their pre-eminence is for the most part displayed at entertainments, at which they always preside. They have no judicial powers whatever; disputes are settled, and crimes adjudged, by the decision of the whole inhabitants of a village, who assemble together for that purpose. The inhabitants have no property but their huts, and their weapons, which, according to usage, descends to their male children. Marriages are settled between the parents of the young persons, as in all other eastern nations; at the celebration of the nuptials, a hog is killed. Polygamy is not allowed. In cases of adultery, when the wife offends, the husband has a right to seize the effects of the paramour; when the husband offends, the wife has a right to quit him, and return to her parents; but she is not allowed to marry another. No disgrace attaches to an unmarried woman who commits fornication; "on the contrary, she is liked the better for it, and more desired in marriage for having borne a child; sometimes they have two or three, when, upon a marriage taking place, the children are placed under the charge of the parents of their mother." These circumstances sufficiently indicate a people in the very beginnings of civilization; and we are, therefore, disposed to infer, that the tribes our author speaks of, are only families, of which the men he calls the chiefs, are the elders; that these families manage their domestic œconomy, according to their own discretion, without any general rules: and that the only principle of union amongst them, is self-defence against foreign aggression. The people called Vadas, (*Viada* is a Sanscrit word signifying *wild people*,) who inhabit the central mountains of Sumatra *, of

* These people are not described by Mr. Marsden. At the time he left Sumatra, we believe, they were little known. In 1793 the late Mr. Hiram Cox and Doctor Charles

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of Java, of Ceylon, and of moſt of the Indian iſlands, exhibit many points of reſemblance to the natives of the Poggy iſlands. Not only in their perſons, but in their habits and cuſtoms, there appears to be a great affinity. The mountaineers of Sumatra live in families, over each of which the oldeſt man preſides; they have no property, except their dreſs and weapons; marriage is eſtabliſhed amongſt them, but female chaſtity in unmarried women is not held in eſtimation; they worſhip the heavenly bodies, and thunder and lightning, but they have no notion whatever of the immortality of the ſoul. With reſpect to dreſs, the manufacture which they uſe is like that worn by other tribes of Sumatrans; and Mr. Marſden has remarked, "that the original cloathing of the Sumatrans is nearly the ſame with the Otaheitean cloth deſcribed by Cook, &c.

Theſe facts will ſerve to illuſtrate Mr. Criſp's obſervation, "that the inhabitants of the Poggy iſlands reſemble thoſe of the iſlands of the Pacific Ocean;" and will, at the ſame time, ſatisfy our readers, that notwithſtanding the diſſimilarity ſtated by him between theſe people and the principal nations of Sumatra, the former, in all probability, derived their deſcent from the Aboriginal inhabitants of that iſland.

IV.

Obſervations on the Theory of Walls, wherein ſome Particulars are inveſtigated, which have not been conſidered by Writers on Fortification. By WILLIAM LAMBTON, *Lieutenant in his Majeſty's 33d Regiment of Foot.*

As this paper does not relate to any of the objects which it is the purpoſe of the ſociety to inveſtigate, and which it is our peculiar province to review, the ingenious author will pardon us for not entering into the merits of his performance. We ſhall, therefore, only ſtate the reſult of his obſervations. He is of opinion that the tenacity of the maſonry in the line where the wall is ſuppoſed to break off, has not been ſufficiently conſidered by engineers, and that the force neceſſary to ſuſtain a certain maſs of earth, has thereby been over-rated. He exhibits a formula for obtaining what he thinks a juſter meaſure; and, in order to aſcertain the real value of his theory, he propoſes to make various experiments with maſſes of maſonry, from one to four or five years ſtanding. This is undoubtedly a matter of importance in the ſcience of fortification; and the principles maintained by Mr. Lambton, merit the attention of engineers.

V.

On the Poiſon of Serpents. By WM. BOAG, *Eſq.*

[This Paper will be found in our Second Volume, Miſcellaneous Tracts, page 320.]

It was proved by Fontana, from the reſult of various experiments, that the *lunar cauſtic* was an infallible cure for the bite of ſerpents. He was led to the uſe of this remedy by no previous theory; for neither

Charles Campbell travelled through the central mountains of the iſland at the imminent hazard of their lives. It was, from frequent converſations with theſe gentlemen, that we derived our information on this point. We hope in a few years to ſee a complete account of the various tribes that inhabit this intereſting iſland, from the pen of Doctor Campbell, who is well qualified to delineate their characters with equal accuracy and ſpirit.

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ther before, nor after his discovery, does he attempt to account for its effects. Mr. Boag explains the principles on which he supposes the cure to proceed; and after an attentive examination of his theory, it appears to us perfectly consistent. Oxygen is a principle which enters into the composition of the blood, and performs an important part in the animal economy. The disease produced by the bite of a serpent arises from the subtraction of oxygen from the blood; the indication of cure must therefore be to supply the oxygen which we suppose to be withdrawn. To accomplish this, substances must be applied which are the most impregnated with oxygen, and which can transfuse it into the blood with the greatest facility; and these are precisely the virtues of the *lunar caustic*. Such are the general principles of his theory; but in the experiments by which he endeavoured to establish it, he has not been fortunate: for all the animals bitten by a *cobra de capello* (the only snake he used) died, notwithstanding the instantaneous application of the *lunar caustic*, except one or two, in which the venom had been previously exhausted by repeated incisions. We hope, however, that Mr. Boag will not be discouraged by these failures, but persevere in his experiments, the success of which would be attended with such universal utility in Hindustan.

VI.

An Account of the Petroleum Wells in the Burman Dominions, extracted from the Journal of a Voyage from Rangoon, up the River Irawati, to Amarapurah, the Capital of the Burman Empire. By Captain HIRAM COX, *Resident at Rangoon.*

[This Paper will be found in our Second Volume, Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 315.]

In consequence of the successful mission of Colonel Symes to the court of Amarapurah, it was deemed expedient by the British government in Bengal, to send a commercial resident to Rangoon; and captain Cox was chosen as a fit person to fill that station. During his residence in the Burman empire, he collected some useful information, of which his death prevented the arrangement and publication. The Petroleum Wells are described by colonel Symes, in the Journal of his Embassy; but captain Cox has supplied some additional information relative to a few interesting particulars. He has ascertained the existence of a stratum of coal, possessing all the properties of coal-tar; "so that nature produces, in the bowels of the earth, for the Burmans, that for which European nations are indebted to the ingenuity of lord Dundonald."

VII.

On the Maximum of Mechanic Powers, and the Effects of Machines when in Motion. By Lieut. WILLIAM LAMBTON, *of his Majesty's 33d Regiment.*

The same reasons that induced us to notice Mr. Lambton's former production, in a cursory and general manner, prevent us from examining the various mathematical calculations which he has brought forward in the present paper. He states, "that mathematicians, in treating of mechanics, have in general drawn their conclusions from considering the *weight* and *power* in a state of equilibrium, and have deduced their proportions from the respective distances of each from the centre of motion; or from what the velocities would be, were they put in a mov-

a moving ſtate:" but he is of opinion, that in the actual application of any machine, whether ſimple or compound, there will be a certain *ratio* or proportion between the *weight* and *power*, ſo that in any given time the effect may be the greateſt poſſible. The object of his inquiry, therefore, is to aſcertain the *preciſe effects* of ſuch powers as are of the moſt general uſe in the conſtruction of machinery, ſuch as the laver, the wheel, and the axle.

VIII.

On the Religion and Literature of the Burmans. By FRANCIS BUCHANAN, *M. D.*

Doctor Buchanan accompanied Col. Symes's embaſſy to Ava in the ſtation of ſurgeon. His acknowledged abilities, as a naturaliſt, pointed out the propriety of placing him in a ſituation in which he might exerciſe them with much advantage to ſcience, by inveſtigating the phyſical hiſtory of a country, at that period almoſt unknown. But unfortunately for the public, and ſtill more ſo for himſelf, inſtead of employing his time excluſively during his reſidence in the Burman empire, in examining its natural productions, he chiefly devoted his attention to the ſtudy of the vernacular language, the religion, and literature of its inhabitants. Theſe objects are indeed of infinite importance; but they were not likely to receive much elucidation from Doctor Buchanan, who himſelf informs us, "that he is totally unacquainted with the learned languages of Aſia, and that he remained too ſhort a period amongſt the Burmans to acquire any knowledge of the idiom in which their books are compoſed." Nevertheleſs he has thought his inquiries reſpecting their religion and literature of ſufficient value to preſent the reſult of them to an Aſiatic ſociety. And in order to enliven the tediouſneſs of his diſſertation, and to entertain, ſince he could not inſtruct his readers, he has advanced various hypotheſes, that are at leaſt calculated to attract notice from their novelty, and from the confidence with which they are urged, if not to gain converts by the ingenuity and ſpecioſneſs of the arguments by which they are ſupported. To theſe we ſhall in the firſt inſtance advert. The following analyſis will be found to contain all the principal parts of Doctor Buchanan's ſyſtem:—

"The ſuperſtition of Buddha or Gotama, as it is now eſtabliſhed in the Burman empire, prevailed *over all* India, ſo late as the *ſecond century before the* birth of Chriſt. About that period the Brahmans, who originally migrated from Egypt, introduced themſelves and their religion into Northern Hinduſtan. They probably left Egypt on account of the perſecution of the prieſts, by Cambyſis. At the time of Chriſt they had gained a ſuperiority over the worſhippers of Buddha; but it was not till *nine hundred years afterwards* that they entirely overthrew his doctrine in its native country. Yet whilſt they ſubſtituted their own dogmas, they artfully retained all the principal facts known to the prieſts of Buddha, of Indian hiſtory and ſcience. They likewiſe adopted all the idle and ridiculous legends of the ſect whom they ſubverted; but they "*monſtrouſly aggravated*" all the defects of theſe legends: "Rajahs they converted into gods; and *impoſſibilities* they heaped on *improbabilities*."—And, in order to conceal their origin, the "cunning Brahmans" have carefully deſtroyed all

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all the real monuments of Indian antiquity: thoſe which they now ſhew are ſpurious productions of their own invention. The ſway of the Brahmans has been highly injurious to Hinduſtan: no uſeful ſcience have they diffuſed amongſt their followers; hiſtory they have totally aboliſhed; morality they have depreſſed to the utmoſt; and the dignity and power of the *altar* they have erected on the ruins of the ſtate, and the rights of the ſubject."—To this ſyſtem, however, our author admits, that the coſmography of the Brahmans furniſhes a ſtrong objection. "But," ſays he, "a ſolution of this difficulty may be given. We may readily ſuppoſe the Brahmans to have been a colony of Egyptians, who formed their firſt eſtabliſhment in the vicinity of Bombay, and by degrees engrafted their ſuperſtition on the ignorance of the Hindus, adapting the African deities, and myſtical philoſophy, to the Aſiatic fables, and carefully introducing the Egyptian caſt and ceremonies with all their dreadful conſequences."—Yet what is this but getting rid of a fair objection to one improbable conjecture, by advancing another ſtill more improbable? Such a mode of reaſoning leads one to imagine, that our author's antipathy to the Brahmans ariſes from a jealouſy of their ſuperior ſkill, in "*heaping impoſſibilities on improbabilities.*" Neither of his conjectures reſpecting the Egyptian origin of the Brahmans is ſupported by any ſort of evidence. The ſtriking affinity between the mythological ſyſtems of the Hindus and Egyptians, and the mention made in the Scanda-Puran of Nila, a ſacred river in Cuſha-Dwip, induced ſir William Jones to hint at the probability of thoſe ſyſtems having had a common origin. The learned and ingenious Mr. Wilford has endeavoured to prove, that the *Miſra* of the Purans is actually Egypt; and upon this he has founded his celebrated hypotheſis of the emigration from Hinduſtan to that country, which he ſupports with much ingenuity, and very uncommon learning; but the reſult of the vaſt maſs of evidence which he has adduced, proves nothing more than that the ancient Hindus had ſome knowledge of the countries ſituated on the banks of the Nile. Doctor Buchanan, in a bolder ſpirit of conjecture, not only ventures to maintain the converſe of Mr. Wilford's theory, but attempts to fix the æra of the introduction of the Brahminical religion into Hinduſtan. This laſt point he labours to ſubſtantiate by the following arguments: "When the emperor Akbar conquered Caſhmir, he was preſented with a hiſtory of that country, which he cauſed to be tranſlated into Perſic: and of this tranſlation an abridgement has been preſerved by Abul Fazil, in the Ayeen Akbary. This abridgement informs us, that when Caſhmir was freed from an inundation, *Kuſhup* (it ſhould be *Caſſyapa*) brought the Brahmans to inhabit the new land: after a long time the inhabitants elected a man celebrated for his virtue to be their king. The name of the firſt ſucceſſor to this king was *Oungund (Uengund)* who was a cotemporary with *Kiſhen*, (it ſhould be *Criſna*, the eighth incarnation of the deity). From Uengund to Cotadevi, the laſt native ruler, this hiſtory reckons 159 princes; and Cotadevi was ſucceeded by a Mahommedan prince Shamſeddin, in the year 1342 of our æra. It appears from the hiſtory that theſe 159 princes reigned an aſtoniſh-

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ing length of time: but no number of years is aſſigned for the reign of the firſt 58 princes, and only 18 of them are named: of the next 53 princes, one reigned 300 years, and all the others an incredible length of time. The ſafeſt rule in this caſe is to take the laſt three dynaſties as a guide, and theſe give us 52 princes in 504 years, which is not quite ten years to a reign, and that is as much as ought to be admitted in eaſtern dynaſties, where oppreſſion *always* paves the way for revolt, where the line of ſucceſſion is not clearly defined, and where an old uncle in moſt caſes ſupplants the infant nephew. On this *ſuppoſition* of ten years for a reign, Uengund and Criſna will be placed in the year before Chriſt 248. Now the Brahmans taken to Caſhmir by Caſſyapa could not be the Brahman ſect of prieſts, as they cultivated the earth, and were the only inhabitants of the country; but they *muſt have been* one of the Brahman nations, ſeveral of whom, according to Pliny, were diſperſed over India; and theſe again the doctor "*conjectures* to be the ſame with the Biamma of the Burman Rahans, becauſe the Biamma are by them called the firſt inhabitants of the earth." "That this *muſt* be the meaning of the hiſtory of Caſhmir ſeems *plain*; for, Rajah *Jenneh, (Janaca)* the 45th prince, and who, according to my theory, lived about the year of Chriſt 202, *eſtabliſhed in his reign the Brahmany rites*, and his ſucceſſor Jelouk *tolerated the doctrine of Buddha*, and it was not till A. D. 342 that the Brahmans vanquiſhed the followers of Buddha, and deſtroyed their temples."

Such is the reaſoning by which Doctor Buchanan ſtrives to explode the received opinions reſpecting the antiquity of the Brahmanical ſyſtem, that are founded on the prevalent traditions of the weſtern nations of Aſia, as well as of Hinduſtan, on the concurrent teſtimony of the ſacred books of the Hindus, and the fragments of the journal of Megaſthenes, preſerved by Arrian, and on the profound reſearches and cautious inveſtigations of ſir William Jones. Were we to admit the correctneſs of the hiſtorical facts, as ſtated by our author, we ſhould ſhew that his reaſoning is preſumptive and conjectural, and his inferences altogether inconcluſive. But we ſhall demonſtrate, that the paſſages he quotes from Abul Fazil are either miſ-ſtated or perverted, and that the very hiſtory to which he appeals in ſupport of his hypotheſis, furniſhes the moſt deciſive evidence againſt it. We ſubmit to our readers a literal tranſlation from the Perſic original of all the paſſages in Abul Fazil's abridgement of the Caſhmirian hiſtory, to which Doctor Buchanan adverts.

"1. When the water that covered the vale of Caſhmir had partly ſubſided, Caſſyapa, a ſaint of great renown, carried thither a great many Brahmans. When the population of the country became numerous, it appeared eſſential to chooſe a ruler. Accordingly the wiſe and experienced aſſembled for that purpoſe, and ſelected the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them for that ſtation, &c. * * * * * * *

"2. When the regal power devolved on Aſoca, the uncle's ſon of Rajah Janaca, *he abjured the religion of the Brahmans, and adopted that of Jina, or Buddha, to which he continued conſtantly attached.* His ſon Rajah Jeluk was reſpected as a juſt prince; he ſubdued the adjacent country as far as the ſea; he procured from Canuj, then

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then the principal city of Hindustan, seven learned Brahmans, whom he appointed to the chief offices in his kingdom. The Hindus relate several wonderful adventures of this prince. In his reign the religion of Buddha continued to acquire an ascendancy." * * * * *

"8. In the reign of Rajah Nerka, the worship of Buddha was proscribed, and his temples levelled with the ground, &c. &c.

In another place Abul Fazil states "*one hundred and sixty-eight princes* to have reigned between Uengund and Coradevi."—He also states, that Cassyapa was himself a Brahman; and it is evident, from the first passage above cited, that he introduced the Brahman priests into Cashmir, not for the purpose of cultivating the land, as Doctor Buchanan asserts, but for that of choosing a king. The doctor's calculation, which reduces to *ten years* the average reigns in Asiatic dynasties, is entirely fanciful, and is not justified by the history of any oriental nation with which we are acquainted. Had he examined Ferishta, and the subsequent historians of Hindustan, he would have found, that notwithstanding the civil commotion and foreign warfare, which unceasingly prevailed whilst the Afghan dynasty sat on the throne of Delhi, the princes of that family reigned, on an average, *sixteen years*; that the princes of the house of Timur, from the elevation of Baber, to the death of Aurungzebe, reigned, on an average, *thirty-five* years; and that even amidst the distraction which has existed since the accession of Mahommed Shah, the reigns of his descendants furnish an average of *twenty years*. If, therefore, we take the history of these dynasties as a criterion, twenty years to a reign may be allowed as a general average; and upon that estimate it appears, that Uengund reigned 2018 years before Christ, which, according to Sir William Jones's chronology, is the æra of his cotemporary Crisna. With regard to the proscription of the religion of Buddha in Cashmir, our author asserts, that it took place in A. D. 340; yet the historian, whom he takes as his guide in this discussion, informs us, that many centuries subsequent to that event, Cashmir was conquered by Vicramaditya. Now, as all our Indian antiquaries agree in placing the reign of that monarch in the first century before Christ, Doctor Buchanan is bound, either to disprove their calculations, or to admit his own to be totally fallacious.

These observations, together with the passages we have translated from Abul Fazil, will enable our readers to judge of the accuracy of Doctor Buchanan's statements, and to appreciate the value of his researches. But as he must have consulted Mr. Gladwin's translation of Abul Fazil, and as that translation, though a work of considerable merit, is confessedly defective in some parts, we shall examine what allowance he is entitled to claim from the mistakes of his authority. The most material sentence quoted by the doctor, is that which relates to Rajah Jannea, or Jenneh. "Rajah Jenneh," says he, "the forty-fifth prince, and who, according to my theory, must have lived about the year of Christ 290, *established in his reign the Brahmany rites*." Now the sentence in Mr. Gladwin's translation, from which he takes this alleged fact, is *verbatim* as follows—"Ashowg, (that is Asoca,) *the nephew of Rajah Jenneh, established*

ed during his reign, the Brahmany rites, and *ſubſtituted in their ſtead*, thoſe of Jyen," (that is Jina or Buddha.) The miſtake here is ſo obvious, that it ſeems hardly poſſible any perſon of common ſenſe ſhould have been miſled by it: for the ſentence will admit of no meaning whatever, unleſs the word *aboliſhed*, or ſome ſynonymous term, be put in place of *eſtabliſhed*. That this is an overſight of Mr. Gladwin's there can be no doubt, not only becauſe the ſentence as it ſtands is mere nonſenſe, but becauſe the word *aboliſhed* is the literal ſignification of the Perſic original. Whether the learned doctor, in reading this ſentence, was really blinded by the prejudice which he has imbibed againſt the Brahmans, or whether he intentionally perverted its evident meaning, in order to aſſiſt the conſtruction of his favourite hypotheſis, we ſhall leave our readers to determine.

That the ſuperſtition of Buddha had at one time acquired an extenſive aſcendancy throughout Hinduſtan, particularly in the peninſula, is a fact admitted by the Brahmans themſelves, and proved by its being ſtill the prevailing worſhip in the iſland of Ceylon, as well as amongſt many of the tribes who inhabit the mountainous tracts of Myſore and the Carnatic; but that the Brahmanical religion had previouſly been eſtabliſhed in thoſe countries, appears inconteſtible from the towns and villages being in the preſent day all named after the Hindu deities, and from the numerous ruins of Brahman temples that ſtill remain, on which the ſculptured figures of thoſe deities are diſtinctly ſeen. The evidence of theſe facts is in no degree invalidated by the ingenious arguments of the late learned Mr. William Chambers, in his account of the ruins at Mavalipuram; for his arguments only prove what is perfectly reconcilable with our opinion, namely, that ſo late as the ninth century of the Chriſtian æra, many of the nations of the peninſula were worſhippers of Buddha, and likewiſe that one of the inſcriptions at Mavalipuram is in a character which is not only unintelligible to the preſent race of Brahmans, but which bears not any reſemblance to any character hitherto diſcovered, except the Balic, in which the ſacred language of the Siameſe is written. But, as the ſculptures which adorn the walls of thoſe Pagodas, repreſent the Brahmanical deities, as well as the perſonages celebrated in the Sanſcrit poem of the Mahabharat, which the Brahmans conſider as ſacred; and as theſe ſculptures, which we have ourſelves minutely inſpected, bear every appearance of having been executed at the ſame period with the buildings and excavations, the ſingle inſcription in an unknown character, inſtead of furniſhing any evidence *againſt* the antiquity of the Brahmanical ſyſtem, proves indiſputably, that the temples at Mavalipuram, raiſed in honour of that ſyſtem, are the production of a very remote age. Nor is the juſtneſs of this inference at all leſſened by the character of the inſcription being now unintelligible; for that circumſtance proves nothing more than that a particular alphabet, once uſed by the ancient inhabitants of the Carnatic, who, by the deities they worſhipped, muſt have been Brahmans, has in a long ſucceſſion of ages become at firſt obſolete, and thereby, in the uſual courſe of things, at laſt altogether unknown. Theſe points admit of the fulleſt demonſtration, were this a

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fit occasion for discussing the subject at large.

With respect to northern Hindustan, it is sufficient for our present purpose to state, that the most satisfactory evidence is now before the public, of the Brahmanical system, with its division of casts, being established there, as completely as it is in the present day, at the period of the invasion of Alexander, 320 years before the birth of Christ. The extracts which Mr. Wilford has translated from an historical Drama in Sanscrit, intitled "the Mudra Rachasa, *(See Mr. Wilford's Dissertation on the Chronology of the Hindus; Asiatic Researches, vol. 6.)* furnish decisive proofs, that Chandra-Gupta, king of Prachi and Magadha, mentioned in the Vishnu Purana, is the Σανδρακοττον τον Ινδον βασιλεα described both by Strabo and Arrian, on the authority of Megasthenes, who resided several years at his court. The account given by these historians of the character of that monarch, as well as of his people, and of his capital of Παλιβοθρα, called by the Hindus Palipoutra, corresponds so exactly with the stories in the Mudra Rachasa, that the accuracy of the Grecian narrations cannot reasonably be questioned. On the other hand, the description given in the Mudra Rachasa, of the Yavana, answers so completely to the Greeks in every material point, that either the drama itself, or the stories on which it is founded, must have been composed, if not in the reign, at least in the age of Chandra-Gupta. The accuracy of Strabo and Arrian in these particulars, being thus attested, their authority in all the rest of the information which they give respecting India, is intitled to much additional credit. Now both these writers state, that in the time of Megasthenes (290 years before the birth of Christ) the religion of Brahma universally prevailed throughout all the countries situated between the rivers Indus and Ganges; that according to the tradition amongst the Brahmin priests and philosophers, their religious system had been immemorially established in India; and that Crisna, whom they call Κραδευαν, was then worshipped at Μεθορα, on the river Ιωβαρης, by which is meant Mathura, on the river Jumna, where Crisna is worshipped in the present day. Yet in the face of this evidence, Dr. Buchanan ventures to assert, that the Brahmanical religion was first introduced into Hindustan about the second century before the Christian æra. The doctor complains of his want of books, and intreats the indulgence of his learned readers on that account. But was he under the indispensable necessity of presenting his dissertation to the society at a particular period? or was he impatient to impart to the world the mighty discoveries he had made amongst the Burman priests? Prudence at least should have taught him to pay more respect to his readers, than to attempt to explode received opinions respecting a system of theology, which has engaged the attention of the most distinguished philosophers and historians of every age, without previously consulting all the authorities and evidence on which those opinions are founded. Had he requested some friend in Calcutta to procure for him a copy of Arrian, he might have saved himself the trouble of floundering for a recondite meaning in the *vitta multi partim* of Pliny, when the real one was sufficiently obvious. "Mimæ," says Pliny,

Pliny, *vitam mitioribus populis Indarum multi partim degunt*, &c. &c. For the remainder of the passage we refer our readers to Pliny's Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 17. But in Arrian's Ἰνδικα, he would have found an account of the different casts of the Hindus, so plain and perspicuous, that neither dulness could mistake, nor ingenuity pervert it.

We refer our readers to the passage beginning with—Ἰνδοισι δε, σοφὸς ἀλλος διαλόγ εστι, μητρογε Ἰνδων τις, νεκαμητραρ δε οι παντες Ἰνδοι εξ ἑπτα μαλιστα γενεας, &c. The facts which this passage contains, are likewise mentioned in the 15th book of Strabo; and in a cursory manner by Diodorus Siculus, by Justin, on the authority of Trogus Pompeius, and by Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander.

Doctor Buchanan's observation, that the "Brahmanical system has been more injurious to morality than any other ever invented *by the craft of disfiguring men*," is completely *falsified*, not only by the fragments of the journal of Megasthenes, cited by Strabo and Arrian, but even by the Mussulman historians, all of whom agree in praising the flourishing condition of Hindustan, under the government of its native princes, the immense wealth of its inhabitants, the mildness and politeness of their manners, the considerable acquirements which they had made in science, the regularity with which justice was administered amongst them, and the good order which universally prevailed. But the drama of Sacontala affords the most indubitable testimony, that the Hindu people were susceptible of the beauties of moral sentiment, and the sympathies of delicate love, at the period at which it was composed. That people must have attained a considerable degree of refinement, who could admire the elegant dialogues between Dushmanta and Sacontala. With regard to the present race of Hindus, every man who has resided long amongst them, and who is qualified to judge of their character by a sufficient portion of good sense and penetration, and an accurate knowledge of their language and usages, will admit, that their morals, notwithstanding their avarice and chicanery, are far superior to those of their Mahommedan neighbours, or of any other nation in Asia.——As to the epithets of "*crafty Brahman, cunning Brahman, mean Brahman, cheating Brahman, &c. &c.* which our author so profusely bestows, they are suitable enough to the idle prating of a youth on his first arrival in India, but are utterly unworthy of a grave doctor, who aims at a place amongst the investigators of Asiatic history and science.

We now proceed to the more immediate subject of the dissertation before us. We should not have detained our readers so long in exposing the fallacy of an hypothesis, which is maintained by such groundless and feeble arguments, had we not observed, that it has already misled a writer * of considerable popularity.

In our review of colonel Symes's interesting narrative of his embassy to Ava, *(see Asiatic Register, vol. 3. Account of Books, p. 17.)* and in our extracts from that work, will be found a much fuller and more pleasing account of the religion and literature of the Burmans, than in the ponderous treatise before us. Doctor Buchanan has added no ma-

* See Pinkerton's modern Geography, article Hindustan, in which there are a variety of errors, that in our next volume we shall point out to our Readers.

terial fact to the information furnished by colonel Symes. But he has introduced into his Dissertation, a translation of three tracts, written originally in Latin, which colonel Symes procured from Vincentius Sangermano, an Italian missionary, residing at Rangoon. The first of these is a cosmography compiled by this missionary, from several Burman writings; the second is a translation by him of a small treatise in the Burman language, originally written by a late Talapoin, or king's confessor, with a view to convert the christians; and the third is a translation of the Burman book of ordination. The observations which Doctor Buchanan has interspersed throughout these tracts, serve to embarrass rather than explain them; and the two last are so obviously interpolated by the Romish missionary that they are wholly unworthy of attention. But the Cosmographia Burmana may excite some curiosity, from the resemblance which it bears to an episode in the Mahabharit, entitled the Khetra Nermana. We have been forestalled on this point, by a learned friend of ours in the Edinburgh Review, who has we think succeeded in shewing that the Burman Cosmography, as it is called, is a mutilated transcript of a Sanscrit poem. That our readers may be enabled to form their own opinion, on the subject we submit to them the following extract from the Burman treatise, together with a literal translation, of corresponding passages in the Khetra Nermana.

From the Cosmographia Burhmana.

"The inhabitants of the northern island differ totally from those of the others; for they neither practise agriculture, commerce, nor any other profession. There grows in their island a tree called Padezabayn, on which, in place of fruit, *hang precious garments of every kind:* so that from these trees, *the inhabitants are supplied with all manner of cloathing.* Neither have the inhabitants of Unchegra any need to cultivate the ground, as the same Padezabayn produces a certain excellent kind of rice, which has no husk. Women there are not subject to the common sexual infirmities, and bear their children without any pain. When the time comes they bring them forth in the streets, and there leave them. Thus no one knows his own relations; as also because all the inhabitants are of the same form and colour. As soon as a person dies, the body is deposited in a

From the Khetra Nermana.

"1. North of Meru, and south of Mount Nila (the Riphean mountains) lies the island of Guru, venerated by the pious.

"2. There the *trees bend with delicious fruits;* there a thousand flowers diffuse an exquisite fragrance.

"3. From one tree named Kharina exudes a vegetable milk, sweet as ambrosia; *its leaves supply vesture, its fruits nourishment to the natives.*

"4. The inhabitants are white and lovely; the women fair as the nymphs of Paradise; they usually produce twins.

"5. These twins grow together; their aspects and qualities are similar, and like a pair of turtles one cannot be distinguished from the other.

"6. Robust and healthy they live in continual enjoyment, free from care; and as their birth was

certain

From the Cosmographia Burhmana.

certain place, when *very large birds, destined by fate for that purpose,* carry it away to another part of the island, and there devour it. These islanders are very handsome, especially the women, who excel in softness, suppleness, and elegance of limbs, &c. &c.

From the Khetra Nermana.

contemporary, so they both die at the same instant.

"7. *The huge bird Bharunda, of enormous strength, lifts up the corse, and then drops it in the river, &c. &c.*"

An attentive comparison of these extracts, will most probably be sufficient to satisfy our readers, that the Burman cosmography is a mere copy of a fable in the Mahabharat. Were it necessary, we could easily shew innumerable other points of coincidence between them. From a collation of all the parts of both, it appears evident to us, that their occasional discrepancy only arises from the interpolations of Sangermano, with which the Burman document abounds. Hence then we are supplied with an additional proof, to those mentioned in our review of col. Symes's embassy, of the sacred language and literature, as well as the laws of the Burmans, being derived from Hindustan. With regard to the tradition prevalent amongst the Rahans, that they received their religious and jurisprudential system from Ceylon, it were useless to give any opinion. We are not informed of the means by which this system was conveyed from thence to Ava; whether it was transported across the gulph of Bengal; or whether it travelled through Hindustan. Mr. Knox, who lived twenty-two years in the kingdom of Candy, in Ceylon, does not mention any such tradition being known there. Baldæus indeed tells us, that the Cingalese priests suppose themselves to be the descendants of the crew of a Chinese vessel, that was shipwrecked on their island many thousand years ago. But stories like these are current in every Asiatic nation, and furnish no ground for any rational conjecture. The Cingalese and Burmans are worshippers of Buddha, and the Pali is said to be the sacred language of both nations. But in their fundamental institutions there is a most important difference. In the Burman empire, the distinction of caste is unknown; in Ceylon, it has been immemorially established *; not only on principles, but by divisions and subdivisions, conformable to those of the Brahmanical system. This circumstance at once shews the improbability of the Burmans having received their religion and laws from Ceylon, and strongly corroborates the evidence already mentioned in proof of the Brahmans having been settled in that island as well as in the Indian peninsula antecedent to the dissemination of the Buddhaian heresy.

After filling one hundred and fifty pages with this prolix and desultory account of the religion of the Burmans, Dr. Buchanan concludes his dissertation with a few unimportant particulars relative to the state of science, literature, and

* See Knox's History of Ceylon, part iii. chap. ii. page 66.

the fine arts, amongst that people. From these, however, we shall make one extract, both because our author is doubtless well qualified to judge of the subject to which it relates, and because it will give our readers an adequate notion of his manner of writing, which is pretty much upon a level with his manner of reasoning. With this we shall close our strictures on his performance.

"On medicine," says the doctor, "the Burmans have several books. They divide diseases into ninety-six genera, and of these several are subdivided into many species. (Why did not the doctor ascertain their names?) Their books contain descriptions of all the ninety-six diseases, with various recipes for their cure. Of the animal kingdom, mumy is a favourite medicine. The Burmans are acquainted with the use of mercury in the cure of the venereal disease; but their manner of giving it is neither certain nor safe. They make a candle of cinnabar, and some other materials, and setting fire to it, the patient inhales the fume with his nostrils. The patient is, however, rarely able to persevere long in this course, as it always produces a want of appetite and extreme languor. The greater part however of the Burman remedies are taken from the vegetable kingdom, especially of the aromatic kind, nutmegs being one of their most favourite medicines. They are well acquainted with the plants of their country, and for a vast number have appropriate names. On the whole, however, the practice of their physicians is almost entirely empirical; and almost every one has, or pretends to have, a number of private recipes, on which the success of his practice chiefly depends. *I was often tempted by wonderful stories concerning the efficacy of these nostrums, in order to induce me to purchase the secret, which some of them pretended to have been handed down from their fathers for several generations.* Indeed I found a great spirit of illiberality among my brethren of trade; nor were they exempt from imposing on the weakness of the sick, by a pretension to supernatural powers. In spite however of all these indirect means of influence, I found them deservedly not in possession of an honourable estimation among their countrymen. One curious custom relating to the *Burman* physicians may be mentioned. If a young woman is dangerously ill, the doctor and her parents frequently enter into an agreement, the doctor undertaking to cure her. If she lives, the doctor takes her as his property; but if she dies, he pays her value to the parents: for in the Burman dominions, no parent parts with his daughter, whether to be a wife, or to be a concubine, without a valuable consideration. I do not know whether the doctor is entitled to sell the girl again, or if he must retain her in his family; but the number of the young women *which* I saw in the house of a doctor at Myeda, makes me think the practice to be very common.

"In surgery, the skill of the Burmans, I believe, goes no further than dressing wounds, and setting bones. Of late indeed they have introduced from Arakan the art of inoculation for the small-pox. This practice has however not become general, as a very great proportion of the people's faces are pitted by that disease."

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The remaining articles in this volume are, *A Narrative of a Journey to Sirinagur*, which is inserted entire in the second volume of our Register; *A Description of the Excavations at Ellora; Remarks on some Antiquities on the West and South Coast of Ceylon; Observations on Mount Caucasus*, by *Capt.* WILFORD; and a *Dissertation on the Antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta, by Mr.* J. BENTLEY. As our account of these papers would occupy a space much beyond what our limits admit, we must reserve it for our next volume.

(To be continued.)

ESSAYS *by the Students of the* COLLEGE *of* FORT WILLIAM, *in* BENGAL. *To which are added the* THESES *pronounced at the public Disputations in the Oriental Languages, on the 6th February* 1802.

In the second volume of our work *(Chronicle, p.* 104,*)* we inserted the original plan for the foundation of this seminary, and at the same time expressed our opinion of the extensive utility which such an institution was calculated to produce. Amongst the State Papers, in our present volume, will be seen the principles and sentiments by which its noble founder was governed in forming so comprehensive and splendid an establishment, and which render any observations of ours on that subject wholly superfluous.

Under such enlightened patronage the college could not fail to flourish; and the progress which the students have made, not only holds out to their parents the most flattering and consolatory prospect, but furnishes a strong argument in favour of the institution. That time which the junior civil servants of the Company formerly wasted in idleness, or abused in dissipation, is now devoted to the cultivation of their minds in the study of useful and elegant acquirements. The essays and theses which have been transmitted to us are equally creditable to the students, and their learned instructors. The declamations are connected and perspicuous; and in the disputations in the Persic, Bengalee, and Hindustanee languages, we have not, after an attentive perusal, been able to discover more than a few slight errors. The following extracts will enable our readers to judge of the general merits of these juvenile exercises.

From an Essay on the Advantages to be derived from an Academical Institution in India. By Mr. W. P. ELLIOT.

After an appropriate exordium, Mr. Elliot proceeds in the following strain:—"Immense territories in India have been now nearly half a century in the possession of the British, yet it is a melancholy reflection, that their improvement has been by no means proportionate to such a lapse of time. But we may confidently hope that the period is now arrived, when every year shall add new happiness to the Indian subject, new glories to the British character. No liberal or feeling heart can have seen without the most sincere delight, the noble efforts lately excited for the diffusion of science and knowledge, and India will

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long have cauſe to remember with gratitude, the conqueror, whoſe firſt care is to render the conquered civilized and happy.

"But if we have much to teach, we have alſo much to learn. Aſia was, of all parts of the world, the firſt peopled, the firſt civilized. While the European world were hordes of barbarians, learning and ſcience flouriſhed in high perfection in the Eaſt: in ſome branches, probably, to a greater degree of excellence than has ever been ſince attained. Here we may expect traces of primeval cuſtoms and manners, and here ſeek the origin of all ancient inſtitutions. Strenuous as have been the exertions of a few individuals, it muſt be perceived how very inadequate they have been to the attainment of ſo great an object as that of collecting the rich treaſures of knowledge, ſcattered over almoſt every part of Aſia. The poets, hiſtorians, and ſtateſmen of the Eaſt claim our admiration and reſpect, for the flowery elegance and claſſic purity of their language: their dignified notions of morality; their deep and extenſive knowledge of mankind; and the energy and ſublimity of their ſentiments. The hiſtory, ancient and modern, of ſo vaſt a region cannot fail of being peculiarly intereſting, though, like all others, frequently involved in darkneſs and fable. The ſimilarity of their rites and ceremonies, cuſtoms and manners, to what we know of thoſe of former times from the ſacred writings, is extremely ſtriking, and their ſuperſtitions will, in many inſtances, be diſcovered flowing from the primeval religion, but through corrupted channels. Their antiquities preſent an ample field to the curious traveller, wherein he may trace the progreſs of the arts, and the grandeur and declenſion of empires; and in aſtronomy, ſuch ſtriking proofs of their former knowledge are yet extant, as with reaſon toniſh the moſt learned of the moderns.

The principal and neceſſary qualification for the attainment of eaſtern knowledge, and the diffuſion of our own, is an early and well grounded acquaintance with the languages of the Eaſt; and ſuch an inſight into the manners and cuſtoms of the people, as will teach us to reſpect prejudices which we cannot remove; and entitle us to their confidence, by rendering us indulgent to their failings.

But we have other and more important duties to perform, which equally demand theſe qualifications. The Britiſh dominions in the Eaſt are of a conſiderably greater extent than the united kingdoms; their population larger, in more than the ſame proportion; and they compriſe a variety of nations, who differ in their religion, laws, manners and cuſtoms. To give life to this uninformed maſs, to harmonize theſe jarring materials, and render them an efficient part of the Empire, requires the utmoſt energy of every individual compoſing the government, and a knowledge of the ſubject ſuited to that energy. The numberleſs loſſes which have befallen the Company in the various departments of revenue and commerce, and the ill judged meaſures which, in many inſtances, have alienated from the government, the confidence and good will of large bodies of men, may generally be traced to a defective knowledge of the languages, or of the genius and prejudices of the nation, in the individuals concerned in the particular tranſactions.

A ſervant of the Company in India

India should consider well the new relations in which he is placed. He can scarcely propose to himself a situation of any consequence, in which the comfort and happiness of a vast number of people, sometimes even their lives, will not be found to depend, in some measure, upon his judgment and conduct. He should further consider, that he is among men, who, from education and religious prejudices, have acquired a strong antipathy to European customs and manners, and that among these he is to vindicate the honour of his country, and to support the dignity of the British character. But by what means can this knowledge and these qualifications which are requisite for the regulation of his public conduct, be attained? The civil servants of the Company arrive in this country at a season, when, newly emancipated from the shackles of scholastic restraint, they first taste the sweets of liberty, or, in the words of an elegant Persian writer,

از بادیه بدانی مست و از
شراب کامرانی سرخوش

In the warmth and fervor of youth, elated with their prospects, possessing liberal allowances, and finding full means of gratification, they are naturally led to give the reins to their desires, and to indulge themselves in amusements and pleasures of every kind. They conceive that the time of their being called into active life is at some distance, and that it is yet too early to think seriously of their duties. But pleasing as is this delusion, it must be remembered that habits acquired in youth seldom lose any of their power in more advanced life; that theirs is the season of improvement, and that the opportunity once lost can never be recalled. The most luxuriant plants will wither without proper culture; the most flourishing vines require pruning; and those which in rearing demand the most tender and judicious care, produce at last the choicest fruit.

A literary institution must appear the most certain and effectual method for checking the progress of dissipation and thoughtlessness, and directing the ambition of the junior civil servants to its proper object, that of rendering themselves competent to the arduous duties which they may be hereafter called upon to fulfil, and of becoming worthy and efficient members of society. Nor are any restraints requisite, but such as every gentleman may submit to without any derogation from his character; restraints from the power of injuring themselves or others. And when once a suitable object offers itself to their pursuit, that youthful impetuosity which before hurried them with rapidity into the vortex of pleasure, will now encourage them with equal success in the paths of science. Emulation will also be found to produce the most beneficial effects. Not only is it of service in schools and universities; it will be found in every stage and every state of life to have called forth the noblest efforts of the human mind; efforts which without it had never been excited, or but in a very inferior degree.

A principal qualification required of the young men is a knowledge of several languages, with which they have not, till their arrival in the country, the least acquaintance; and how necessary a regular system of

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of instruction is to the attainment of this object, those who are best acquainted with the languages will readily acknowledge. A laborious and unremitted application has in some instances supplied the deficiency; but it has been in those instances, such an application, as very few could, and still fewer would afford. Numberless objects of pursuit present themselves to the studious man on his arrival in India: and unless he should be directed in his choice by those who have had better opportunity of judging than himself, he would probably waste his time on objects of comparatively small importance, to the neglect of those which have the principal claim to his attention. With the languages are intimately connected the manners and customs of the various nations of India. Their laws and usages, by which, to the great honour of the British, they still continue to be governed, form another and very important branch of study; besides these, a knowledge of so many different subjects is requisite to the proper discharge of the duties of a Company's servant, that nothing less than several years of diligent study and attention can qualify a young man for the situations which he may probably be called upon to fill.

If a knowledge of the general principles of science and literature be esteemed indispensable in England, surely it is not less so in India: and it is highly worthy of a liberal and enlightened government, to encourage the prosecution of those classical studies which have met with an early interruption in England, as well as of those more refined sciences and polite arts; a knowledge of which, though not of urgent import to the completion of the Company's affairs, yet forms the chief pleasure and delight of the scholar and the gentleman.

In a moral point of view, the advantages of an academical institution will be equally conspicuous. Pleasures and amusements, unless restrained within moderate bounds, soon lead to extravagance and licentiousness. Coming into the country at an early age, it can hardly be expected that young men should have any strong and fixed ideas of the truth of their religion; and whatever they may have, are too often obliterated, by a constant intercourse with men, who are, perhaps, as deficient in moral principle as in their knowledge of the true religion. Nor is this all: a very short course of dissipation places them in the power of men, who want not the inclination to render them instrumental in the perpetration of the most dishonest and unworthy actions, to the disgrace of their country and the dishonour of the religion which they profess. As we believe our religion to be infinitely more pure than that of India, and our morality more refined, it is incumbent on us to shew that our actions are not at variance with our ideas; and to evince the truth of that religion, by displaying its efficacy on our conduct. The paths of vice hold out so many and such powerful allurements, that nothing but a firm and solid foundation of religion, integrity, and morality can resist their power. It becomes therefore a primary object of the proposed institution, to check, in the very beginning, the progress of dissipation and vice; to instil the principles of religion and virtue; to enforce the necessity of order and industry; and to warn the inexperienced of the dangers and snares which await them in the passage through life.

I cannot omit to observe two circumstances, which will tend very greatly to conciliate to the British

with government the good will and esteem of the natives of India, and which may be ranked among the principal advantages of this institution.

The first is, the great patronage which is hereby extended to natives of learning and abilities. India has been long descending, by slow degrees, into the gulph of barbarism and ignorance, and learning and the arts have been gradually falling into disrepute and obscurity. The ample field which this institution proposes to itself, comprehending the languages, literature, arts, and sciences of all the most polished nations of Asia, will not fail, in a few years, to assemble the most learned men from all parts, by affording them suitable encouragement. Nor does it end here: the student will come into active life with a taste for Eastern literature, and extend that patronage so happily begun; the shoots of science will again spring up and flourish, and the East will regain its once well merited celebrity.

The other circumstance I had to mention is, the conviction which will be afforded to the natives of India, of the earnest desire of the supreme government, that they may not be ruled by men ignorant of the genius of the country and its inhabitants; but by those who, from a regular course of diligence and study, have attained a perfect knowledge of the subject. This will inspire a confidence that the laws will be administered with justice and impartiality; that every respect will be shewn to their usages and customs, and every indulgence to their prejudices; in fine, they will cease to consider themselves as a conquered people, and unite with one soul in a general wish for the permanency and prosperity of the British Empire.

Translation of a THESIS *in the Hindustanee Language. By Mr.* W. B. BAYLEY.

POSITION.—*The Hindustanee is the most generally useful language in India.*

The language, which in my proposition I have specified by the name of Hindustanee, is also frequently denominated Hindee, Oordoo, and Rekhtu. It is compounded of the Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit, or Bhakha, which last appears to have been in former ages the current language of Hindustan.

Owing, in some measure, to the intercourse of the merchants of Arabia with this country, but more particularly to the frequent invasions of it by the Mussulmans, and their ultimate settlement in it, a considerable number of Arabic and Persian words became engrafted on the original language of the natives, and out of this mixture arose a new language, the Hindustanee, like a modern superstructure on an ancient foundation.

By degrees it assumed its present appearance and estimation; and the court of Delhi made choice of it as the medium in all affairs depending on colloquial intercourse. Hence its influence gradually spread abroad so widely, that it became universally used in the courts of the Mussulman princes. Many of the native inhabitants also grew familiarized to it, and used it in all concerns, the validity of which did not depend upon written documents.

As the intercourse and communication of the Mussulmans with the natives of India, was greater or less, according to certain circumstances and situations; the Hindustanee naturally varied considerably, with respect to the prevalence of one or the other of the languages composing

compoſing it. This circumſtance will ſanction a diviſion of it into three diſtinct dialects, namely, the priſtine, or country; the middle, or familiar; and the learned, or court dialect: each of which are reſpectively uſeful in different diſtricts, ſituations and families.

In the firſt, or priſtine dialect, there is a ſmaller admixture of foreign words; hence this is more nearly related to the original dialects of the country.

In the ſecond, or familiar dialect, the number of foreign words bears nearly an equal proportion to the original ones.

In the third, or court dialect, Arabic and Perſian words are by far the moſt numerous.

It is unneceſſary for me to explain the various moral and phyſical cauſes which have rendered the Hinduſtanee leſs prevalent in ſome parts of India than in others, ſince they muſt be evident to every reflecting mind. This circumſtance, however, by no means invalidates my propoſition; for although I can grant that particular dialects are ſpoken by the inhabitants of ſeveral diſtricts and provinces of India, yet I aſſert, that no one of them, taken individually, is ſo generally uſeful and neceſſary as the Hinduſtanee. Nor will my aſſertion appear too bold when it is conſidered that, however extenſive a country may be, and how numerous ſoever the dialects ſpoken in it, ſtill the language of its court and metropolis will always be moſt generally known and underſtood, and muſt of conſequence be that moſt worthy of attention and cultivation by foreigners.

I ſhall now advert to a few arguments, which I truſt will be convincing and ſatisfactory proofs of the truth of my propoſition.

In the whole of the vaſt country of Hinduſtan, ſcarce any Muſſulman will be found, who does not underſtand and ſpeak the Hinduſtanee.

Every Hindu alſo, of any diſtinction, or who has the leaſt connection either with the Muſſulman or the Britiſh government, is, according to his ſituation, acquainted more or leſs, with this language.

It is moreover the general medium by which many perſons of various foreign nations ſettled in Hinduſtan, communicate their wants and ideas to each other. Of the truth of this indeed we ourſelves are an evidence, as are the Portuguese, Dutch, French, Danes, Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Perſians, Moguls, and Chineſe.

In almoſt all the armies of India, this appears to be the univerſally uſed language, even though many of the individuals compoſing them, be better acquainted with the dialects peculiar to their reſpective diſtricts.

Nearly from Cape Comorin to Kabul, a country about 2000 miles in length, and 1400 in breadth within the Ganges, few perſons will be found in any large villages or towns, which have ever been conquered, or much frequented by Muſſulmans, who are not ſufficiently converſant in the Hinduſtanee; and in many places beyond the Ganges, this language is current and familiar.

An accurate knowledge of the cuſtoms and manners of a nation, depends principally on an acquaintance with its colloquial language; and in no country perhaps is this knowledge more eſſential or a more deſirable object of attainment than in Hinduſtan, the inhabitants of which differ ſo widely in religion, laws, cuſtoms and prejudices.

When the conquerors and rulers of a country are unacquainted with the current ſpeech of their ſubjects, the

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the natural consequences must evidently be injustice on the one part, and disaffection on the other.

Although in the popular language of any country, there may be a deficiency of books of science, still that language is the most proper and necessary for conducting the affairs of civil government and commerce, of military, as well as judicial concerns. I may here observe, that many centuries have not elapsed since the learning, laws, and religion of our own country were preserved and studied in a foreign language; that language has however been superseded by the English, a sufficient proof that the current language of the country was deemed most worthy of cultivation and study.

Although the Hindustanee language does not boast of very many prose compositions, or works of science, yet how many elegant tales and beautiful poems have been composed in it! How universally are commercial and military concerns, and even political correspondence of the highest consequence, connected with it, and carried on in it! And in this place, I may observe, that the instructions of the learned natives, and all their disputations and arguments on subjects of literature, are conducted in it; and that in every case where a native of this country wishes either to compose or to dictate any thing to be written, he constantly arranges his ideas, and explains his meaning in the Hindustanee.

Lastly, a correct and general knowledge of this language greatly facilitates the acquisition of many others, and is the only mean by which we can effectually prevent injustice and imposition.

If the assertions which I have here made be founded on truth, what argument can be brought to invalidate my proposition? The conclusion from the premises is this, that to the merchant, the traveller, the civil and military officer, the philosopher and physician; in short, to every one who carries on concerns of any moment in India, the Hindustanee language is more generally necessary and advantageous than any other; and on this account, it ought to be the most cultivated and esteemed.

A New Theory and Prospectus of the Persian VERBS, *with their Hindustanee Synonimes, in Persian and English. By* JOHN GILCHRIST. *pp.* 85. *Calcutta* 1801.

The intelligent and laborious author of this opusculus, is already well known to the servants of the East India Company, by his copious and valuable dictionary of the vernacular dialect of the northern provinces of India. The present work is an attempt to facilitate to students the acquisition of the Persic language, in which, though he professes himself "a novice," we have not discovered any inaccuracies imputable to that source.

The Persic, with many other languages, exhibits a simple or radical form of its verbs, in the imperative; which, by a regular grammatical process, is inflected through all the varieties of time and person, by certain additions, and sometimes alterations. The latter, which constitute the anomalies, are usually dependent on, and indicated by the terminating letter, and they are certainly not more numerous, (we think much fewer) than occur in most

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moſt other languages. How many of theſe ſhall be erected by grammarians into diſtinct conjugations; whether with ſir William Jones and the native philologers we ſhall admit of thirteen; whether with Mr. Gladwin we ſhall reduce them to eleven; or with greater boldneſs extirpate, with Mr. Gilchriſt, all but two; ought in our apprehenſion to be regulated ſolely by the facility which their reſpective methods may afford to ſtudents.

With regard to Mr. Gilchriſt's theory, we ſhall explain it in his own words:

It cannot be concealed that the ſhort ĭ, or as I mark it u, has been conſidered the eſſence, origin, or ſource and perfection of exiſtence and motion, both mental and corporeal; it will not therefore be deemed unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that, by ſubjoining it to the perfect tenſe, a paſt participle is formed. When u acquires the ſtability of a letter, it inſenſibly connects itſelf to n, whence perhaps the infinite un, now under conſideration."

Now all this we are not ſure that we comprehend. Why Mr. Gilchriſt ſhould mark the ſhort ĭ, u; in what language this ſignifies eſſence; what u is before it acquires the ſtability of a letter, and whence its predilection for n, more than for p, are all above our comprehenſion. The analogies derived from the myſtic om of the Brahmans, and from the analogous forms of the anuſwara and viſarga of the Sanſcrit, with that of o, (which he alſo calls u,) are altogether irrelevant; ſince the firſt is formed from the initials of the Hindu trinity, and the laſt are exemplified in the Devanagari alphabet, as conjoined with its firſt letter, never appearing but in conjunction with others. But to proceed:

"Un, thus obtained, when affixed to the perfect tenſe, gives the Perſic infinitive, whence, by an hypothetical declenſion, all the parts of the verb may be deduced. But

"When mental and corporeal exiſtence were palpably combined, another infinitive, to wit, the material, may have become requiſite, and we may reaſonably preſume that ſt-un, uſt-un, &c. were introduced accordingly. We all know, that in ſeveral languages the letters ſt, or as a Perſian muſt write them uſt, iſt, denote ſtability, ſtation, &c.; nay, we cannot be ignorant that this very ſtun, iſtun in queſtion, is the final ſyllable of ſeveral verbs yet extant."

This attempt to illuſtrate, on philoſophic principles, the formation of the Perſic infinitive, is not, in our opinion, peculiarly happy; and it leaves the other inflections of the verb as arbitrary as they were before. For why does m indicate the firſt perſon, i the ſecond, and d the third? It is the misfortune of ſcholars reſident in India, that from their limited acceſs to European publications, they are apt to conſider as important diſcoveries, opinions long ago promulgated, and ſometimes forgotten, in Europe. The learned but unfortunate M. Gebelin de la Tour du Pin, conſtructed an etymological dictionary of the Latin and many other tongues, on principles very ſimilar to thoſe of Mr. Gilchriſt. The application on thoſe principles to oriental languages were a work which might deſerve, but probably would not excite, a conſiderable portion of intereſt: yet the reſults of this philoſophic analyſis applied to Perſic or Hinduſtanee, would be more uncertain and leſs valuable than thoſe derived from original (or what in the preſent ſtate of philology muſt be conſidered original) languages.

A GRAMMAR

A GRAMMAR *of the pure and mixed East-Indian Dialects, with Dialogues affixed, ſpoken in all the Eaſtern Countries, methodically arranged at Calcutta, according to the Brahmenian Syſtem, of the Shanſcrit language, comprehending literal Explanations of the Compound Words, and circumlocutory Phraſes, neceſſary for the Attainment of the Idiom of that Language, calculated for the Uſe of Europeans. With Remarks on the Errors in former Grammars and Dialogues of the mixed Dialects called Mooriſh, or Moors, written by different Europeans; together with a Refutation of the Aſſertions of* SIR WILLIAM JONES, *reſpecting the Shanſcrit Alphabet; and ſeveral Specimens of Oriental Poetry, publiſhed in the* ASIATIC RESEARCHES, *by* HERASIM LEBEDEFF. 4to. pp. 109, 11, 11. DEBRETT, 1801.

IN the ſingular title which Mr. Lebedeff has prefixed to his ſtill more ſingular work, he has omitted to inform us what, and how many, languages he profeſſes to treat of. At the beginning we find a ſtanza inſerted from a modern Bengal poem, intitled Vidyá Sundara; the rules are applicable ſolely to the Mooriſh tongue, and in the vocabulary we find a column appropriated to what the author ſtyles, "The civil Shamſcrit Bengal language." The incongruity of ſuch a term may be illuſtrated by ſuppoſing an Italian vocabulary to be ſtyled one of the civil Latin Italian language. What this writer means by aſſerting that the languages he treats of, are ſpoken in all the eaſtern countries, it is not eaſy to conceive; ſtill leſs, what reference his perplexed arrangement bears to the profound and philoſophical ſyſtem of the Hindu grammarians; and leaſt of all, what portion of his work is calculated to facilitate the acquiſition of the Sanſcrit language. Although the Hinduſtanee grammars (we have not ſeen Mr. Gilchriſt's) hitherto publiſhed, are unqueſtionably very defective publications, we think that a beginner will derive more uſeful information from either Hadley's or Ferguſon's, than from the work under review. Our readers will ſcarcely expect us to defend ſir William Jones from the attacks of Mr. Lebedeff, whoſe obſervations originate in miſtaking the Bengal pronunciation for a fit ſtandard of orthography, whilſt ſir William has adopted the more claſſic elocution of Benares and Mathura.

A DISSERTATION *on the Principles of* ASIATIC MONARCHIES. *By* ROBERT PATTON, *Eſq. Governor of St. Helena.*

THIS ingenious author is intitled to an apology from us, for having ſo long delayed to call the attention of the Public to his valuable work. We beg to aſſure him and our readers, that it has not been neglected; and that our review of it has only been poſtponed in the expectation of procuring ſome intereſting manuſcripts, by which we hope to be enabled, not only to give a more ample expoſition of the important ſubject on which he treats, but to illuſtrate and enforce many of his arguments. We, therefore, rely on the indulgence both of our author and the public.

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